WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 749 5 January 2001

Disease, Bigotry and Imperialist Hypocrisy

South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis

The catastrophic impact of the AIDS pandemic ravaging South Africa was highlighted in early December when former African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela joined with F. W. De Klerk, the last president of the former apartheid regime, in launching a national "HIV/AIDS Day" at a Johannesburg cathedral service on December 5. With grotesque cynicism, De Klerk, who presided over a reign of terror against South Africa's black majority and whose National Party supported the Nazis in World War II, compared the AIDS scourge to the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews. For his part, Mandela appealed for compassion for the four million South Africans infected with HIV, implicitly rebuking his successor and current ANC president, Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki's anti-scientific diatribes have encouraged bigoted attacks on people with AIDS and provoked a furor at an international conference on AIDS that met in Durban last July.

AP

Protesters outside International AIDS Conference in Durban in July demand access to medication. Extortionate Western drug companies, bigotry fanned by local capitalist regimes have exacerbated AIDS pandemic ravaging sub-Saharan Africa. Below: Southern African coffin makers.

Mbeki's ignorant statements challenging scientific evidence that HIV causes AIDS are aimed in large part at deflecting criticism over the refusal of his "tripartite alliance" government—which includes the Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—to allocate medical resources to combat the epidemic. Seizing on this, the National Party's racist successor, the Democratic Alliance, campaigned for December 5 nationwide municipal elections on a promise of distributing anti-HIV drugs to pregnant women who have AIDS and scored unexpected gains, including among black voters. Meanwhile, the Western imperialists who hypocritically denounce Mbeki refuse to lift a finger to provide medical aid to the impoverished masses of sub-Saharan Africa. Last year, the Clinton administration threatened sanctions against South Africa for trying to buy AIDS medication at international prices lower than those set by the extortionate pharmaceutical monopolies. And Tony Blair's Labour government in Britain, home to the Glaxo Wellcome drug giant, continues to oppose any such effort by South Africa.

We publish below in edited form a talk given in Johannesburg on 18 October 2000 by comrade Karen Cole of Spartacist South Africa.

* * *

The AIDS pandemic that has reached every country on earth touches on a range of social issues. It exposes the most horrible, murderous aspects of capitalism in its death agony. And it underlines the need for international socialist revolution.

Diseases and infection will never completely go away. New diseases will develop: it's just an aspect of nature that microbes and parasites change, mutate and evolve to find an ecological niche in human beings and other animals. It's possible that the AIDS virus will elude modern medical technology at its current state. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution couldn't do anything immediately about the worldwide influenza pandemic of 1918. Three million people also died of typhus in the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1923. Nevertheless, the Bolshevik Revolution for the first time in history opened the road to get rid of oppression, exploitation and inequality that stand in the way of applying rational approaches to disease research and control and opened the way for massive public health programmes under the direction of a workers state.

Kim Ludbrook

The gains of the Russian Revolution could only hint at what a worldwide planned economy could do. The *ABCs of Communism*, which some of you have read, a book used by the Bolsheviks to train workers in literacy and the principles of communism, significantly devotes its final chapter to public health care. It makes the point that the new dictatorship of the proletariat immediately implemented hygienic techniques for public communal kitchens and training for health care workers to control cholera and typhus. They nationalised all private hospitals, opening them to the masses for the first time.

The Bolshevik Party's programme was committed to wiping out age-old oppression and elevating Russia out of poverty and ignorance. The Bolsheviks understood that ultimate success required the extension of the revolution to the wealthy and advanced, industrialised capitalist countries. You can't fight cholera if you don't have the material resources to build river dams and water purification plants. The International Communist League fights for new October Revolutions in the centres of imperialism in America, Europe and Japan as well as in the "Third World." In South Africa, that means we fight for a black-centred workers government that would be centrally based on the black majority while guaranteeing full rights for the "coloured" [mixed-race], Indian and Asian populations and those whites who accept the rule of black workers.

Based on the experience of the Russian Revolution and the lessons of the aborted Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Leon Trotsky and the International Left Opposition taught that the only way forward for the oppressed masses of the economically backward countries was the proletariat seizing power at the head of all the oppressed, linked through its revolutionary leadership to the proletariat in the advanced countries. This is the programme of permanent revolution. National liberation and all the basic democratic rights achieved in the advanced industrial countries in previous centuries are only realisable through the dictatorship of the proletariat and international socialist revolution.

The AIDS Epidemic and Capitalist Oppression

We are historical materialists and scientific socialists. Class struggle is the motor

continued on page 6

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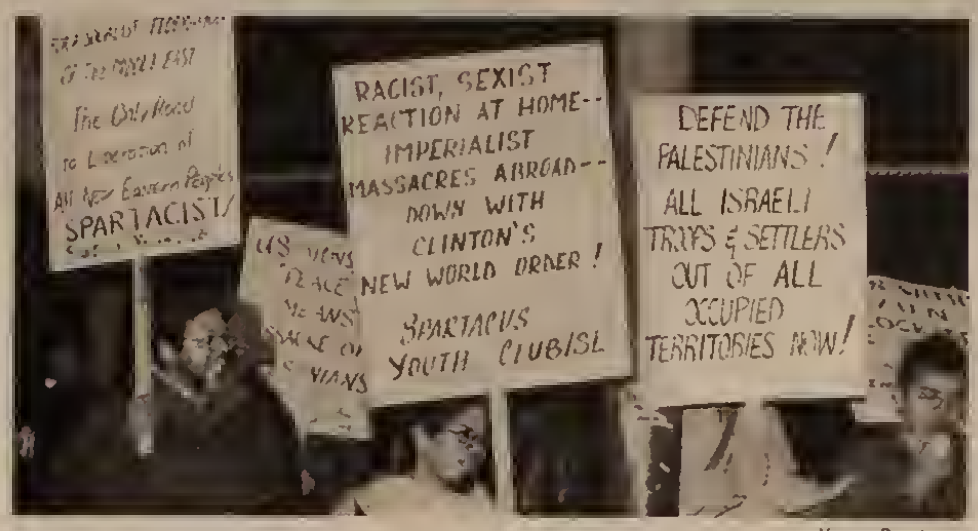
Witchhunt Against Anti-Zionist Protesters in Berkeley

OAKLAND—A furor against leftist protesters has heen whlpped up in the wake of a Novemher 28 Berkeley demonstration against former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Nctanyahu. Some 300 protesters showed up when Netanyahu was scheduled to deliver a lecture at a theater near the UC Berkeley campus. Netanyahu's cancellation—announced at the time the event was scheduled to start—became the signal for a storm of accusations that the demonstrators had suppressed Netanyahu's "free speech." The same line was taken up hy the Berkeley mayor and all the media, from the UC Berkeley *Daily Californian* to the *Oakland Tribune* and the Hearst-owned *San Francisco Chronicle*, whose 12 Decemher editorial typically declared that "about 200 demonstrators blocked" Netanyahu "from speaking at the Berkeley Community Theatre."

The demonstration, called by groups such as the Intemational Action Center (associated with Workers World Party), the Middle East Children's Alliance and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, was characterized by an hour of almost complete silence at the main rally site, with candles in abundance. It was dominated politically by the mainstream secular Palestinian nationalists under the rally's two main slogans: "Israeli Repression Made in the USA" and "Defend the Palestinians." A small but vocal Spartacist contingent near the main rally point was for a time the only organized presence, attracting attention from demonstrators with our bullhoming and chants, some of which were joined in by other protesters.



Young Spartacus

November 28: Spartacist/SYC contingent at UC Berkeley rally against former Israeli prime minister Netanyahu.

The charge that these largely middle-aged, peaceable (and largely pacifist) protesters prevented some one thousand ticket-holders, protected by upwards of a hundred well-armed Berkeley cops, from attending the lecture is clearly absurd. This ridiculous quality was captured by the emanations of the Berkeley Conservative Foundation (the right-wing junior McCarthyites on campus), whose rag, the *California Patriot*, raved breathlessly (and inaccurately): "Then without warning, three women, who according to the Daily Cal wanted to make sure Netanyahu didn't speak, broke the police barrier [yellow plastic tape] and stormed the theater."

One of these three intrepid women, Barbara Luhin of the Middle East Children's Alliance, noted in an "Open Forum" piece in the *Chronicle* (18 December): "We demonstrators did not intend to, nor expect to, prevent the speech.... We hoped to make Netanyahu feel unwelcome." She concluded that "what *is* really going on is not an effort to preserve free speech but an attempt to stifle the free speech of anyone who would criticize Israel."

The orchestrated furor stinks of a set-up. There is no reason to believe Netanyahu ever intended to show up for the Berkeley talk. In fact, as various news reports admitted, it was Netanyahu who chose to cancel his appearance without ever arriving at the venue. That decision—and his subsequent cancellation of two other Bay Area appearances in San Mateo and Marin—undouhtedly had to do with Netanyahu's political ambitions in the Israeli elections, which were announced the same day as the scheduled Berkeley talk. In the words of San Mateo police commenting on the cancellation, there were "events in the Middle East requiring Mr. Netanyahu's attention" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 November). Lecture organizers, police and media then blamed the cancellations on fabricated threats of "severe violence" in order to witchhunt protesters.

Appearing alongside the *Chronicle*'s editorial was a letter from former activists in the 1960s Berkeley "Free Speech Movement," such as Bettina Aptheker, attacking the anti-Netanyahu protesters on the same hypocritical grounds. It is scandalous that those who claim to oppose the Zionist oppression of the Palestinians have lent themselves to this "free speech" frame-up of those whose only "crime" is to express outrage against the Zionist butchers. It is a measure of accommodation to this country's racist capitalist order that those who once opposed the murderous U.S. imperialists' dirty colonial war in Vietnam now hasten to join the current ideological assault on those who oppose war criminals backed by these same U.S. rulers.

We reprint below a letter sent by the Bay Area Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. A similar letter was submitted to the *Oakland Tribune*. Neither has been published to date.

* * *

To the Editor:

Your 12 Decemher editorial ("Berkeley Violates Its Legacy") casts the November 28 Berkeley protest against former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu as an attack on "free speech." This falsehood is a frame-up of those who express outrage at this war criminal and the bloody slaughter of Palestinians by the Zionist state of Israel, which has brutally murdered nearly 300 men, women and children since September—a slaughter Netanyahu aspires once again to personally conduct. The current head of Netanyahu's Likud party and architect of the 1982 slaughter of 2,000 defenseless Palestinians in Lebanon, Ariel Sharon, set off the current Zionist bloodletting with his deliberate provocation in strutting through the Haram al-Sharif in Arab East Jerusalem on September 28.

The orchestrated outcry over "free speech" instantly set in motion following the Berkeley protest amounts to a frame-up of people exercising their constitutional right to protest a notorious butcher. Netanyahu and his backers themselves have no interest in the "free speech" of their opponents. Rather they answer opposition to their bloody Zionist policies with the terror tactics of the Mossad and Shin Beth secret police and Israeli army assassins.

We Marxists of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club joined the November 28 demonstration as part of our resolute defense of the Palestinian Arab population against the brutal Zionist state of Israel, whose imperialist sponsors and financiers are the equally tainted capitalist rulers of the U.S.

Diana Coleman
for the Spartacist League
Laura Davis
for the Spartacus Youth Club

TROTSKY

LENIN

Socialism and the Human Condition

While a cure for AIDS may currently be beyond the scope of today's scientific knowledge and technological means, the crisis ravaging southern Africa in particular is intensified by the profit-gouging of drug companies and the all-sided bigotry of capitalist society. As Polish Marxist Isaac Deutscher pointed out in a 1966 speech, communists fight for a society which roots out poverty, ignorance and degradation, creating the conditions for a huge leap forward in the human condition. Such a society can only be achieved through world proletarian revolution, putting technology and economy in the service of humanity through socialist planning.

Man is the creature of nature, but more particularly of that part of nature which, as human society, distinguishes itself from nature and partly opposes itself to it. Whatever the biological basis of our being, social conditions play the decisive part in shaping our character—even the biological factors refract themselves through, and are partly transformed by, our social personality. To some extent man's nature, including his instincts, has so far been submerged and distorted by his social conditions, and only when these conditions lose their oppressive and distorting quality may we be ahle to take a clearer and more scientific view than we have had so far of the various biological and social elements in man's nature....

We do not maintain that socialism is going to solve all predicaments of the human race. We are struggling in the first instance with the predicaments that are of man's making and that man can resolve. May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex, and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on. In doing so they have naturally been inclined to ignore or belittle man's other predicaments. But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?

In fighting against social inequality and oppression we fight also for the mitigation of those blows that nature inflicts on us....

Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these.

—Isaac Deutscher, "On Socialist Man" (1966), printed in *Marxism in Our Time* (1971)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is January 2.

No. 749 **5 January 2001**

Spartacist Forums

Defend the Palestinian People!

No UN Imperialist Intervention!

For Workers Revolution Against Zionist and Arab Capitalist Regimes!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Wednesday, January 17, 7 p.m.
UCLA
Ackerman Student Union, 3508
LOS ANGELES
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Trotskyist League Forum
Wednesday, January 17, 7 p.m.
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
(just north of College St.)
TORONTO
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Hundreds Protest Klan Provocation in Skokie

CHICAGO—Over 500 people turned out in Skokie, Illinois on December 16 to protest a provocation by 20 Klansmen, many wearing hoods and robes and carrying Confederate flags, at the Cook County Courthouse. Defying the city fathers' urgings to "ignore the Klan" and the mobilization of over 200 cops and sheriff's deputies—including horseback patrols, canine units and SWAT teams—protesters forced the Klan lynchers to pack up early. Wisconsin "Grand Dragon" Michael McQueeney and his followers were pelted with snowballs and one of the racist skinheads who tried to break into the anti-Klan demonstration was acquainted with the pavement.

The Klansmen were escorted away by the cops, a police spokesman explaining, "We were responsible for their safety." Then the cops rampaged against the protesters. In all, more than 15 were arrested. George Ian Fritz and Corey Lovell were held all weekend and required to post $5,000 bond apiece on bogus felony "mob action" charges. In a protest letter to Cook County State's Attorney Richard Devine, the Partisan Defense Committee demanded: *Hands off the anti-Klan protesters! Drop all the charges!*

The KKK cynically claimed that they were rallying in "solidarity with the Palestinians." A December 15 statement issued by the Arab American Action Network eloquently denounced the Klan's attempt "to portray Judaism as the common enemy of the Palestinians and the white supremacists," declaring: "We Palestinians are offended and outraged at the association of our struggle with the KKK's racist demagoguery. We condemn the KKK's ideology of white supremacy and its history of brutal violence against religious and ethnic minorities in the United States. We condemn the KKK's alliance with neo-Nazi groups in Europe that have historically terrorized Arab and Muslim immigrants." At the protest, Palestinians stood shoulder to shoulder with young Jewish immigrants from Russia against the Klan. Demonstrators joined in shouting down a racist from the Jewish Defense League, which is tied to anti-Arab Israeli fascists, when he tried to heckle an Arab speaker.

Fascists had not dared rally in this heavily Jewish Chicago suburb since 1978, when Nazis canceled a planned march in the face of a promised outpouring of thousands of Holocaust survivors and others. The aim of fascist "rallies" is to recruit to and incite racist terror. Tennessee Grand Dragon William Robert Moore was seen loading a .380 semi-automatic pistol on his way to the Skokie rally and was arrested. A black woman leaving the anti-fascist protest was attacked by skinheads and needed hospital treatment.

Underscoring the deadly threat posed by the KKK/Nazi killers was the murderous rampage against Jews, blacks and Asians in Illinois and Indiana only 18 months ago by "World Church of the Creator" white-supremacist Benjamin Smith, who killed two people and wounded at least three others. On December 16, Spartacist League supporters carried signs reading "We Will Not Forget!" beneath a photo of Ricky Byrdsong, the black Northwestern University basketball coach shot dead by Smith on a Skokie street.

Sanitation workers in Skokie's Public Works department, including a couple of black workers, were horrified to find hooded Klansmen spewing racist epithets in their locker room, where they had been taken by the cops to don their robes. On Monday morning, 80 workers (who are not unionized) refused to start work until the building had been swept for bombs. It is an outrage that the fascist murderers were able to rear their heads anywhere near Chicago, a labor, black and immigrant city. When Nazis threatened Chicago's Gay Pride Day march in 1982, the SL initiated a 3,000-strong labor/black mobilization that spiked the Nazi provocation. In another such mobilization initiated by the PDC in January 1994, 500 people—including a hard core of Chicago Amalgamated Transit Union members—braved near-arctic weather to turn out against a Klan provocation in Springfield on Martin Luther King Day, despite overt attempts by the state AFL-CIO bureaucracy to sabotage a labor turnout.

A mass mobilization of Chicago's integrated trade unions, standing at the head of blacks, Latinos, Jews and all the KKK's intended victims, would have kept Skokie's streets clear of the racist vermin. But the pro-capitalist labor misleaders are beholden to Chicago mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party, which worked overtime to defend the Klan's "right" to recruit from the North Shore suburbs. Toeing the line, the black establishment *Chicago Defender* (19 December 2000) outrageously equated the Klan with those who came out to stop it, writing that "the worst of humanity came out—on both sides"! North Shore liberals like Democratic Congresswoman Jan Schakowsky, backed by the rabbis, preachers and the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, sought to divert any protest into a "Peace and Harmony" rally *the day after* the fascist provocation.

The reformist leftists who came out to protest the KKK on December 16 reject a perspective based on mobilizing the multiracial working class independent of the capitalist state and the capitalist political parties. They showed their faith in the capitalist state by acceding to the city's demands that anti-Klan protesters subject themselves to police control by entering a "counterdemonstration" area taped off by the cops at the side of the courthouse, which protesters could enter only after passing through a metal detector and agreeing to be searched. Our comrades on the spot repeatedly bullhorned: "Police pens are a trap—Don't go in!" Following our lead, the vast majority of protesters stayed out of the pen, rallying on the road in front of the courthouse. They were joined by some supporters of the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the anarchoid Anti-Racist Action. But even with the majority of the demonstrators outside the cops' pen, these reformist outfits sent several supporters through the cops' metal detector into the pen.

It has become standard operating procedure for the cops to erect pens to prevent protesters from actually stopping the racist terrorists. And it has likewise become S.O.P. for the reformists to herd anti-racist youth into the police pens, where they are stripped of any means of self-defense and completely at the mercy of the state. At an anti-Klan protest in Columbus, Ohio in 1993, for example, protesters (including PL) were maced by the cops when they tried to break down the chain-link fence that separated them from the fascists.

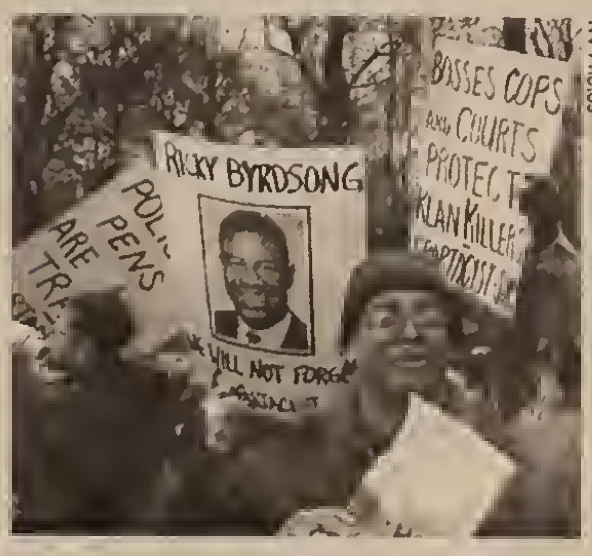
In its article on the Skokie protest, PL's *Challenge* (3 January) fails to mention that it sent some supporters into the cop trap while enthusing that "the crowd turned on the police, trashing several police cars." PL's bravado, trumpeting how it occasionally lands a blow against an isolated fascist, is simply the flip side of submitting to police control. Both are ultimately premised on a belief that the capitalist state is benign or neutral and won't unleash its full might against reds and anti-fascist protesters. The racist rulers deploy their cops to protect the KKK because they hold the genocidal killers in reserve, to be unleashed against the working class when the capitalists' power and their ownership of the basic means of production are threatened.

For its part, the social-democratic ISO overtly fosters the illusion that the capitalist state and its cops can be "pressured" to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. When the SL and PDC brought out thousands in a labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City in October 1999, the ISO threw its energies into building a diversion organized by Al Sharpton and the rest of the Democratic Party establishment to promote "tolerance" for the Klan. While the Democrats offered to share a sound permit with the fascists, the ISO literally shared a platform with the cops of the Latino Officers Association. Three months later, when Benjamin Smith's Nazi mentor Matthew Hale came to the Northwestern campus in Evanston, Illinois, the ISO sought to divert any protest into a liberal "rally against hate" while the SL gave organized expression to over 200 protesters who disarmed Hale's cohorts and forced him to beat a hasty retreat.

Klansman McQueeney threatens to return to Skokie next summer. He better be driven out through a mobilization of labor/black power! To stop the racist terrorists once and for all requires building a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will fight to overthrow the capitalist system which breeds the fascist scum. ■

Black/Chicago Sun-Times

KKK lynchers protected by wall of cops at Cook County Courthouse in Skokie, December 16.



WV Photos

Spartacist contingent at Skokie anti-Klan protest warned: "Police Pens Are a Trap!" PL and other fake leftists went through metal detectors into area penned off by cops.

Black History and the Class Struggle No. 11
(August 1994)

Contents include:

- The 1908 Race Riot in Springfield
- Anti-Racist Protesters Confront KKK
- Build an Interracial Revolutionary Leadership!
- A Proletarian-Centered Strategy to Fight Fascism
- Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People
- Massive Army Spy Operation Stalked Martin Luther King
- Clinton's Welfare "Reform": Blacks, Poor Will Starve
- Clinton Whips Up Hysteria Over "Assault Weapons"

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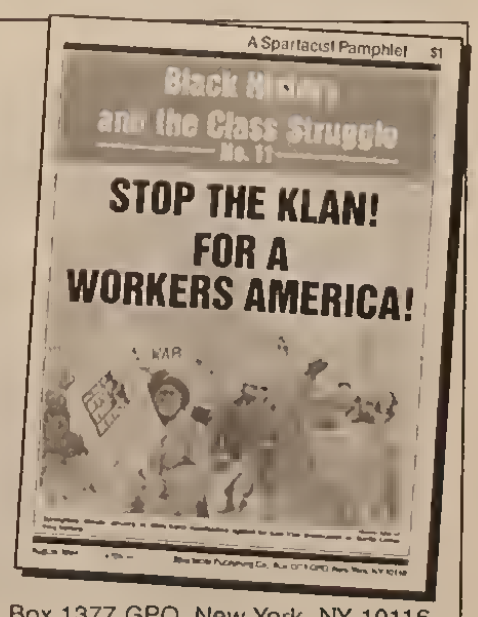


Down With Anti-Strike Railway Labor Act!

Labor Turbulence in the Airlines

UPI

Airline workers throughout the United States are seething in anger after years of wage cuts, forced overtime and management abuse. While the airlines have piled up billions upon billions in profits, the workers they exploit have been two-tiered, "downsized" and wage-gouged to the max. Now the anger is boiling over. Fully *25,000* flights at United Airlines were canceled last summer when members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) refused to work overtime, forcing the company to agree to a large pay raise just before Labor Day and ending a chain of defeats in the industry going back to the 1981 smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union. Now the five largest airlines in the U.S. are in the middle of serious labor disputes.

Effectively denied the right to strike by the Railway Labor Act (RLA), union members at the top three carriers are pressing wage demands by working to rule, refusing overtime and generally throwing a monkey wrench into the bosses' drive to extract maximum profits. Following the big win by the pilots, 50,000 United mechanics, ramp workers and customer service agents in the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) demanded a similar pay raise, instituting an overtime ban and carrying out maintenance rules to the letter. Three years into a ten-year contract with the company, the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) is demanding a 30 percent wage reopener.

At Delta, pilots are engaged in an overtime ban to win wage parity with United, a demand raised as well by pilots at Continental. Also at Delta, based in "right to work" Georgia, ramp workers and other non-union employees are trying to organize into the Transport Workers Union (TWU), and TWU mechanics at American Airlines face a contract battle in March. With three of the country's top four airlines forced to cancel hundreds of flights in recent weeks, *Newsweek* (4 December 2000) talks of "the new air war" and screams that "unrest is erupting in the skies."

The deregulation of the airline industry in 1978 was a move to break the unions, driving down wages and dramatically increasing exploitation while profits multiplied. Airline workers are highly skilled and responsible for the lives of hundreds of people. Today, flight attendants with more than a dozen years' seniority can make as little as $25,000 per year and some earn so little that they have to get food stamps to support their children. At Continental, attendants only get paid once the cabin door is closed; until then, they are engaging in pure charity work, even if a plane is fully loaded and sits at the gate for hours. As happened regularly during the pilots' action at United last summer, flight attendants are often put on "critical coverage," requiring them to work extra flights on short notice. Those stranded by canceled flights are often crowded into flea-bag motels or even forced to spend the night on an idled jet.

The airline bosses prattle on about "safety first," but all safety procedures are thrown out the window to ensure good "performance" statistics—and higher profits—resulting in accidents among the ground crew and endangering passengers and flight crews. Hundreds of flight delays and cancellations were caused at Chicago's O'Hare Airport last summer when air traffic controllers made sure arriving jets were well-spaced after they had been made scapegoats for unsafe practices. At United, mechanics working to rule have been victimized, even fired. That the airlines put *profits* above all else is clear from the screams of outrage over lost income when pilots and ground crews are simply working according to Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) rules!

Airline workers have enormous economic clout, made greater by the fact that global air cargo has tripled in volume over the past decade. While air freight constitutes a small fraction of the country's total trade when measured by volume, in dollar value terms, planes transport fully *28 percent* of U.S. imports and exports. Today, the dollar value of international trade that flows through New York's JFK Airport is greater than at any of the country's deep-sea ports. With airline travel at an all-time high and skilled mechanics and pilots in short supply, the current job actions come at a time of maximum vulnerability for the bosses, pointing to an exceptional opportunity for *united, industry-wide strike action* to reverse years of setbacks and givebacks.

Fraud of "Worker Ownership"

The current wave of unrest in the airline industry was sparked by the collapse of the "worker ownership" scam foisted on United workers by the leaders of ALPA and the IAM. In 1994, union leaders traded *$5 billion* in wage cuts and other givebacks for a share of company stock and three seats on the board of directors. Pilots and machinists took immediate pay cuts of 15 and 10 percent, respectively, with additional concessions in pension contributions and work rules. The union tops sold profit-sharing by promising that the wage cuts would be amply compensated by a future pot of gold in dividends. The illusion that the workers had a stake in increasing the bosses' profits—and their own exploitation—exploded when the companies slashed profit-sharing payments by as much as one half to deal with rising fuel costs, while year-end bonuses of the CEO more than doubled.

Today, virtually every airline has a "profit-sharing" program. The message from the bosses is: You should sacrifice for the good of the company because "we" are all in the same boat. Ground service workers and mechanics are pushed hard to get flights in and out on time—all in the name of "our profit-sharing"—and pilots and flight attendants are likewise pressured to work overtime and cut corners. In all this, the airlines seek to have co-workers stigmatize and ultimately rat on "slackers" for company discipline. The bosses tout these schemes for fostering "labor peace" and undercutting union organizing efforts. Pointing to last summer's overtime ban at United, Continental crows in a 15-minute company propaganda video, "We don't have contentious labor issues," concluding: "More profit-sharing for all of us."

Yet the pro-capitalist union tops are quite proud of their record in setting up "profit-sharing" programs and employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs). The main selling point of an organizing brochure titled the "IAM Advantage" is "We're experienced at negotiating ESOPs." Such programs epitomize the supposed "partnership" of labor and capital preached by the trade-union bureaucracy—which means subordinating workers' interests to the company's bottom line. The labor tops have pushed one class-collaborationist scheme after another, from "profit-sharing" to no-strike pledges. In every way, they serve to tie the working class to the capitalist class enemy, above all through the union tops' support to the Democratic Party, of which they are a key component.

The labor bureaucracy is a layer which long ago separated out from the working class. In exchange for promoting "cooperation" with the employers and the capitalist government and policing the workers on their behalf, this bureaucratic layer is rewarded with privileges and perks. The truth is that the interests of the capitalists who own the means of production and the workers who have to sell their labor power to survive are diametrically *opposed*. To unchain the power of labor, a political fight is required to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and to forge a labor leadership dedicated to *class struggle* against capitalism.

The 1926 Railway Labor Act is a prime illustration of the labor bureaucracy's class collaboration. Its preliminary draft was written by lawyers working for the American Federation of Labor. Faced with the threat of repeated strikes by one or another of the numerous craft unions in the railways, the rail barons agreed to formally recognize the unions' right to organize while the union bureaucrats accepted the straitjacket of government control and intervention, all in the interests of "class peace." A decade later, the leadership of the newly formed ALPA successfully lobbied for airline workers to be covered by the RLA, seeing this as a way to make the airlines recognize pilots' union rights. Under the RLA, workers can only gain union recognition under rules set and administered by the National Mediation Board, which is appointed by the U.S. president.

A national airline strike, even if it lasted but a few days, would cost U.S. corporations in practically all fields hundreds of millions of dollars. Precisely for that reason, airline strikes immediately come up against the state. The RLA prohibits workers from striking when their

Marc Pokempner

Corey Sipkin

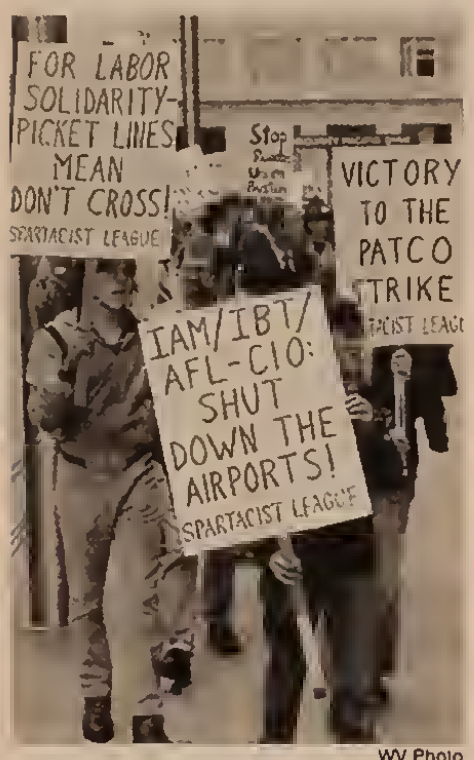
Profits first: Dangerously overstretched, outmoded air traffic control system, as at Chicago's O'Hare, world's busiest airport. Fuel tank explosion that reportedly brought down TWA Flight 800 in 1996 could have been prevented by proper safety procedures.

contracts expire. Instead, the National Mediation Board will "recommend" binding arbitration if a new contract is not negotiated. If the board declares an impasse, the workers still cannot legally strike until the end of a 30-day "cooling off" period. Even then, the law allows the president to halt any walkout by creating an emergency board to hammer out a settlement. Using these provisions, Clinton vetoed a 1997 strike by American Airlines pilots. After the pilots staged a sickout two years later, a federal judge levied *$45 million* in fines, which continues to hang over the union's head as it faces a battle with the company. The RLA has also been used to keep Northwest mechanics on the job without a contract for *four years*!

While refusing to stop scabbing and shut down the airports during the bitter nine-month strike against Eastern Airlines in 1989, then IAM head William Winpisinger, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, proclaimed (*New York Times*, 10 March 1989):

> "To provide a more tranquil method of settling labor disputes, Congress enacted labor laws that protect worker rights and mandated Government agencies to protect workers from management abuses. The system has worked fairly well. The one notable exception is Eastern Airlines."

The labor tops to the contrary, the capitalist government—whether under Democratic or Republican administration—is not neutral. Stripped of its "democratic"



WV Photo

Labor tops' refusal to shut down airports in 1981 PATCO strike allowed union to be smashed.

trappings, which periodically allow working people to choose which capitalist party is going to screw them, the state is essentially an executive committee of the bourgeoisie as a whole, whose cops, courts and laws enforce the class interests of the capitalists. Writing over a century ago, Karl Marx explained in *The Civil War in France* (1871):

> "At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the state power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organised for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism."

It is necessary to shatter this engine of class despotism through a workers revolution and the creation of a workers state that expropriates the bosses and runs industry and transport in the service of those who labor. Like a myriad of other anti-labor laws, the RLA can be smashed in the course of class struggle. *Down with the RLA! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!*

For an Industrial Union of All Airline Workers!

It took hard and bitter struggles to build the unions, particularly in the case of the industrial unions which were an enormous step forward over the old, hidebound craft unions. The treachery of the labor tops threatens the very existence of the unions they sit atop. While the IAM recently scored an organizing success in bringing in 19,000 United reservation and customer service agents, the union bureaucracy's prostration has spurred breakaway moves by mechanics. More than half of United's 15,000 IAM mechanics have signed cards in favor of the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA), a craft union whose spokesman declares, "We're not anti-company, we're pro-mechanics" (*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 23 October 2000). Last year, the AMFA unseated the IAM at Northwest.

Divisions along craft lines, and between manual workers like ground crews and professionals like air traffic controllers and especially the pilots who are largely veterans of the military elite and overwhelmingly white, feed into the bosses' incessant attempts to pit one section of the workforce against another. The labor tops help promote such divisions by ordering union members to cross picket lines of other striking workers. Pay scales for similar work differ widely from one company to another and one worker to another, with pervasive two-tier schemes mandating that new hires get paid far less. At TWA, it takes 20 years for flight attendants to reach top pay, and some earn half what Delta attendants earn while working more days. *Equal pay for equal work! Airline workers need a single industrial union of all workers at all airline companies, from baggage handlers to pilots. An injury to one is an injury to all!*

With different sectors often organized into different unions, airline workers are without a common grievance structure, allowing management to "arbitrate" worker complaints in order to discipline and fire as it desires. At many airports, such complaints often pit white pilots against black or Hispanic ramp workers. This system not only fosters resentment and division within the workforce but encourages the racist discrimination that is rampant in the industry. One white supervisor at Newark Airport reportedly allows only whites to work at one gate, which he calls the "cracker gate." White lead workers who ask for extra help are more likely to receive it than black or Hispanic leads. At San Francisco Airport, Northwest Airlines was slapped with a federal Equal Employment Opportunity lawsuit last year by a Filipino mechanic who had been driven out by a campaign of racist harassment which culminated in a noose being hung in his locker.

Deregulation and Capitalist Anarchy

It was Democrats like Ted Kennedy and then-president Jimmy Carter who unleashed the war on the airline unions with the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978. Touted as a populist "reform" against monopolies, deregulation actually led to an increase in monopolization. In 1978, the top eight airlines accounted for 80 percent of all passenger miles flown; a decade later, these eight controlled 94 percent of all U.S. air traffic, while dividing up the country through the creation of regional hubs which tend to drive out smaller local carriers. United, the largest airline in the world, alone controls 20 percent of the U.S. market. Deregulation also paved the way for two decades of union-busting attacks. As described in Thomas Petzinger's *Hard Landing* (1995):

> "Even through the most relentless price cutting of the mid-1980s the airlines recorded their best operating profits in history.
>
> "There was one additional and important reason for those increased profits: lower costs for oil and, more significantly, for toil.... The more junior employees at American and other airlines with b-scales had experienced no traumatic cutbacks but came into their jobs earning one half or less what their tenured colleagues were making. For the huge proportion of workers employed by struggling companies, living standards had plunged—whether gradually (as at Eastern, Pan Am, and TWA) or traumatically (as at Continental). In this respect as in so many others the airlines were among the leaders of the United States economy: wage cutbacks would soon sweep through other industries."

Spink/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

WV Photo

Bitter 1989 strike by machinists at Eastern (top) was derailed by union tops. Right: Striking flight attendants stood up to TWA bosses in 1986.

The Carter administration drafted the blueprint for breaking a strike by PATCO air traffic controllers, plans which Reagan implemented in 1981. Reagan's wholesale firing of 12,000 PATCO strikers could have been beaten back by labor. For that, it was necessary to shut down the airports. But Winpisinger and the rest of the AFL-CIO leadership instead called for an impotent, losing consumer boycott. Union members marched in the hundreds of thousands in Washington, D.C. and other cities, only to be told that "solidarity" meant "vote Democrat."

The AFL-CIO's "victory" in electing Clinton in 1992 didn't change anything. Not only has the Democratic White House kept the hand of the state on the throat of labor, it has deepened the deregulatory measures that have made air travel not just an exercise in massive inconvenience but a life-threatening nightmare. Thus the administration this past summer began eliminating flight limits at O'Hare and New York City's La Guardia and JFK airports, unleashing a mad rush for markets by the airlines and creating havoc in the air and on the ground. Reflecting the high number of runway accidents, one airline official told the *Wall Street Journal* (18 August 2000) that his company alone spends $18 million per year to repair planes damaged in "ground collisions."

Until recently the FAA pushed a plan called Land and Hold Short Operation (LAHSO), which *required* pilots to use intersecting runways simultaneously, stopping short to avoid collisions, adding harrowing uncertainty to the most dangerous moment of a flight, the landing. ALPA pilots made short shrift of this insanity by simply refusing to carry out LAHSO. At the same time, the FAA routinely grants some 300 safety waivers a year to airlines. After the 1997 crash of TWA Flight 800, reportedly due to a gas explosion in a fuel tank, an FAA study found that most fuel tanks are dangerously hot 30 percent of the time. The solution is simple, and employed on military aircraft: to avoid the accumulation of explosive gases by filling up the empty part of the tank with fuel or an inert (nonflammable) gas. But instead of ordering immediate corrections, the FAA recommended better maintenance and...another study!

Airline maintenance managers constantly push to have defective aircraft signed off and returned to service, a practice that contributed directly to the crash of Alaska Airlines Flight 261 near Los Angeles last January, in which all 88 people aboard were killed. That crash was caused by a jackscrew that had worn out because the airline had used the wrong kind of grease to save money and had not inspected the jackscrew within the recommended time limit. Alaska Air was already under federal investigation for falsifying its records to indicate that repairs had been done when they had not.

One mechanic at American told *Workers Vanguard* that union members continually battle with managers who want to "solve" intermittent faults by just changing a part and sending a plane back into service without thorough testing. Safe, quality work is further undermined by the large carriers' increasing reliance on smaller, outside maintenance companies hiring inexperienced, underpaid mechanics who don't have the union protection that's needed to stand up to bosses who try to cut corners. *The airline unions must organize these unorganized workers! Union safety committees must have the right to stop any unsafe procedures.*

With the air traffic control system already stretched far beyond capacity and saddled with dangerously outmoded computer equipment, there are increasing calls, spearheaded by some of the largest airlines, for privatization of the system. A *New York Times* (26 December 2000) headline asked: "Can Capitalism Reduce Flights and Delays at La Guardia?" In Britain, where privatization of the railroads has been a horror story of derailments and deadly accidents, even sectors of the bourgeoisie are having second thoughts, reflected in a recent *Independent* (4 December 2000) article titled "The Capitalist Case for Renationalising the Railways."

While deregulation has been a disaster for airline workers and passengers, the solution is not some sort of scheme for re-regulation by the capitalist state. The chaos in air transport today is merely an example of the anarchy and decay that reigns in capitalist production in general. The airline industry is inherently international and centralized. The massive waste, danger and inefficiency of the airline industry under capitalism cries out for centralized economic planning, but that will only come about when the ruling class as a whole has been expropriated under a workers government.■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

force of history. Throughout history, humanity's ability to master its environment is determined by the level of the productive forces at each stage. However, scientific progress cannot rise above or be separated from class interests. Here's an illustration of what I mean, and it is directly relevant to the AIDS pandemic. Penicillin is one of the greatest medical discoveries in the twentieth century. Some of us in this room would be dead today if Alexander Fleming had not identified a mould that could kill staphylococcus bacteria in 1929. All modern antibiotics flow from this discovery. But the development of penicillin was virtually ignored until the U.S. imperialists massively funded and distributed it during World War II, 15 years later. Why then? American imperialism had an interest in keeping its soldiers from dying from battlefield infections.

And what other new technology was the U.S. funding massively around the same period? The atomic bomb, which killed some 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, and was intended as a warning to the Soviet Union that the U.S. ruling class would stop at nothing to destroy the first workers state in history. So you see the relationship between the development of science and the class interests of the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie can mobilize when it wants to.

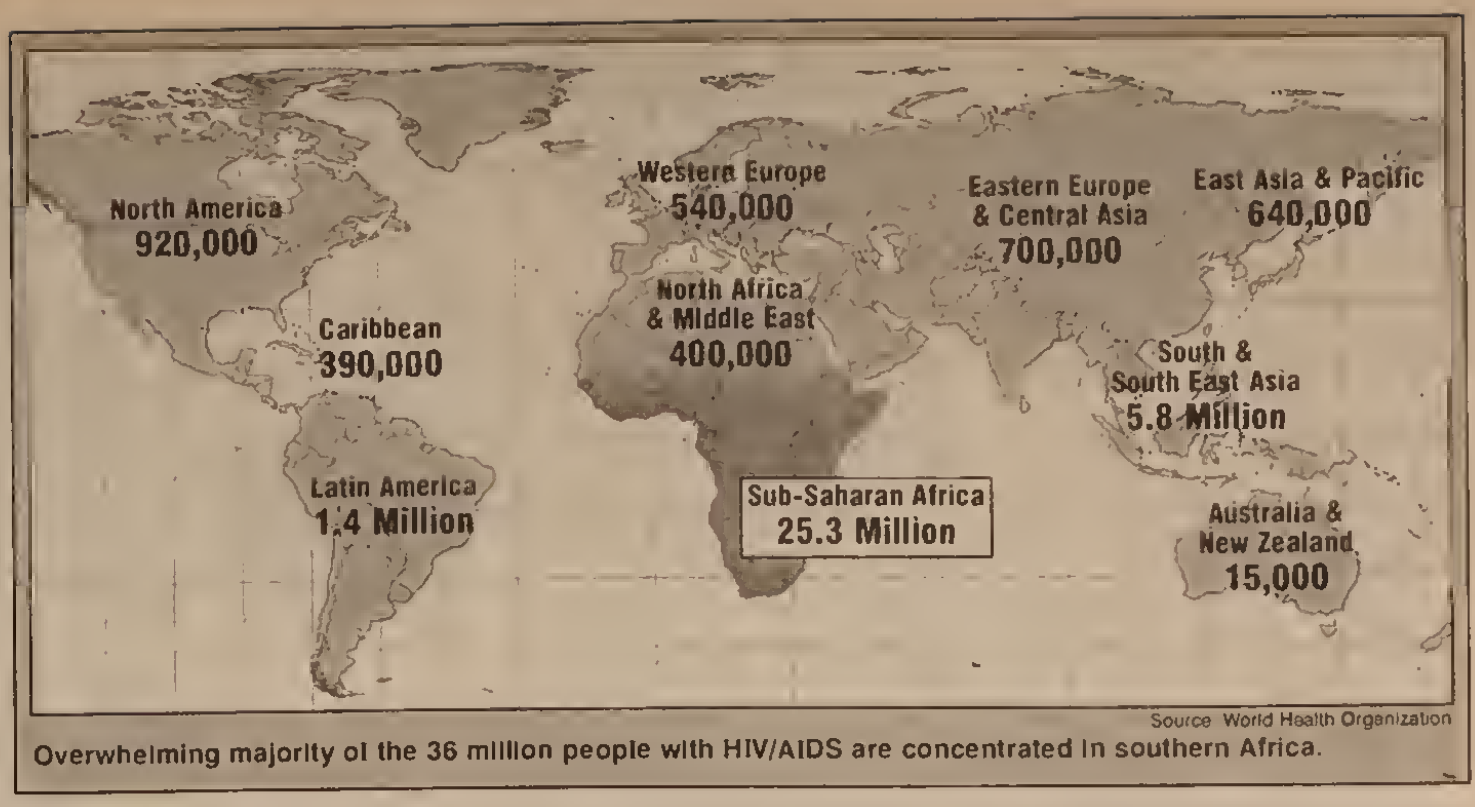
One speaker at the July Durban AIDS conference complained that one-quarter of the U.S. defence budget for one year would provide anti-retroviral treatments for all Africans who needed them. That certainly may be true, but of course it is never going to happen. The underlying assumption of this statement is that if the imperialist bloodsuckers could be pressured to shift their priorities and be more humane, then all will be solved. But the drive to war and plunder—to acquire new markets, raw materials and cheap labour with the aim of amassing profits—is inherent to the capitalist system in this epoch. The AIDS pandemic also exposes the lie of "nation building" rhetoric; it obviously cannot be solved within the borders of one country.

Only world socialist revolution can tear the means of production out of the hands of the greedy capitalist class, ushering in an egalitarian socialist society. Then all the positive gains of modern science can be put at the service of mankind, and all the fake science that is used to justify and defend capitalist rule can be rejected. How we approach this grim epidemic is shaped by our vision of a communist future.

Let me give a few facts up front about HIV and AIDS. You cannot get AIDS from mosquitoes or through casual contact with infected persons. The human immunodeficiency virus, HIV, concentrates in body fluids that are most commonly passed on through any form of sexual intercourse, through blood transfusions, needle sticks and the sharing of hypodermic needles, or from mother to child at birth or through breast milk. Because blood transmission is most efficient, sexually transmitted diseases that cause open sores on the penis or vaginal or anal passages increase the possibility of transmission, as do sexual practices that might tear the anal or vaginal walls. One of the reasons that AIDS has spread so fast in southern Africa is that untreated sexually transmitted diseases like syphilis, gonorrhea and pelvic infections are widespread.

People may have the virus for many years without any symptoms. But eventually the virus will suppress the person's natural defences against infections, called the immune system, and the person will develop AIDS, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome—that is, they will develop life-threatening illnesses that almost never appear in healthy people with normal immune systems. In Africa, where people are already weakened by many untreated diseases and malnutrition, the virus destroys what's left of the already weakened immune system more rapidly.

The virus is of a particularly complex variety called a "retrovirus," which relates to its structure and how it reproduces itself. Anti-retrovirals like AZT and nevirapine suppress and slow down the advance of the virus. An inoculation ideally gives you immunity; that is, it actually prevents you from catching the disease in the first place. But the HIV virus can mutate—change its structure—rapidly. So treatment applied to one strain won't work on another, somewhat like the influenza virus where a new vaccine must be developed every year to prevent only the most common varieties. Edward Jenner proved the efficacy of vaccination against another worldwide killer, smallpox, in 1796, and the last person on earth who caught the disease recovered, in Somalia, in 1976—almost two centuries later. And smallpox was a very simple virus.



Source: World Health Organization

Overwhelming majority of the 36 million people with HIV/AIDS are concentrated in southern Africa.

Reuters

Johannesburg municipal workers rally during November strike against threatened privatizations. COSATU union tops chain powerful and combative black proletariat to bourgeois-nationalist ANC.

HIV/AIDS is still spreading exponentially worldwide. In Africa, it was initially spread by those who travel a lot for a living such as airline workers, truck drivers, seamen and soldiers and spread rapidly among professionals such as teachers and doctors. Now, infection has become rampant especially in poorer areas and population groups. Less developed countries account for 95 percent of known cases and 70 percent are in Africa. Twenty-four million HIV-infected people live in southern Africa. Predictions of rates of increase must be continually revised upwards. The report of the United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS that came out in June predicted that half of current 15-year-olds in South Africa and Zimbabwe may die of AIDS. In Botswana up to two-thirds of youth will die of AIDS. The rising number of orphans throughout southern Africa means there are a growing number of households headed by children. It's difficult to get accurate statistical surveys, which are basic to public health care and would inform development of a cure, because people avoid getting tested for fear of persecution. The vast majority of youth do not even know they are HIV-positive. Also some say, "Why get tested? There is no treatment available."

More than with any other disease in modern history, every step in the search to control and cure HIV/AIDS has been hampered by the profit-driven capitalist system and all the backward, repressive, racist and anti-woman ideological crap that comes with it. This epidemic has arisen and is spreading in the epoch of capitalism's decline. The optimism of the scientific revolution that accompanied the rise of the capitalist class has long been on the decline, exemplified by the resurgence of religious fundamentalism, superstitions, prejudices and obscurantism. Even in the most advanced industrial countries, people with AIDS continue to be viciously stereotyped, ostracised and stigmatised. These prejudices are compounded many times over in Africa and other countries of the so-called "Third World" like India. And because it is a sexually transmitted disease, the special oppression that women suffer under capitalism creates a major obstacle to a cure. All the guilt, shame and repressive taboos about sex that are designed to subjugate women via bourgeois morality also play a major role in sabotaging a scientific response to AIDS.

Imperialism and Neo-Apartheid Capitalism

South Africa was built on the superexploitation of black labour, extracting huge profits for the imperialists. And the imperialists and Randlords' craven junior partners of the capitalist ANC-led Tripartite Alliance can only continue to perpetuate death and misery for the African masses by overseeing neo-apartheid capitalism. In South Africa, the contrasts of uneven and combined development are most sharp. The white ruling class and petty bourgeoisie live as well as anyone in America or Europe while the black masses live in conditions that have not been seen in America or Europe for several centuries.

What incentive is there for the capitalist class to find a speedy cure or to treat those already infected? Internationally, the bourgeoisie views the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa as a convenient answer to unemployment and low productivity. An article in *Business Day* (November 1999) outlines the following: Every year the U.S. Investor Responsibility Research Center asks multinationals how they perceive the South African business climate. They reported that AIDS was no problem. The epidemic is mainly confined to those who are economically marginal: women and children, the unemployed and unskilled workers who can be easily replaced given the massive unemployment. Insurance companies are unconcerned because these people are not insured. Mines are closing, so miners are disposable, and due to the many job-related illnesses they suffer, they die quickly once their immune system is compromised. Investors are slightly con-

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cerned that the disease is beginning to spread to skilled workers and teachers. But they are most worried that the South African government may choose to spend money on health care for people who, as far as they are concerned, will be dead within a couple of years, rather than spend that money to repay bank loans.

The 17 July edition of the widely circulated American magazine *Time* featured an editorial comparing the AIDS epidemic with the bubonic plague of 14th-century Europe. A full third of the European population died in what was then called the "Black Death." The writer says that "every cloud has a silver lining"—good always comes of bad—wiping out much of the population in the 14th century led to an increase in labour productivity and paved the way for progress. Therefore, according to this, killing a third of the African population may be just what Africa needs to modernise!

Recently Clinton has decided to throw a few cents at AIDS programmes in Africa, partly to secure the black vote in the U.S. in an election year. Clinton is also motivated by fear that American soldiers may be exposed to AIDS when they are sent to war-torn African countries to protect American economic interests. During his recent visit to Nigeria, where his real worry is about the potential of militant oil workers interrupting the flow of oil, he promised some token aid. Tell the people of Iraq—where the U.S./UN starvation blockade causes up to 200 children a day to die of malnutrition and lack of medicines—about Clinton and the U.S. bourgeoisie's concern for health care!

ANC on AIDS: Confusionism and Criminal Neglect

According to the UN report released in June, although Botswana has the highest percentage of HIV-positive people, South Africa has both the greatest absolute number and the highest growth rate in southern Africa. The fastest-growing sector is young women. The government's response has been to deny that HIV causes AIDS, to deny that AIDS exists at all and to blame pharmaceutical companies and the CIA for spreading such "lies." They have found endless ways to impede and postpone implementing the most minimal, well-known and tested medical treatments.

When Mbeki called together a panel of discredited researchers and local healers earlier this year to open a discussion on whether HIV causes AIDS, government spokesman Parks Mankahlana ominously warned that any critics of the government on this issue should be silenced. In response to the Durban AIDS conference statement reaffirming that HIV causes AIDS, Mankahlana said the statement "belongs in the dustbin." Mbeki hailed another recent conference of these AIDS-denying pseudo-scientists in Uganda, which criminally called for stopping all HIV testing and condom distribution!

The confusionism and abject neglect has already resulted in untold deaths and misery. Social workers at Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto have reported that patients, particularly husbands, have stopped coming to the clinics because the president says HIV doesn't exist. And it also created the atmosphere that allowed a mob in KwaZulu-Natal in December 1998 to stone and knife to death Gugu Dlamini, a courageous young woman who spoke out on the occasion of World AIDS Day about her HIV-positive status. In rural KwaZulu-Natal, where the rate of HIV infection is the highest in South Africa, it is commonly believed that women are the source of the disease and all those infected should be killed. Gugu Dlamini's body now lies in an unmarked grave.

Why have the bourgeois nationalists latched onto theories which fly in the face of almost 20 years of experience with this disease? Because Mbeki and the black front men for capitalist rule are incapable and unwilling to provide the most basic material needs. The imperialists celebrated Mandela and the ANC coming to power because they counted on Mandela's moral authority to suppress the just aspirations of the horribly oppressed black masses. Therefore the ANC must lie and rationalise their attacks on the working class in service to their capitalist masters.

Brett Eloff

Protester outside Durban AIDS conference.

Reuters

ANC president Thabo Mbeki with U.S. secretary of state Albright in December.

Neo-apartheid regime promotes social backwardness, helps enforce imperialist domination.

The neo-apartheid capitalist regime administered by the ANC, COSATU and the SACP—what we call a "nationalist popular front"—speeds up privatisations and retrenchments and is expanding the repressive state apparatus. From their golf clubs and African fashion shows, the government bureaucrats and new entrepreneurs—subcontractors for the capitalist class—exhort the masses that the days of "toyi-toying" [the defiant dance of anti-apartheid marchers] are over; this is your government.

Der Spiegel

Emergency room in Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, 1991. Today this deteriorating hospital serves 3.5 million black people.

While the imperialists write off Africans as hopeless barbarians, their lapdogs of the national bourgeoisie expound about the "African Renaissance" and laud "African solutions" romanticising tribal societies and conciliating "traditional leaders" in parliament and local government. Meanwhile, the racist hypocrites of the Democratic Alliance and other foul leftovers of apartheid piously shake their fingers at Mbeki for his statements about HIV/AIDS while praising him for toeing the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank line of slashing jobs and cutting back social services.

The ANC health minister, Tshabalala-Msimang, has pronounced that it is unwise to spend money on AZT for HIV-positive pregnant women (which has proved to protect the fetus against infection) because these women will only create more orphans as a burden on the state. The message here to AIDS sufferers is "Drop dead!"

The South African constitution and the laws passed since 1994 are continually lauded as the most democratic in the world. For example, abortion was made legal. Currently the official position of the government is to leave the legal right to abortion to the "individual choice" of doctors and nurses. We say health care workers who deny women abortions should find jobs in another industry. Health care workers who reflect the anti-scientific prejudices of the ANC government often abuse and harass AIDS patients, pushing bourgeois moralism and blaming them for their illness. In order to maintain one of the most unequal societies on earth, the bourgeoisie must pit one sector of the oppressed against the other to cover its own bankruptcy. Since they cannot provide the facilities for abortions or for care for AIDS patients, they have no interest in fighting backward ideas.

Women are promised full and equal rights in the constitution, but the ANC has never even taken a public stand against female genital mutilation still practised openly in rural areas and secretly in the townships. In some cases, the clitoris and labia are cut off. In others, young girls' vaginal openings are sewn up and later bloodily torn open when they wed. On top of all the physical and mental damage that accompanies such mutilation, these women are much more susceptible to HIV infection.

The ANC was recently on its knees eulogising the filthy rich Randlord Harry Oppenheimer, one of the latter-day architects of the brutal migrant labour system. A short time later, South Africa became the last country in the world to switch to the modern injected tuberculosis vaccine. Oppenheimer probably knew a lot about TB since it flourished in his congested hostels for migrant miners. Now tuberculosis is on the rise again because it can thrive in the weakened immune systems of people with AIDS. The mine and factory owners who condemned black workers to squalid, congested housing used to complain that blacks were biologically susceptible to TB; therefore, TB was "treated" by sending sick, used-up black workers to the rural bantustans to die. The TB death rate in South Africa is as bad today as a century ago; 10,000 mainly young men and women die every year from TB, which continues to be stigmatised as a disease of "fast living, hard drinking and smoking."

Apartheid Crimes and Conspiracy Theories

The first recorded cases of AIDS in South Africa were white homosexuals in the 1980s. Considering there were no medical records kept for blacks, coloureds and Indians, it is impossible to trace the history of the disease in this country. The apartheid regime's campaigns against AIDS in the '80s included putting stickers on taxis from Jo'burg to Soweto that said, "You can't get AIDS from swimming pools"—not exactly a relevant issue for the apartheid townships. The campaign used a drawing of a supposedly "neutral coloured" yellow hand. But for black women whose main occupation was as domestic servants, the yellow hand recalled the rubber washing gloves belonging to the hated "madam." During the early '90s, the Nationalist Party put up posters in Soweto with crude depictions of black men, warning that returning ANC exiles were bringing AIDS into South Africa.

AIDS conspiracy theories are widely held. There is an understandable mistrust of so-called "Western medicine" and white doctors who historically abused, neglected, poisoned and experimented on black people, and not just here. In the U.S., in the infamous Tuskegee experiments 400 Southern black men with syphilis were left untreated for over 30

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South Africa...

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years and allowed to die to see its effect on their mortality rate—and on their children. Under apartheid, young women in Botswana were sterilised and given forced injections of the contraceptive Depo-Provera, at that time banned in the U.S. and other countries. South African women were forced into massive birth control programs, sterilised without their knowledge and administered IUDs (contraceptive intrauterine devices) as conditions for employment. Meanwhile, Afrikaner women were told to "Make Babies for Botha."

Then there is the case of Dr. Wouter Basson. This apartheid regime version of the infamous Dr. Mengele in Hitler's concentration camps carried out biological and chemical warfare "experiments" on kidnapped township residents in Zimbabwe and poisoned SWAPO prisoners in Namibia and then went along for the helicopter ride to drop them into the ocean. After a cover-up by the security forces in the so-called "Truth and Reconciliation Commission," the reason Basson is on trial now is to further "reconciliation" with the apartheid butchers. Basson is still a practising cardiologist one day a week at a public hospital in Pretoria, so the ANC is paying for his legal expenses.

the standard of living in China is higher than in capitalist India, a country which achieved political independence from Britain at about the same time as the Chinese Revolution, but which is devastated by imperialist neglect.

Union Tops, Fake Lefts Front for ANC

In South Africa, health care in rural areas is often a container car or a van that may arrive once a week. As we speak, there is a cholera outbreak in KwaZulu-Natal not far from Durban, which has been out of control for two months. Over 20 people have died so far; more than 2,000 people have been hospitalised. Every day there are newly reported cases, and many more go unreported because people have not gone to clinics for treatment. Cholera is an example of a completely understood disease that is totally preventable and treatable—and has been for over a century.

Unemployment is at 50 percent or higher, and latest reports are that the gap between wealthy and poor is increasing. It's election time, so Mbeki has been double-talking about providing some token amount of free electricity, while always calling to get rid of the so-called freeloaders. This is happening while fuel wood is diminishing. Rural labourers are still paid in kind—for black and coloured workers in the Western Cape's money-

Spartacist

ANC government fired 6,000 nurses after 1995 wildcat strike. Strikers carried signs reading "Away with Mandela," denounced ANC leader as "driver of gravy train" for aspiring black capitalists.

The workers in power would try him and many other apartheid murderers for their crimes.

With all the stigmas attached to AIDS, mothers are afraid to admit they are bottle-feeding their babies for fear they will be ostracised. The international manufacturers of milk and baby formulas have been remarkably silent regarding affordable bottle milk for babies at risk. Back in 1976, we supported international protest when Nestlé's dressed up its salespeople in nurses' uniforms to fool impoverished women and push expensive manufactured milk. While breastfeeding is more desirable than bottlefeeding because of the immunities it passes on from mother to child, the real issue with the former is malnutrition and with the latter access to clean water. However, now that it has been proven that HIV is conveyed by breast milk, a basic preventive measure would be to provide free formula to all infected women.

Volunteer Cuban doctors are sometimes the only doctors who will service the rural areas, and are embraced by the population. That doctors from the Cuban deformed workers state do this service underscores why we defend the enormous gains embodied in the Cuban Revolution—the collectivised property forms and planned economy—as we do in China, Vietnam and North Korea against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. After the 1949 Revolution in China, large public health campaigns were launched, women were freed from slavery and concubinage. To this day,

making vineyards, this means a high rate of infant alcohol syndrome. The development of water resources is planned for livestock, not for women who have to haul water back to their dwellings.

The SACP-dominated COSATU leadership sabotaged the national protest called the day before the AIDS conference in Durban by mobilising the most token presence. Why? They could not embarrass Mbeki, their alliance partner. The pro-capitalist COSATU leadership's treacherous role in the nationalist popular front is to keep the lid on the explosive and powerful South African proletariat, to tie the oppressed masses to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. In the Metalworkers [auto, steel, etc.] union, NUMSA, discussion of AIDS is tabled to the "Gender Committee," which is the code word for "toss it to the women." The recent national COSATU congress supposedly did their big act of defiance of Mbeki by declaring it is "morally wrong" to deny drugs to pregnant women and rape victims. They buy the moralistic line that only some are innocent. How about everybody else infected? Teenagers, IV drug users, truckers, prostitutes, miners? Do they deserve it?

The SACP played its role at the conference of slavishly shoring up the class-collaborationist alliance against any opposition. After the conference, the SACP made a declaration on AIDS which cravenly capitulated to Mbeki, stating they have "not sufficiently studied the complex issues about anti-retroviral

Der Spiegel

AIDS education in Uganda, where the regime relies on preaching sexual abstinence to stem pandemic.

HIV/AIDS drugs so as to comment." Meanwhile, those already infected continue to suffer miserable deaths. The fake left—from the International Socialist Movement and Keep Left [a group buried inside the SACP linked to the U.S. International Socialist Organization] to WIVL [Workers International Vanguard League] and WOSA [Workers Organisation for Socialist Action]—also echo the moralism, and deflect all criticism away from the nationalists by appealing to the multinational drug companies and the World Bank. At the 26 September protests here in Jo'burg in conjunction with the protests in Prague at the IMF/World Bank meeting, the fake left channelled the anger of the protesters into begging the imperialists to "cancel the debt."

Militant South African workers, like the workers at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhague, are looking for an alternative to the class-collaborationist national popular front. However, the South African proletariat cannot go forward on a narrow trade-union programme which accepts capitalism. The proletariat must take up the fight for permanent revolution by building a Leninist vanguard party, based on the most advanced layers, that will be a tribune of all the people, that will defend the Gugu Dlaminis and all the oppressed.

Free, Quality Health Care for All!

Under the ANC regime, hospitals have been closed in the name of reducing duplicate services segregated under apartheid. Kempton Park Hospital outside Johannesburg was shut down. In Johannesburg, Hillbrow Hospital stands empty for years while the AIDS epidemic grows among the destitute immigrant population of the area and patients lie on the floor in Jo'burg Hospital and outside Chris Hani Bara admitting area waiting for beds. Retrenchments and privatisations are causing ward closings and cutbacks. The 26-year-old singer and star of the widely acclaimed movie *Sarafina*, Wendy Mseleku, recently died after being turned away three times from public hospitals for lack of beds. In large parts of rural areas, where health care is solely in the hands of nurses, many of these nurses are the same young women who are being devastated by the disease.

Nurses and health care workers were among the first targets of the ANC's anti-working-class programme. In 1996, the Mandela government was to decree free health care for all children under the age of six at local clinics and hospitals. As we wrote at the time, that was a cynical lie. No additional funds were allocated to hire more nurses and other health care workers. There was no equipment or medicines. When nurses went on strike, the SACP/COSATU bureaucrats called the nurses' action "counterrevolutionary." Isolated by COSATU, the strike eventually ended, and 6,000 nurses were dismissed by the provincial government of the Eastern Cape, headed at that time by Raymond Mhlaba of the SACP.

Black nurses and student nurses have been in the forefront of protests for decent health care for decades. Health care was totally segregated under apartheid—white hospitals were built in urban areas, and no hospitals were built in the rural areas where the majority of the black population lives. No matter how much experience a black nurse had, she was always under the direction of white nurses, often young Afrikaners who were incompetently trained in backwater Calvinist Dutch Reformed *platteland* schools. In the 1950s, black nurses were at the centre of protests against carrying passbooks, since they were almost the only black working women in urban areas. The police were turned on them in Soweto and Durban.

Back when the apartheid government decided to forcibly move the first black nurses from the all-black Baragwanath Hospital to the all-white Jo'burg Hospital because of a supposed "shortage of nurses," the black nurses protested because the white hospital was at 50 percent capacity and Bara was over 100 percent. In 1985, hospital workers at Baragwanath went out on strike. Student nurses were assaulted by security guards, 700

El Shifa

AFP

$30 million phermeceutical plant in desperetely poor Sudan was demolished in U.S. terror-bombing attack in 1998.

workers were arrested and 1,700 dismissed, sparking solidarity actions across South Africa and international protest. Today Chris Hani Bara services a population of 3.5 million blacks. The hospital is falling apart. In Khayelitsha Day Hospital in the Western Cape, doctors see up to 96 patients a day each. In most hospitals white doctors and black patients do not speak the same language, making diagnoses slow and difficult.

We sell our newspaper at Jo'burg Hospital, mainly to black nurses and hospital workers. The unionised staff is constantly threatened with being replaced by non-union contract labour, and some have been already. We talked to a doctor who staffs the Casualty Unit. He said that on an average day, two-thirds of the people coming into the unit have symptoms of full-blown AIDS. Many come in with ritual cuts on their bodies administered by inyangas and sangomas [traditional healers]. Doctors must treat people who are suffering from self-induced vomiting caused by herbs and from repeated enemas prescribed by traditional healers. When I asked the doctor what he thought of the latest vaccine trials, he answered despondently, "There's no electricity. You can't distribute a vaccine without refrigeration."

Anti-retroviral drugs have extended the lives of those who can afford them, mainly in the advanced capitalist countries. The pharmaceutical companies make more profits on chronic illnesses like diabetes or AIDS which require a continual variety of medications and procedures and have no cure, so they have a marketing policy of pumping out copy-cat anti-retroviral drugs rather than engaging in long-term vaccine research with uncertain results. Years have been wasted because basic research for vaccines just does not turn a fast buck. Provincial hospitals have been defying the government to take limited handouts of drugs from different charitable sources.

What can we say about Uganda's so-called reversal of AIDS? Uganda's much-acclaimed campaign was centred around the "ABCs"—Abstinence, Be faithful to your spouse, use Condoms. A United Nations report claims that the prevalence of HIV in Uganda has fallen from a high of 14 percent in the early '90s to 8 percent today. But to call Uganda a "success story" captures how bankrupt current programmes are, how hopeless are policies based on "don't have sex" and how venal are the bourgeois nationalists. In Uganda, there are no medicines to treat AIDS-related illnesses, and there are 20,300 people for every doctor. Last year, President Yoweri Museveni called for the arrest of homosexuals. Uganda's terribly low life expectancy, only 40-41 years, is all attributed to preventable conditions: childbirth circumstances, malaria, pneumonia, diarrhea, poor nutrition and unsanitary water. The average annual income is 1,850 Rand [US$250]. As the bloody imperialist carve-up of the Congo [where Uganda has intervened] heats up, bullets will surely be a rising cause of death.

Imperialism, Nationalism and Social Backwardness

One example lauded as an "African solution" to AIDS is where thousands of unmarried women and children attend monthly virginity testing "ceremonies" in KwaZulu-Natal. This was a virtually extinct centuries-old custom that has been revived in the last four years. Girls are stripped naked and endure a humiliating half-hour examination by older girls to ascertain if their hymen is intact. There has been much favorable coverage of this in the media. Nomagugu Ngobese, who has just completed a book, *Fertility and Customs*, spoke recently at a government-sponsored Gender Equality and National Youth Commission meeting advocating these procedures. She stated, "Moral values are possibly the only solution we have to curb the rising HIV/AIDS statistics."

At an educational conference in Pretoria, the deputy education minister said the "African Renaissance" should be founded on "a recovery of moral values and ethical conduct." Mary Crewe, director of the AIDS study centre at the University of Pretoria, responded that linking AIDS with religion and morality has led into denial and apathy around the disease and to marginalisation and social rejection of sufferers. The teaching of "right and wrong" related to AIDS was detracting from, as she put it, "the overriding moral imperative to save lives." The only "morals" that the capitalist class has is to rake in profits, backed up in blood by the state—the cops, the courts, the prisons, the army—and ideologically by the conservatising force of religion.

Traditional healers are hailed by the government as the front line against AIDS. They are the only "health care" many people ever see. People are poisoned, murdered and raped by these "healers," who encourage the revival of beliefs in witchcraft, beliefs which have caused mob killings of mainly old rural women. In fact, to be a woman and old is suspect in conditions where life is normally cut short by violence and "inexplicable" deaths from preventable diseases.

The Gauteng Health Department funds AIDS education for the Traditional Healers Organisation. Since bloodletting through razor cuts to communicate with ancestors is a common cure for witchcraft, the ANC "educates" these healers to use different razors for each client. Demonstrations through downtown Johannesburg feature banners reading, "One Man, One Razor." Beside their role in furthering ignorance, these traditional healers are part of the repressive political structure that runs from the community "sangoma" straight up to CONTRELESA, the House of Traditional Leaders, which is officially part of the bourgeois state.

These bastions of reaction, former apartheid bantustan collaborators, are murderous remnants of pre-capitalist society. Throughout southern Africa, they fight tooth and nail to deny women abortion, inheritance and property rights. They are courted by the ANC just as they were courted by the original colonialists and the apartheid regime. They run much of KwaZulu-Natal, the epicenter of the epidemic in South Africa, and many parts of the most impoverished Eastern Cape. Bourgeois-nationalist ideology has always relegated women to being baby-makers. The capitalists and their lackeys are the enemies of women's liberation.

We fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Since the beginning of class society thousands of years ago, the institution of the family has been the fundamental source of the subjugation of women as dependent domestic slaves. In a socialist planned economy, the family as a social unit will be transcended by socialisation of childcare and household duties. Only then can relationships be entered into freely and without economic compulsion.

The oppression of women in Africa cannot begin to change and the drudgery and hardships women suffer cannot begin to be alleviated without a socialist revolution extending to the advanced capitalist countries. Women in southern Africa are still largely deemed minors with few enforceable rights of ownership or inheritance. Widows are still inherited by their husband's brothers. Polygamy based on the economic subordination of women still occurs. Women are under tremendous economic pressure to demonstrate their fertility. And children are, in fact, the only potential means of support in old age.

Lobola [bride price] is pervasive, and *lobola* basically means women are property like cattle. Children are considered illegitimate and have no rights under customary law if *lobola* payments have not been completed. And most significantly for the spread of AIDS, the man pays for the woman to provide him with sex. Women are afraid to ask their husbands to wear condoms, and are beaten and turned out for refusing sex. Rape is rampant in South Africa. Rape and "dry sex" practices (where women apply detergent or herbs to dry out their vagina, which supposedly increases a man's pleasure) multiply the possibility of infection. Moreover, it is widely believed that sleeping with a virgin will cure AIDS.

The Christian missionaries who accompanied the imperialist plunderers imposed on women a conservative, restrictive family ideology against which their lives were judged, enforcing their subjugation. Many women traders and entrepreneurs in urban and port areas were driven back into domestic slavery. The apartheid migrant labour system that historically tore apart families continues and has been called the "engine of the epidemic" because it encourages multiple sex partners. The migrant labour system, which permeates all of sub-Saharan Africa, is perpetuated under neo-apartheid capitalism because it is the backbone of the superexploitation of black labour.

Foreign workers desperately seeking jobs in South Africa are targeted by the government. The apartheid regime used to send South African miners back to the rural areas to die from TB; now the neo-apartheid state carries on the same policy with workers from bordering countries—HIV-positive Mozambican miners are deported to die without even being informed of their status. The health minister recently argued that they cannot distribute nevirapine lest people from neighbouring countries flock to South Africa for treatment. We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants, including access to schools and medical care.

Prostitutes should not be afraid to get health care and education and should not be at the mercy of gang violence. We are for the de-criminalisation of prostitution. Professional prostitution is actually a minor business compared to all the ways women living in poverty must sell sex for survival. Teenagers and young women need money and gifts to get through secondary and tertiary institutions. Women acquire "sugar daddies" to survive, and for money for their children. Youths hang out where trucks lay over along the highways of southern Africa to earn a bit of money. Domestic work is still the largest category of legal employment for women—sex for money is the only other option to housework. So-called educational campaigns about the sins of promiscuity are not only false and reactionary but also absurd in a situation where you are having sex so you can buy some maize for you and your child to eat. At the Durban AIDS conference, advocates of vaginally applied anti-viral foams—which may afford easy and private protection—protested that they are not being adequately researched and funded. Underlying the lack of interest in the foams is the morality issue again—sex for any reason but reproduction is deemed sinful.

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

Homosexuals continue to be scorned and threatened everywhere. In the '80s anti-apartheid activists who struggled also for democratic rights for gays often

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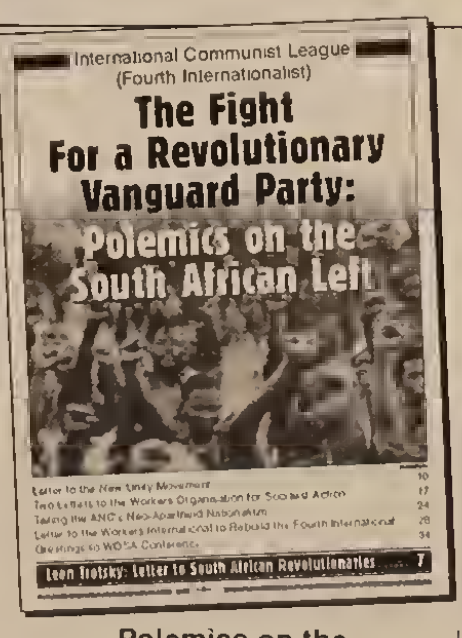
Guzy/Washington Post

Sign in Kenya. Superstitions discourage people with AIDS from seeking treatment while leading to horrific attacks on HIV-positive women as witches.



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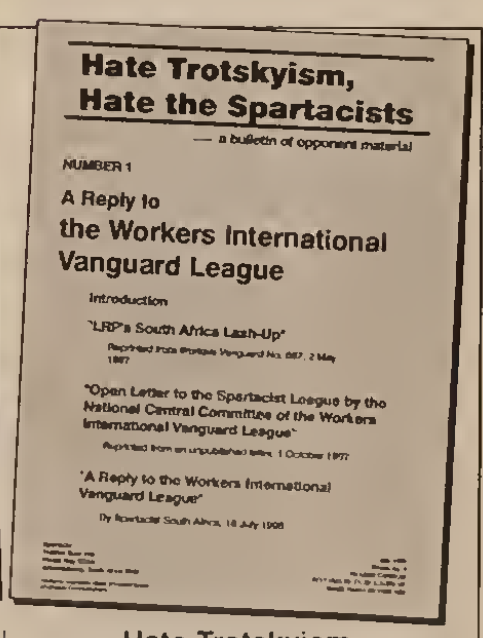

Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists No.1

A Reply to the Workers International Vanguard League

Publication of Spartacist South Africa, July 1998

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South Africa...

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had to fight their way into the political organisations. Tseko Simon Nkoli, a young gay COSAS [Congress of South African Students] and ANC activist, was arrested in 1984 for speaking out in defence of the massive stayaway strikes that fall. He was kept in detention for 16 months and then brought to trial as part of the world-famous Delmas treason trial which started in 1985, along with Mosiuoa Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Popo Molefe [who are now respectively minister of defence and premier of North West Province]. He had to argue against the anti-gay bigotry of the other ANC defendants who wanted to throw him out of the case. On 30 November 1998, Simon Nkoli died of AIDS.

In at least 30 African countries it is illegal for a man to have sex with another man. In South Africa, the constitution, on paper, opposes discrimination based on sexual orientation. However, when Mbeki launched his so-called research panel, he motivated questioning the connection of HIV and AIDS by saying, "Are you aware, whereas in the West, HIV and AIDS is said to be largely homosexually transmitted, in Africa, including our country, it is transmitted heterosexually?" So instead of scientific investigation and understanding, there is vilification and prejudice. HIV/AIDS is not a "homosexual disease" or a "heterosexual disease." HIV is a *virus*. Mugabe of Zimbabwe has called homosexuals "pigs," "perverts" and "worse than beasts." Until 1989 in Zimbabwe, putting AIDS as cause of death on a death certificate was banned. The heads of state of Zambia, Namibia, Kenya and Swaziland have all made public their contempt for homosexuals, citing both "African traditions" and "biblical teachings." This

Peter Magubane

Mass protest by South African women against apartheid pass laws, 1958. In words of freedom song, "Now you have touched the woman, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

month, the minister of home affairs of Namibia called on the police to eliminate homosexual men and women from Namibia.

Evidence as far back as ancient San [Bushmen, nomadic hunters of southern Africa] cave paintings shows that homosexual relations have been around forever in Africa, just like everywhere else in the world. The suppression of gays is directly related to the suppression of sexuality and the subordination of women and youth in the social unit of the family, the main institution for the oppression of women and children in class society. Democratic rights are indivisible. Communists fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals. We fight against anti-gay bigotry and we are for the legalisation of all "crimes without victims." The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent—that is, mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion—and the state has no business interfering.

We are for free, quality health care and treatment for all and for massive medical research programmes. It certainly means that the working class must expropriate the pharmaceutical companies. It means education—including in scientific matters—which begins with teaching basic health care, medical precautions and sex education. Education here also means literacy. We are for expropriating the capitalist class as a whole without compensation—that means the land, the banks, the mines and industry. Free medical care requires building up the infrastructure, training nurses and doctors, construction of hospitals and clinics, as well as uncongested housing, clean running water, electricity and paved roads. All of southern Africa needs a genuine socialist construction programme.

The organised and combative South African proletariat must take the lead under the leadership of a revolutionary internationalist Trotskyist vanguard party. This is why you must become a communist. Only the communist party we are building here and internationally has the programme to be the tribune of all people—women, gays, immigrants and the rural poor. We look forward to the day when all socialist humanity, using the knowledge and science of the past, will have the freedom to go forward and explore all the difficult questions of life. In summary, I would like to read a passage from a 1925 speech by Trotsky on "Dialectical Materialism and Science":

> "There are two aspects of by no means equal merit to the scientific contributions of the past which are now ours and upon which we pride ourselves. Science as a whole has been directed toward acquiring knowledge of reality, research into the laws of evolution, and discovery of the properties and qualities of matter, in order to gain greater mastery over it. But knowledge did not develop within the four walls of a laboratory or a lecture hall. No, it remained a function of human society and reflected the structure of human society. For its needs, society requires knowledge of nature. But at the same time, society demands an affirmation of its right to be what it is, a justification of its particular institutions—first and foremost, the institutions of class domination—just as in the past it demanded the justification of serfdom, class privileges, monarchical prerogatives, national exceptionalism, etc. Socialist society accepts with utmost gratitude the heritage of the positive sciences, discarding, as is the right of inventorial choice, everything that is useless in acquiring knowledge of nature but only useful in justifying class inequality and all other kinds of historical untruth."
>
> —*Problems of Everyday Life* (1973) ■

Profiling...

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the drug trade, and they're not run by West Indian immigrants!

Today, Jackson, Sharpton & Co. decry "racial profiling" and the "prison-industrial complex." What has tripled the prison population in the last 20 years to over two million men and women—more than 60 percent of them black or Hispanic—is the racist "war on drugs." More people are currently behind bars for drug offenses in the U.S. than the total prison population of all of West Europe. When that war was launched in the 1980s, the black Democrats weren't merely its foot soldiers but its propagandists and recruiting sergeants. Under the Reagan and Bush administrations, prominent Democrats like Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel baited the Republicans for losing the "war on drugs." Jackson cynically played down KKK terror, proclaiming in 1986, "Ropes never killed as many of our young people as the pushers of drugs." Sharpton organized anti-drug vigilante gangs in New York City ghettos as auxiliaries to the racist cops.

AP

Governor Christine Whitman frisking black man stopped by cops in Camden, New Jersey, 1996.

The SL calls for an end to laws against drug use as well as prohibitions against other "crimes without victims" such as gambling, prostitution and pornography. We insisted from the beginning that the "war on drugs" was a war on black people, subjecting the ghetto masses to an unprecedented buildup of police power. This has not only been wielded with devastating impact on the cities but in a particularly vicious manner against black people in small towns and cities across the South as well. Elite tactical units and paramilitary SWAT teams routinely brutalize minority youth, occupy public housing projects and crash into apartments to terrorize families. The drug war has also served as a pretext for implementing a broad assault on fundamental rights in order to regiment the population, particularly targeting millions of workers for potential victimization through random drug testing. The enormous growth of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state is aimed at containing the explosive contradictions generated by the vast economic gulf between the handful of filthy rich and the many at the bottom of this society, a gulf which has grown ever wider during this "boom" period. And in racist America, the immediate targets of state repression, ultimately aimed at repressing the working class, are black people.

Intent on quelling the anger of the black masses, the Jacksons and Sharptons organize protests—including last summer's "Redeem the Dream" march to commemorate the 1963 March on Washington—against "racial profiling" and appeal to the very federal government which wrote the book. As New York seethed with anger over the killing of Amadou Diallo two years ago, Sharpton and the black Democrats rushed in to try to contain the protests within capitalist electoral politics, coming up with a program for police "reform" aimed at salvaging the authority of the racist forces of capitalist repression. On the eve of the "Redeem the Dream" rally, Sharpton met with Janet Reno to demand the government appoint an "overseer" of the NYPD and that it withhold funds from police departments which practice "racial profiling." Of course, this would mean that not a single police department would be left in the country. What Sharpton is really preaching is the liberal lie that it's all a matter of cleaning out a few bad apples from the police force.

On October 31, a New Jersey superior court judge tossed out the indictments against the state troopers involved in the 1998 Turnpike shooting. Eight months earlier, an Albany court acquitted Diallo's assassins. In the eyes of the capitalist ruling class, these racist killers committed no crime: they were doing exactly what they are hired, trained and paid to do. There will be no end to police brutality short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops "serve and protect" as armed guard dogs. We fight to forge the multiracial revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the working class to power, smashing the capitalist state and erecting in its place a workers state. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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Turkey...

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oppressed Kurdish people, but also of Turkish workers and leftists. On December 9, Cafer Dereli, a Turkish immigrant who took part in a solidarity hunger strike, was murdered in the Dutch city of Rotterdam by Grey Wolves who stormed a solidarity tent.

Turkish Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Türk obscenely declared that the "operations are geared to save human life" and claimed that prisoners set themselves on fire (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 December 2000). He is backed by the imperialist press, which went to great lengths to paint Türk's bloody operation as downright necessary, even defensive in character. The *New York Times* (25 December 2000) headlined, "Behind Rage in Prisons of Turkey: Radical Bands," blaming the government's slaughter on "radical left-wing organizations" that "refused compromises." The German imperialists were even quicker to take up the Turkish government's lies. The 5 December *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported that "organizations like the militant DHKP-C wanted to keep the penal system as is because housing in large rooms makes the ideological indoctrination of their imprisoned comrades easier and keeps up the group pressure. Whether of their own free will or under pressure from their organizations, the prisoners appeared resolved to continue their protest until the bitter end."

The imperialist lies are exposed by the reality described by prisoners in the Bayrampasa women's prison: "At the onset of the operation, all the prisoners in the ventilation room chained ourselves together and we started our resistance. They poured a liquid over us and wanted to burn us all together." Another recounted: "We were not even fully dressed yet when the soldiers started shooting. We threw ourselves to the ground. Then the soldiers tried to rip holes into the roofs. Meanwhile they cursed at us without interruption. They said: 'We came to beat you to death'." Since the assault, more than 600 prisoners have been violently transported to isolation prisons where torture continues. Now 350 prisoners are on death fasts, supported by 1,600 other hunger strikers.

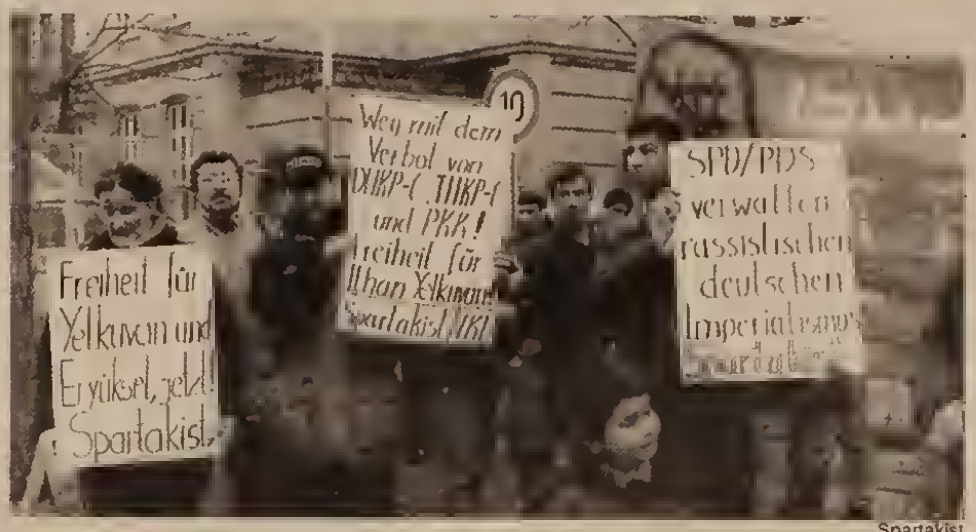
In Paris, Milano, Berlin, Hamburg and London, urgent protests were organized by Turkish leftist parties, the Guevarist DHKP-C, the Maoist TKIP and TKP/ML, and the petty-bourgeois Kurdish nationalist PKK, in which European sections of the International Communist League participated. Angry protesters assembled outside embassies, consulates and in Turkish and Kurdish neighborhoods, carrying pictures of their martyrs. At a December 23 march in Berlin, Kurdish and Turkish leftists joined in singing the "Internationale" and other working-class songs.

Our comrades stressed the need to mobilize the multiethnic proletariat in West Europe in powerful protest actions against the Turkish regime's bloody state terror against the left, as part of the struggle against racist deportations, fascist provocations and the capitalists' attacks on the working class. Especially in Germany, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Turkish and Kurdish workers are a strategic component of the working class, belonging to large trade unions in key sectors of industry. The ICL demands: *Down with the isolation prisons! Down with the anti-terror law! Free all leftist political prisoners! Free all victims of the terror of the Turkish regime! Free Abdullah Öcalan!*

No Illusions In "Human Rights" Imperialism!

Turkey has applied for membership in the European Union (EU) but has been prevented from joining under the pretext of not meeting the imperialists' "human rights" standards. So now the European social-democratic parties like the ex-Stalinist Rifondazione Comunista (RC) in Italy and the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) in Germany are demonstrating their loyalty to their own bourgeoisies by pushing for intervention by Turkey's imperialist allies. RC's social-patriotic statement called on the Italian government to "immediately promote an international action in Turkey and to stop the process of Turkey entering the European Union" (*Il Manifesto*, 21 December 2000). Similarly, PDS Bundestag [parliament] member Carsten Hübner declared in a 19 December press release that "the EU should unambiguously make clear to Turkey that this approach calls into question her EU candidate status" and pointed out that "a reform of the justice system was made a basic condition for entering the EU."

In fact, the Turkish government's introduction of isolation prisons *is a result* of pressure from the imperialist European Union. The "F-type" prisons are modeled after the infamous "Stammheim" isolation prison built by Germany's Social Democratic (SPD)/liberal coalition government in the 1970s, aimed mainly at the guerrillaist Red Army Faction (RAF). Both of the RAF's principal leaders, Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader, were alleged by the government to have committed suicide while under solitary confinement in Stammheim in 1976 and 1977.



Spartakist

Spartakist contingent at December 9 Hamburg protest in defense of Turkish leftist prisoners demands end to Germany's ban of Turkish and Kurdish left groups, denounces SPD/PDS administrators of racist German Imperialism.

In the name of "human rights," RC and the PDS promote a policy of imperialist subjugation of Turkey to the will of their own criminal bourgeoisies. Turkey's vicious and brutal police state, which massacres Kurds and has tens of thousands of political prisoners, serves the imperialists as the strategic base for NATO in the region, as in the war against Iraq in 1991. The Turkish regime, which has its own interests in the region, is backed to the hilt by Germany and the U.S. Meanwhile, ethnic Turks and Kurds in Germany, most of whom are denied citizenship even if they have lived there all their lives, face daily discrimination, racist state terror, deportations and fascist firebombings. The PDS itself is a direct accomplice in deportations of immigrants: in the German state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where the PDS rules in coalition with the SPD, 741 refugees have been deported since October 1998. We fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Down with racist "Fortress Europe"!*

Kurdish protests in West Europe against Öcalan's arrest two years ago were met with murderous repression, in which several were killed and scores injured. In Germany, the PKK, DHKP-C and another Turkish left group, the THKP-C, are banned and criminalized as "terrorist" organizations. The Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, defends these organizations against capitalist state repression—whether in Germany or Turkey. The criminalization of Turkish and Kurdish militants in Germany is aimed at splitting the working class along ethnic and national lines. We demand: *Down with the ban on the PKK, DHKP-C and THKP-C! Free all leftist political prisoners!*

The Turkish leftist and Kurdish nationalist organizations, too, harbor illusions in the imperialist European Union, as well as in the social-democratic parties that rule in most of Europe today and are responsible for racist state terror and drastic austerity measures against the working class. The Committee for Struggle Against Torture Through Isolation (IKM), which is supported by the DHKP-C, the TKIP and the TKP/ML, issued an appeal on December 20: "We call on the governments of the EU, the human rights organizations, as well as all parties that don't want to share responsibility for these cruel murders to protest immediately and to send delegations of observers to Turkey." The PKK-affiliated Kurdish Information Center in Italy issued a statement for a December 22 demonstration in Rome which states that "on the one hand, the international community should immediately move to stop the massacre in the prisons and impose a generalized amnesty, and on the other hand to stop the Turkish military aggression against Iraqi Kurdistan."

We are opposed to such calls on the imperialists. The European and American imperialist powers are no friends of the oppressed! Take a look at the 1999 imperialist war against Serbia. In the name of "human rights" and "self-determination for Kosovo," the U.S., Britain, France, Germany and Italy bombed Serbia. Now Kosovo is occupied by NATO troops and pogroms are being carried out against Roma (Gypsies) and Serbs. *All imperialist troops out of the Balkans now!*

For Permanent Revolution!

While defending the DHKP-C, TKIP and TKP/ML and the PKK against state terror, we oppose the political programs of these organizations. They adhere to a petty-bourgeois guerrillaist strategy, combined in the case of the Maoist and Guevarist groups with the Stalinist/Menshevik dogma of "two-stage revolution" (first a "democratic" revolution and later—i.e., never—a socialist one). This concept has again and again led to terrible defeats for the proletariat, as in Indonesia in 1965 or Chile in 1973. At the root of this concept is the idea of "democratizing" Turkey while leaving the rule of the Turkish bourgeoisie intact. This is a dangerous illusion in a backward country like Turkey, which is heavily dependent on imperialism. The Turkish Stalinist organizations have no revolutionary program with which to mobilize the multinational working class of Turkey, the only class with the power to overthrow the Turkish bourgeoisie and construct a socialist society where those who labor rule. Though such groups can carry out courageous actions, to be victorious in the struggle to sweep away the police-state regime requires the forging of a revolutionary leadership of the working class.

The combativity of the working class was shown on December 1, when Turkey was rocked by a massive nationwide strike of public sector employees sparked by government plans to adopt austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Thousands of workers demonstrated in the capital, Ankara, and throughout the country. On December 7, miners of the Inmet copper and zinc mines in the northeastern city of Cayeli walked out on strike. Earlier, on November 11, hundreds of thousands of public sector workers took to the streets in protest against the IMF, calling as well for a general amnesty for all prisoners. This shows the potential for linking struggles in defense of workers' living standards with the fight against right-wing repression and terror.

Our communist perspective for Turkey, Kurdistan—which is divided and oppressed by four capitalist countries—and the Near East is based on Trotsky's program of permanent revolution. In countries with belated capitalist development (like Turkey today or tsarist Russia), the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—like agrarian revolution, national independence for the Kurds or basic rights for women—can only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasant masses (see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," *WV* Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September 2000). The bourgeoisies in Turkey and the Near East are completely dependent upon imperialism and fear any challenge to their power by the working class. Permanent revolution was given flesh and blood by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks in 1917, when they led the multinational working class in Russia in smashing capitalism, tearing down the tsarist prison house of peoples and laying the basis for eradicating all forms of oppression. *We fight to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties in Turkey and the Near East, sections of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International, which are tribunes of all the oppressed! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

Workers of Turkish and Kurdish origin are a militant and key component of Germany's working class, working in the strategic metal and chemical industries. These workers can be a living bridge linking the fight for Kurdish independence and socialist revolution in Turkey and the Near East to workers rule in the industrialized West. In Europe, the ICL fights to build multiethnic revolutionary workers parties in the tradition of the Bolsheviks which will lead the proletariat to the overthrow of imperialism. *For workers revolutions from Berlin and London to Ankara and throughout the Near East! Reforge the Fourth International!* ■

Available in Turkish

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International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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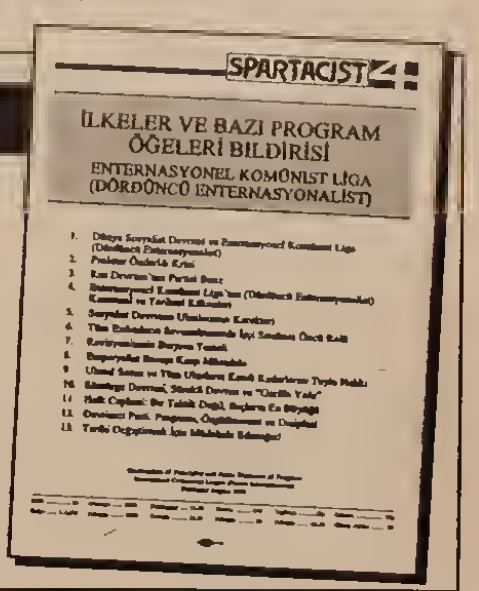
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İLKELER VE BAZI PROGRAM ÖĞELERİ BİLDİRİSİ
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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Racial Profiling": Business as Usual in Racist America

Sheerbell/SABA

New Jersey

From Birmingham to Buffalo, Los Angeles to New York, stopping, frisking, beating, shooting and choking black men and women for "driving while black," "walking while black" and even "breathing while black" are standard police procedure. Over the past couple of years, however, with the ghettos and barrios simmering over a series of high-profile racist atrocities, capitalist politicians—not only liberal Democrats but a wide swath of Republicans as well—have suddenly "discovered" and taken to hypocritically denouncing "racial profiling."

When three New Jersey state troopers pumped eleven bullets into a van carrying four unarmed black and Hispanic students on their way to college basketball tryouts in October 1998, state officials feverishly denied what every black person knew—that driving on the New Jersey Turnpike meant cop harassment, arrest or worse. Meanwhile, these same officials were busy concealing evidence of just how routinely black and Hispanic motorists were singled out. Some 91,000 pages of recently released state documents reveal that black or Hispanic drivers accounted for at least eight of ten auto searches carried out on the Turnpike over the past decade. For his role in the cover-up, state attorney general Peter Verniero was rewarded by Republican governor Christine Whitman with appointment to the state Supreme Court. A couple of years earlier, Whitman got in on the action herself, frisking a black man who had been arbitrarily stopped by state cops and then released after she got her vile photo-op.

For black Democrats like Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson and the reformists who trail behind them, the answer to racist cop terror has been appeals to the Clinton administration and Janet Reno's Justice Department to oversee city and state police forces. But as the saying goes, "The fish stinks from the head." Amid the recent investigation of the New Jersey state troopers, a *New York Times* (29 November 2000) article reported: "Though states like New Jersey have been the most egregious offenders, the textbook on singling out minority drivers was written by the federal government" as part of the "war on drugs."

In 1986, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) launched "Operation Pipeline," enlisting police departments across the country to search for alleged drug traffickers on major highways. Since then the DEA and the Department of Transportation have financed a battery of programs instructing the police on the supposed ethnic and racial characteristics of "narcotics organizations." Smacking of the Nazis' racist stereotyping of "Jewish parasites," the DEA singled out people with dreadlocks and asserted that Latinos and West Indians dominated the drug trade. The Mafia and the CIA dominate

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Massacre of Leftist Prisoners in Turkey

Reuters

AP

Army helicopter over Istanbul's Umraniye prison on December 21, as government readied murderous assault on leftist hunger strikers. December 1 protest in solidarity with hunger strikers featured photo of dead prisoner.

For International Protest!

We publish below an article written by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

On December 19, Turkish troops, gendarmes and police units launched a bloody attack on 28 prisons at which over a thousand Turkish and Kurdish leftists were on a hunger strike, killing scores of prisoners and injuring many more. The hunger strike started on October 20 in protest against the government's planned transfer of prisoners from the old, dormitory-style prisons—in which leftist prisoners had some group solidarity and protection—to the new "F-type" isolation prisons where they are likely to be cruelly tortured and killed with impunity by prison guards, essentially buried alive. Although the government recently announced an amnesty law to reduce Turkey's growing prison population, it doesn't apply to leftist political prisoners. The prisoners demanded the abolition of Turkey's anti-terror law and the closure of the state security prisons. On November 19, one hundred of the prisoners decided to go on a death fast, refusing even to drink anything except water.

In its murderous attack, cynically codenamed "Operation Return to Life," the government arrayed helicopters, tanks and bulldozers against the cell blocks of leftist prisoners. In the attack on the Bayrampasa prison in Istanbul, so much tear gas was fired that it affected journalists three kilometers [two miles] away from the site! The military fired automatic rifles at the prisoners and launched tear gas, smoke bombs and gas grenades into the cells.

In cities throughout Turkey, thousands demonstrated to show their solidarity with the prisoners. The police brutally waded into these protests, arresting many people. Prisoners' family members, demanding to know what was happening to their relatives were arrested and brutally beaten up. The Turkish police are notoriously infested with the fascistic terrorist Grey Wolves, a group openly linked to the ruling party, the MHP [Nationalist Action Party]. These protests, in defiance of the right-wing police state and in open solidarity with leftist political prisoners, are a significant development.

At the time of the Turkish government's arrest of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan in February 1999, the country was swept by huge chauvinist demonstrations, emboldening the Grey Wolves. But the Grey Wolves are not only deadly enemies of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 750 19 January 2001

U.S. Imperialism: Deadly Enemy of World's Working People

AP U.S. Air Force

Left: Passenger train destroyed by U.S./NATO bombing in 1999 air war which devastated Serbia. Black Hawk helicopters (right), part of massive U.S. military aid to Colombia initiated by Clinton in name of "war on drugs." President-elect Bush looks to step up support for murderous repression in Latin America.

No Illusions in the Democrats—Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Immediately following the U.S. Supreme Court decision giving him the election, Republican president-elect George W. Bush intoned that his administration would seek "reconciliation and unity" and would represent Americans "of every race and every background." Along these lines, Bush's first cabinet appointment was retired black general Colin Powell, key architect of the 1991 Persian Gulf slaughter of Iraq under Bush Sr., as secretary of state.

But the real character of the administration was demonstrated by the subsequent nomination of a rogues' gallery of right-wing fanatics—from Donald Rumsfeld as "defense" secretary, who almost makes Vietnam War criminal Henry Kissinger look like a '60s peacenik, to interior secretary-designate Gale Norton, a militant anti-environmentalist whose mission appears to be to tear open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for Big Oil. Personifying the administration's reactionary racist cast is the proposed attorney general, John Ashcroft, a Bible-thumping anti-abortion and anti-gay bigot and devotee of the Confederacy, who in a 1998 interview with *Southern Partisan* praised the magazine for "defending Southern patriots" like Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and Jefferson Davis.

Pointing to Bush's provocative appointments and screaming that the Republicans "stole" the election, black Democrats like Jesse Jackson, and left-liberal and radical notables like Noam Chomsky, Barbara Ehrenreich and Frances Fox Piven are building for "counter-inaugural" protests on January 20 in Washington, D.C., Tallahassee, Florida and other cities. Actively organizing for these pro-Democratic Party rallies are a host of reformist left groups such as the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party, whose International Action Center declared on December 13 that the goal of the D.C. protest "is to let Bush know from the beginning that he does not have a mandate to continue his pro-rich, anti-poor policies on a national level."

But except for the legal right to abortion, the main demands of the anti-Bush protests could just as well have been directed at the Clinton-Gore White House. The call issued by Chomsky & Co. declares its opposition to "the further expansion of prisons and repressive crime laws." The number of young black men and also women in prison today, mainly on drug charges, is far greater than it was eight years ago when Clinton was inaugurated, replacing Bush Sr. Yet Jesse Jackson and other black bourgeois politicians were for years among the biggest boosters of the racist "war on drugs," although recently muting this line while condemning the "prison-industrial complex." As Marxists, we call for the *decriminalization of drugs* as well as prostitution and other "crimes without victims."

The protest call also condemns "the use of the death penalty." Here there really is no difference between the leadership of the Republicans and the Democrats. In 1992, Clinton interrupted his campaign in order to go back to Arkansas to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man. And in the recent campaign, Gore reaffirmed his support for the death penalty, racist legal lynching which is rooted in the heritage of black chattel slavery.

Significantly, the organizers of the "counter-inaugural" affair have focused on domestic issues—repression against black people, abortion rights—and have little quarrel with current American foreign policy. They are not calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, supposedly serving as "peacekeepers," in the Balkans. They are not calling for an end to Washington's military aid to Zionist Israel, now brutally intensifying the murderous repression of the Palestinian Arab people. They are not even raising their usual reformist, pacifistic demand to cut the Pentagon budget in order to increase social spending.

It is not at all surprising that these protests have little or nothing to say about U.S. imperialist militarism abroad. In recent years, it has been liberals and many so-called leftists who have been the foremost advocates of "human rights" imperialism. From Somalia to Kosovo, they demanded and supported U.S. military intervention in the name of "humanitarian" concerns. Anti-"globalization" protests in Seattle and Washington, D.C. called on the U.S. government to protect the poor people of "Third World" countries from the predations of "transnational" corporations.

In reality, the American imperialist state—the Pentagon, the CIA—is the main political agency for Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations in exploiting and oppressing the rest of the world. Moreover, every major war fought by U.S. imperialism in the past century was launched under Democratic presidents in the name of liberal ideals. The Democrats can mobilize far wider support for such wars, particularly among workers and the black population, than the Republicans, who are viewed as the party of "big business" and white racism.

In building the anti-Bush protests, the liberals and fake socialists are playing on anger among black people who feel that they were robbed of their right to vote, and not only in Florida, where thousands were intimidated from voting and others had their ballots invalidated. But

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Young Spartacus

Defend Abortion Rights! Free Abortion on Demand!

See Page Four

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No Faith in Capitalist "Justice"

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WV Photo

The following are excerpts from Spartacist League spokesman Ed Kartsen's presentation at the Partisan Defense Committee's annual Holiday Appeal benefit for class-war prisoners in New York City on 2 December 2000.

Four years after the 1927 execution of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, a legal case would bring to national and international attention the anti-black racism which is at the core of capitalist rule in America. Nine young black men in Alabama were accused of raping two young white women. They were called the Scottsboro Boys.

These young men were put on trial and convicted repeatedly in spite of the fact that there was no crime committed, that there was no evidence of a crime. One of the alleged rape victims even recanted her testimony and confirmed that there was no rape.

In 1937, charges against four of them were dropped. The remaining five struggled with life in the hellholes of Alabama prisons. The nightmare for these young black men didn't end until 1950, when the last one got out of Alabama and away from the sadistic prison guards and rat-infested cells.

Racism and anti-communism are the true doctrines of the rule of American capitalist "democracy." In the 1960s and '70s, the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program, COINTELPRO, targeted radical organizations for disruption and victimization. In the case of the Black Panther Party (BPP), this program was carried out with the intent of exterminating the Panther leadership. There were 233 secret COINTELPRO operations against the BPP. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover pledged at the time: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries."

Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has been a courageous and eloquent voice speaking out against the injustices of the racist rulers, was placed on the FBI's "security index" of subversives in 1970, when he was minister of information of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party. After being framed up on false charges of killing a cop, Mumia was convicted not on the basis of evidence but on the basis of his political beliefs. The prosecutor urged that he be sentenced to death for his uttering the simple truth, as a member of the Black Panthers, that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

As in the Scottsboro case, the facts that prove his innocence have had no effect on the courts and the racist capitalist state, which see him as the personification of the threat of what the slaveholders called servile insurrection. Those who call for a "new trial" for Mumia, like the International Socialist Organization, promote faith in the same courts that repeatedly sent the Scottsboro Boys back to prison. They push the lie that the courts will provide Mumia with a fair trial.

We reject this sniveling capitulation to the myth that racist capitalism can provide justice for Mumia in particular or for black people in general. It is the power of the multiracial working class that must be mobilized as the decisive force in the struggle to free Mumia! We demand the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all the class-war prisoners!

Those who advocate faith in the capitalist courts are helping to cover up the fact that these courts and the whole capitalist government are racist through and through. The cops that shot at Amadou Diallo 41 times were acquitted because the racist rulers thought that they were simply doing their job. This government uses its cops and courts to maintain a boot on the neck of black people, labor and all of those oppressed by capitalism.

The racist union-busting of the American ruling class in the U.S. is the domestic side of its imperialist policies abroad. It provides the military hardware for the bloody slaughter of Palestinians by the Zionist state. It strangles Iraq with a blockade that has killed over a million children. It has targeted China for capitalist restoration and the crushing of the Chinese working class. Its economic rivalries threaten world war and the destruction of civilization.

Class-conscious workers organized into an international revolutionary party are the only force that can stop the imperialist machinery of death abroad and at home. This is the only force that can stay the hand of the racist legal lynchers who intend to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal. This is the only force that can put an end to over a century of bloody imperialist destruction, genocide, brutality and racism. Organized into a revolutionary workers party, this force will conquer power in the final conflict and open the way for the construction of socialism.

Let us take this occasion to strengthen our determination and resolution to stand with the class-war prisoners and carry the fight for the liberation of society forward. Build a revolutionary workers party! Fight for a socialist future!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Proletarian State Power Versus Bourgeois Democracy

The rampant discrimination against black voters in the recent U.S. elections has caused deep anger in the black population. While we communists are the staunchest defenders of the democratic rights workers and oppressed minorities have secured under capitalism, we understand that bourgeois (parliamentary) democracy disguises the reality of the domination of the exploiters over the exploited, which in the U.S. is also defined by the brutal segregation of black people at the bottom of society. Our goal, as stated in a document written by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin for the founding of the Communist International, is a proletarian revolution which expropriates the capitalist class and establishes a government of democratically elected workers councils (soviets), a transition to a world communist society in which there will be no classes and no state.

In explaining the class nature of bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy, and the bourgeois parliamentary system, all socialists have expressed the idea formulated with the greatest scientific precision by Marx and Engels, namely, that the most democratic bourgeois republic is no more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the working people by a handful of capitalists. There is not a single revolutionary, not a single Marxist among those now shouting against dictatorship and for democracy who has not sworn and vowed to the workers that he accepts this basic truth of socialism. But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is in a fighting mood and taking action to destroy this machine of oppression and to establish proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism claim that the bourgeoisie have granted the working people "pure democracy," have abandoned resistance, and are prepared to yield to the majority of the working people. They assert that in a democratic republic there is not and never has been any such thing as a state machine for the oppression of labor by capital....

Only the soviet organization of the state can really effect the immediate breakup and total destruction of the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial machinery, which has been, and has inevitably had to be, retained under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, and which is, in actual fact, the greatest obstacle to the practical implementation of democracy for the workers and the working people generally. The Paris Commune took the first epoch-making step along this path. The soviet system has taken the second.

Destruction of state power is the aim set by all socialists, including Marx above all. Genuine democracy, i.e., liberty and equality, is unrealizable unless this aim is achieved. But its practical achievement is possible only through soviet, or proletarian democracy, for by enlisting the mass organizations of the working people in constant and unfailing participation in the administration of the state, it immediately begins to prepare the complete withering away of any state.

—V.I. Lenin, "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 750 **19 January 2001**

Spartacist Forums

Defend the Palestinian People!

No UN Imperialist Intervention!

For Workers Revolution Against Zionist and Arab Capitalist Regimes!

Trotskyist League Forum

Wednesday, January 31, 6:30 p.m.

University of British Columbia, Room 330, Buchanan B

VANCOUVER For more information: (604) 687-0353

Democrats Are No Friends of Women's Rights

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Defend Abortion Rights! Free Abortion on Demand!

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Tuesday January 23, 7:30 p.m.

Hamilton Hall, Room 609, Columbia University

NEW YORK For more information: (212) 267-1025

ISO Peddles Illusions in Capitalist "Democracy"

For the International Socialist Organization (ISO), 2000 was the Year of the Donkey. It began with the ISO changing the main demand of its Campaign to End the Death Penalty from the call for abolition to the slogan "Moratorium Now!" in an effort to appeal to Democratic Party politicians like Illinois Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. Then these reformists threw themselves wholeheartedly into support for bourgeois Green Party candidate Ralph Nader, lyingly portraying his campaign as a break from the capitalist Democrats. Nader's rhetoric about "corporate greed" and "alternative" politics was designed to refurbish the image of the capitalist electoral system and to pressure the Democratic Party to adopt a more "progressive" stance.

But the Nader campaign blew up in the ISO's face when the vote totals came in and the liberals they cater to began screaming that Nader had thrown the election to the Republican Bush. Anxiously, the ISO changed tack to come out more openly in support of the Democrats. Under the headline "Governor Death Tries to Steal the White House—What a Fraud!" the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (10 November 2000) breathlessly recounted how it "held up its deadline to 5 a.m. Wednesday, and then 5 a.m. Thursday, and we still didn't know whether George W. Bush would keep a tiny edge of 1,655 votes in Florida." As *Socialist Worker* (24 November 2000) proclaimed, "We need to fight for real democracy," the ISO became some of the best builders of the nationwide pro-Gore "count every vote" rallies. In San Francisco on November 11, one of several ISO speakers began by asking the crowd not to throw anything at him because he had voted for Nader, and ISOers joined in chants of "Gore got more!"

From campaigning for Nader to its calls for "real democracy" in the direct service of the Democrats, the ISO has

WV Photo

ISO joins pro-Gore rally in Chicago's Daley Plaza, November 11.

Mitchell/Chicago Defender

Eyes on the prize: ISOers Alice Kim (right), head of Chicago Campaign to End the Death Penalty, and Keeanga Taylor embraced by Democratic Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr.

been perpetrating its own fraud. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but the dictatorship of the tiny class of capitalists over the exploited and oppressed. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote in *State and Revolution* (1918): "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—that is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics."

Stripped of its democratic trappings, the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence, consisting at its core of the police, army, courts and prisons, for maintaining capitalist property and profits. The capitalist state cannot be reformed or pressured into serving the interests of the working class but must be swept away through a socialist revolution, led by a vanguard workers party, that creates a workers state and expropriates the bourgeoisie as a class.

Seeking to pressure the capitalist state is precisely the program of the ISO, Workers World Party and other reformist left groups which are joining with Democratic Party liberals in building the January 20 "counter-inaugural" protests against Bush in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere. With slogans like "Free the black vote!" the reformists seek to tap into the just outrage among black people over the racist barriers they faced in trying to exercise their right to vote last November. Among all the attempts to manipulate the Florida vote, black people were particularly targeted: stopped by police roadblocks or otherwise prevented from entering polling stations, denied a ballot because they had served jail sentences even if they had a voter registration card. In many black precincts in Chicago, as many as one in six ballots were tossed out. This is ***business as usual*** in racist America, where millions of black men—139,000 in Florida alone—are denied suffrage due to felony convictions, many of them resulting from the racist, bipartisan "war on drugs."

The disenfranchisement of black voters in the elections is a bitter pill to swallow for black people, who are deeply conscious that it took the massive civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s to win the right to vote and other democratic rights. Those rights were gained *against* the Democratic Party in the South—the Dixiecrats—their sheriffs and KKK lynch mob terrorists. While the liberal black leadership represented by Martin Luther King Jr. sought to contain these struggles within the framework of bourgeois politics, particularly by tying the movement to the federal government under Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the Spartacist League intervened to win militants away from the dead ends of Democratic Party liberalism and black nationalism. We raised the call for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party as an expression of the political independence of the working class and the need to mobilize the labor movement to fight for black emancipation.

The politics of Democratic Party "lesser evilism" pushed by the trade-union tops, the liberal black bourgeois politicians and the reformist left perpetuate the racist hell that American society is for black people and all the oppressed. The Democratic Clinton White House oversaw the end of "welfare as we know it" and other attacks on the black poor; the massive speedup on death row and the unprecedented growth of incarceration to over 2,000,000 people, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic; the imperialist war against Serbia and repeated bombing raids against Iraq.

As defenders of the democratic rights which working people and oppressed minorities have won through struggle, we are not indifferent to the fact that, despite Gore receiving a small majority in the popular vote, Bush got the presidency based on a Supreme Court diktat and his majority in the Electoral College. We favor direct popular election of the president just as we favor proportional representation: political parties should be represented in Congress in relation to their strength among voters. But such democratic reforms would not change by one iota the class character of the American state as a capitalist dictatorship.

For the social-democratic ISO, however, "democracy" is the be-all and end-all of their program. A *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2000) article titled "An Alternative to Their Undemocratic System" notes that "even if the system worked properly, the U.S. electoral process has nothing to do with the democratic motto of 'one person, one vote'," declaring, "Ultimately, socialists stand for a system that will ensure real democracy—by running society through workers' councils." Noting that workers councils have historically arisen in the course of class struggle, the ISO writes, "These councils can grow over naturally into governing bodies that make decisions about society."

What the ISO completely leaves out of this scenario is the need for the working class to *seize state power*. The only society ever ruled by workers councils was Soviet Russia, and that required a social revolution which destroyed the power of the capitalist ruling class, expropriated its property and ruthlessly suppressed attempts to restore the capitalist order. *The ABC of Communism*, written by Bolsheviks Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky in 1919, forthrightly states:

> "The Soviet Power openly proclaims its class character. It makes no attempt to conceal that it is a class power, that the Soviet State is the dictatorship of the poor.... The Soviet Power, therefore, not only proclaims its class character, but does not hesitate to deprive of electoral rights and to exclude from the instruments of power the representatives of those classes which are hostile to the proletariat and to the peasantry."

The workers state that emerged from the October Revolution was the most democratic society on the face of the planet for the working class and poor peasants, and a ***dictatorship*** over the capitalists and landlords.

Hostile imperialist encirclement and the failure of revolution to spread beyond backward Russia to the advanced capitalist world led to the consolidation of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy led by Stalin which usurped power through a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. As Trotskyists, we gave unconditional military defense to the Soviet degenerated workers state until its destruction in 1991-92 while fighting for proletarian political revolution to restore soviet democracy and defend the gains of October. In contrast, the ISO, driven by its obeisance to bourgeois democracy, hailed anti-Communist Polish Solidarność, Boris Yeltsin's capitalist-restorationist forces and every other counterrevolutionary movement backed by Western imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Even while doing donkey work for the Democrats, *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2000) lectures about "the need for the working class to play an independent and leading role in the struggle." What chutzpah! The ISO's prating about "real democracy" reinforces the very illusions that have tied the American working class to the capitalist class and its parties, especially the Democrats. The necessary precondition for any struggle against the capitalist system is the complete independence of the working class from all parties and agencies of the capitalist class. It is the task of Marxists to combat illusions in the Democratic Party "lesser evil" which are the main obstacle to the struggle to forge a workers party, the necessary instrument to lead the fight for socialist revolution.■

Young Spartacus

Defend Abortion Rights!

Free Abortion on Demand!

WV Photo

Washington, D.C.: Abortion clinic defense against "right to life" terrorists, January 1992.

Democrats Are No Friends of Women's Rights

January 22 will mark the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade* which legalized abortion nationwide. Marxists regard the level of equality of women in a society as a measure of the advancement of that society; as abortion is one of the most explosive issues in the struggle for women's equality, it is a bitter indictment of capitalist America that today we see restrictions on the right to abortion on every front. The increasing curtailments of the right to abortion reflect the policies of both the capitalist parties. Of course, to the extent that there was any differentiation at all between the Republicans and Democrats in the last elections, it was over abortion, and accordingly, many people believe that the claims of some Democratic politicians to support a woman's "right to choose" provide some assurance that this right, originally won as a result of massive social struggle, will be upheld by a sector of the ruling class.

But the "pro-choice" Democratic politicians stay far away from the reality of access to abortion. As with any democratic right in this deeply class-divided society, the "right to choose" is severely conditioned particularly for poor, minority and working-class women by the diminishing number of doctors and clinics providing abortions and the ability to pay the extravagant cost. At the same time, in this deeply religious and puritanical country the American capitalist class wages reactionary ideological campaigns aimed at socially regimenting the population. These campaigns embolden the kinds of "right to life" terrorists who have slaughtered courageous doctors and abortion clinic workers. And the aggressive crusade of the anti-woman bigots who seek to have their own religious opinions enforced as repressive laws has had a real effect on popular consciousness, so that even some youth who see themselves as "progressive" question the "morality" of abortion.

U.S. News & World Report

Reuters

Anti-abortion bigots have carried out deadly attacks on abortion clinics; an injured nurse rescued from bombed clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, 1998.

While the Democrats cynically pose as defenders of women's rights, the de facto *suppression* of the right to abortion has continued unabated even while a "pro-choice" Democrat has occupied the White House. This is evidenced by the rise in anti-abortion intimidation and terror, the diminishing number of qualified doctors and the tangle of state laws enacted to undercut the right to abortion. An indication of just how attenuated access to abortion became under the Clinton presidency is the fact that 86 percent of U.S. counties overall and 95 percent of non-metropolitan counties lack an abortion provider. The impact of anti-abortion violence finds its measure in the 14 percent drop between 1992 and 1996 in the number of doctors who perform abortions (Alan Guttmacher Institute Web site, 2000). The 1992 Supreme Court ruling in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* permitted the states to "regulate" abortion such that in 1999 alone, 70 bills restricting abortion were enacted in 34 states. Such laws span a range from "conscience clauses" allowing health care workers to refuse to participate in abortions, to parental consent requirements for minors seeking abortions, bans on late-term abortions and mandatory waiting periods.

Women in the U.S. have spent 12 years waiting for the government approval of the safe and effective non-surgical abortion method, the RU 486 pill. Last September's approval of the drug, mifepristone, held out the promise that women could inexpensively get an early abortion as privately as possible and without having to run a gauntlet of rabid "right to lifers" outside an abortion clinic. However, with the existing restrictions on abortion and the added restrictions that came with the Food and Drug Administration's approval of RU 486, it is unlikely that this will make early abortion any cheaper, or significantly more widely available. The drug will not be available at pharmacies, only through doctors who sign up with the supplier, and at first will cost about $300, according to the doctors who ran the clinical trials of the drug. The FDA requires that any doctor who provides the drug be able to provide a surgical abortion or have an agreement with another doctor or clinic that can provide an abortion—already a huge restriction given the dearth of abortion providers. In addition, there are several states with laws that apply to all forms of abortion, surgical or not, such as requirements that the doctor be licensed as an abortion provider and that their facilities meet the requirements applying to surgical suites.

Deadly "god squad" bigots have already vowed to wield their terror against doctors prescribing RU 486, as a statement from the president of the Texas-based anti-abortion group Life Dynamics shows: "Physicians who perform chemical abortions will be identified, labeled, exposed, stigmatized, ostracized and in every way treated exactly the same as conventional abortionists" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 November 2000). Already a Web site named the "RU-486 Registry" has been set up, promising to list doctors who prescribe the drug and in some cases even the names of their children and the schools they attend. This is akin to existing "right to life" Web sites which provide what are essentially hit lists of abortion providers, with the names ominously crossed off when a doctor is killed. In the days following the FDA approval, anti-abortion legislators introduced an act further restricting RU 486, and Bush has already stated his support for a Congressional move to limit the use of the drug.

Another sinister wedge in the campaign against abortion rights is a series of legal measures serving to "protect the rights of the unborn." In the fall of 1999 the "Unborn Victims of Violence Act" was passed by the House of Representatives which would amend the federal criminal code to create a separate and special offense if the death or bodily injury of an "unborn child" is caused while committing a federal crime. The anti-abortion bigots who would be happy to see women die butchered in back-alley abortions are claiming that this bill serves to defend pregnant women from violent attack. In fact it is aimed at establishing the concept of "fetal rights" as a basis for the eventual repeal of abortion rights and the prosecution of women for their conduct during pregnancy.

Such prosecution is already occurring. According to the *New York Times* article "Should a Fetus's Well-Being Override a Mother's Rights?" (9 September 2000), some 200 women in 30 states have been prosecuted based on legal theories of "fetal abuse." This includes a woman in Georgia being charged with murder for the death of her premature baby because she had tested positive for cocaine—she had also received no prenatal care. In October of last year, an important case against the city of Charleston, South Carolina was brought to the Supreme Court on behalf of a group of mostly black women whose urine was secretly tested for drug use by hospital staff in an obstetrics clinic in 1989. The positive test results were turned over to local police and prosecutors and several women were literally dragged bleeding from their hospital beds and arrested immediately after the births of their children.

These attacks on women under the guise of "protecting the fetus" are justified with the theory that the fetus is a

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

human with a "soul" present from conception. The Catholic church invented this idea of the fetus as a human being endowed with a soul (though Augustine established that the male fetus acquires a soul 40 days earlier than the female), and its position on whether abortion is murder or not vacillated over the centuries. As materialists, we do not consider humans as separate from the rest of the animal kingdom and thus do not believe that the "soul" exists.

Democrats: No Defenders of Women's Rights!

It is in the context of widespread attacks on women's rights that Al Gore was able to pose as Clinton's heir apparent as a defender of abortion rights in his campaign for the imperial presidency against George W. Bush last year. Indeed, the only significant difference between these two defenders of capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racist oppression was Gore's defense of the "right to choose." Feminist and abortion rights advocacy groups, including the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) and Planned Parenthood, poured millions of dollars into the bourgeois electoral campaign on behalf of Gore and other Democrats around the country. This included aiming to win over "Republican and Independent women" who support abortion rights but were either unaware of Bush's staunchly "pro-life" positions or skeptical that he would actually pursue these if elected. It is this layer of mostly white, middle-class women—who have no problem with the mainstream, racist American status quo, but who are alienated by the anti-woman campaigns of the religious bigots—that led bourgeois politicians to begin posturing as "pro-choice" in the late '80s. It was understood that elections could be won on this basis, and this was largely the case in Clinton's 1992 election victory.

Precisely because politicians have figured out that smearing abortion as "murder" doesn't go over too well with many middle-class women, Bush largely underplayed his anti-abortion positions in the election campaign. As the *New York Times* (27 October 2000) noted, "Mr. Bush has done a masterful job of neutralizing, if not burying, an issue that has tormented past Republican nominees, who are often torn between the party's anti-abortion base and the independent suburban voters who decide elections." Despite Bush's posturing in the lead-up to the elections, there is little doubt that his presidency will represent a real threat to the right to abortion. Thus he supported a constitutional amendment that would outlaw abortion except in cases of rape, incest or endangerment of the life of a pregnant woman. Bush's nomination of Tommy Thompson, anti-abortion governor of Wisconsin and the architect of the most draconian "welfare reform" program in the country, to the position of secretary of health and human services is quite sinister. And the racist and virulently anti-abortion John Ashcroft, if made attorney general, could lead a drive to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

The liberals and feminists who worked overtime to get Gore elected would have you believe that the only hope for defending abortion rights is to place faith in the likes of Clinton, Gore and the Democratic Party. What exemplifies Clinton and Gore's regard for women's rights is not their tepid "pro-choice" rhetoric at election time, but what they ***did*** as president and vice president over eight years—literally starving millions of women and children through their racist drive to "end welfare as we know it," their assault on Medicaid which has made any sort of health care even more inaccessible to poor and working women and their implementation of a host of anti-abortion measures including renewing the decision to deny federal funds for abortions except in cases of rape, incest or life endangerment.

The feminists' and liberals' support to the Democratic Party has meant that these and other attacks on women's rights have been met with little to no protest while the Democrats have held office. In the wake of the heinous murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian in 1998, the feminists of organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) got busy long enough to stump for various "pro-choice," pro-death penalty Democratic Party politicians at a couple of token rallies. Of course they sought to defuse any impulse toward mass social protest or militant clinic defense actions. For the feminists, having the Democrats in power means that not rocking the boat is of utmost importance, and small matter that the vile and murderous anti-abortion bigots are emboldened when their attacks are not met with significant protest.

It was unusual that Hollywood, which normally steers clear of such "controversial" issues, recently produced a poignant film adaptation of John Irving's novel *The Cider House Rules*. The story portrays a courageous doctor performing abortions in Maine in the 1940s and is a powerful defense of the right to abortion, driving home the point that the absence of this right literally condemns women to death. However, the depiction of Dr. Larch in idyllic Maine when abortion was illegal in the 1940s stands in stark contrast to what the life of an abortion doctor looks like today, in the age of legalized abortion. Providing abortions is literally a life-threatening occupation in this country, and those who continue to perform them are endowed with extraordinary courage and ideological conviction. A clinic director in Boulder, Colorado, Dr. Warren Hern, states: "I walk out of my office and the first thing I do is look at the parking garage that the hospital built two doors away and see if there is a sniper on the roof. I basically expect to be shot any day" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 10 November 1998). Among the necessary equipment in a typical abortion clinic are bulletproof glass and vests, pistols and clinic staff armed with baseball bats, stun guns and pepper spray.

The terrorist "right to life" forces that murder, bomb, intimidate and harass are the extralegal arm of the "moral" crusades orchestrated by the ruling class. As opposed to the liberals and feminists who call on the cops and courts to defend abortion clinics under the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, we understand that such laws do less than nothing to stop the mobs besieging clinics and can be, and have been, used against clinic defenders, picketing strikers and leftist protesters. We call for mass mobilizations to defend the clinics, backed up by the social power of labor in defense of women's rights.

Just last year, Clinton's Justice Department took over a local case in Florida against Dr. James Pendergraft, a black doctor who runs five clinics around the state and openly advertises his services including performing late-term abortions. A forthright defender of abortion, he defiantly draped a huge American flag outside his newly opened clinic in the town of Ocala, where the previous abortion clinic was burned to the ground in 1989. He is currently charged with lying under oath and extortion after he sued the town of Ocala for failing to protect his clinic from anti-abortion harassment. Facing up to 30 years in prison, the loss of his medical license and a massive fine, what was construed as "extortion" by the authorities was his verbal statement that he would bankrupt the county during negotiations with city officials as part of his lawsuit. Like him, Dr. LeRoy Carhart of Nebraska refuses to be cowed by anti-abortion forces that purchased the building that houses his clinic and are now seeking to evict him. Having successfully challenged a state ban on late-term abortions last year, he states: "They figured if they couldn't make abortion illegal through the courts, they would run me out of town.... It's just a fight that's worth fighting is how I put it" (*New York Times*, 7 November 2000).

Abortion is a politically explosive issue because it raises the question of the equality of women. This simple and safe medical procedure provides women with some control over whether or not to have children. For this reason it is viewed as a threat to the institution of the family which is a crucial prop for the system of capitalist exploitation. The Spartacus Youth Clubs and Spartacist League uphold the right to abortion as a necessary measure for women's health and well-being. We reject the fundamental acceptance of the religious bigots' premise that abortion is immoral which is implicit in statements by even "pro-choice" politicians, such as Clinton and Gore's opining that abortion should be "rare" or Nader's concern for "preventing the necessity of abortion." Under capitalism, working-class and poor women are daily denied the right to basic health care, access to contraception and the means to adequately feed, house and educate their children. It is this system and its rulers which condemn an estimated 78,000 women to die yearly worldwide as the result of back-alley abortions, which represent 13 percent of pregnancy-related deaths (Alan Guttmacher Institute Web site, 2000). Approximately 20 million of the 46 million abortions performed annually occur in countries with highly restrictive abortion laws—for wealthy women it is merely a question of paying for a safe abortion; for the masses of working-class and poor women, it means risking their lives.

In order for safe and legal abortion to become a reality for working-class, minority and immigrant women, we call for ***free abortion on demand***. In the United States, with its for-profit health care system, as of 1997 the average cost of a nonhospital first trimester abortion was $316, with the charge jumping to $618 at 16 weeks of gestation and $1,109 at 20 weeks. In addition to restrictions on the use of federal funds for abortion, currently 32 states restrict state funding for abortions under Medicaid to cases of rape, incest or life endangerment and an additional two states restrict funding to cases of life endangerment only. The call for free abortion on demand cannot be isolated from the fight for decent living conditions, free health care and childcare. Nor can it be separated from the fight against the state, the family and religious institutions which keep the working class shackled to capitalist exploitation, the source of all manifestations of oppression.

VAAP

Petrograd, March 1917: Women at demonstration in support of workers soviets (councils) raise banner demanding eight-hour workday. Demonstrations by women workers sparked 1917 Russian Revolution.

Women's Liberation: Marxism vs. Feminism

The deep-seated oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family which arose alongside the advent of private property as a mechanism for passing property on from one generation to the next—the monogamous wife ensures the paternity of the heirs. This is what Friedrich Engels termed the "world historical defeat of the female sex" in his groundbreaking book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884). For the capitalist class the family is of value in ensuring its own "legitimate" heirs, but why is it then supposed to be normative for the working class, which has no property to transmit? The institution of the family serves as a bedrock of social conservatism which the bourgeoisie uses to ensure the habit of obedience to authority. Together with religion, the family serves to instill a morality which proscribes anything that deviates from the family ideal—from premarital to gay sex. Women and men are thus fearful and docile and children obedient and often guilt-ridden—and this vulnerability and regard for "morality" is very useful to the capitalists in beating back any struggle against their system. Anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry stem from the strong sexual stereotypes that are required according to the traditional division of labor in the family.

As Marxists we seek to replace the functions of the family which cannot be abolished—that of the care and feeding of the working class and raising the next generation. In order to remove the burdens associated with child rearing, we seek to establish communal facilities for housework and provide free, 24-hour childcare. This is in line with the measures the Bolsheviks enacted in the interest of the liberation of women after the 1917 Russian Revolution. Only in this way can women be freed to fully participate in social and political life and the basis for anti-woman bigotry be destroyed. This will also remove the economic need and stifling moralism that force couples to get together or stay together. However, these rational measures cannot be put into place without a socialist revolution that does away with the capitalist system of production for the profit of a tiny minority and replaces it with a collectivized and planned economy. Only such an economy can provide the material basis required for this reorganization of society.

The Marxist understanding of women's oppression as rooted materially in class society is diametrically opposed to the outlook of feminism, which is fundamentally a variant of bourgeois ideology, positing the main social division as one of sex and not class. Feminists see women's oppression as a set of bad ideas and policies stemming from male supremacy, not as something integral to class-divided society. While some feminists recognize class inequality, it is no coincidence that they generally look to the capitalist state and its rulers to secure rights for women, because they really believe that women's oppression can be eradicated within the

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Abortion...

(continued from page 5)

framework of capitalism. The main goal for feminists is formal equality under the law and political representation for women, seeking to equalize the position of upper-class women within the existing society.

While sexual oppression cuts across class lines, as does racial oppression, it is futile to look to the women who represent the ruling class as some kind of ally in the fight for women's liberation, precisely because their *class* interests are primary. Their class interests cannot be served without the existence of the family as a prop for capitalism. It is generally the case that if feminists today consider their working-class "sisters" at all, they feel liberal guilt. In fact they feel more of an affinity for a "sister" like Hillary Clinton. As Marxists, we fight for the equality of women, but unlike the feminists we understand that even the most minimal gains for working people, women and minorities have been achieved only as a result of social struggle, not through the ballot box, and certainly not through lobbying Congress or arguing before the Supreme Court. We also understand that these gains remain entirely reversible so long as the capitalist system remains in place.

As criminal as it is that the feminists and liberals rely on the capitalist Democratic Party to defend women's rights, at least this is consistent with their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class outlook. However, an organization that purports to have a working-class outlook and even claims to be revolutionary, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), fundamentally shares the same program as the feminists. In supporting the candidacy of capitalist Green Party politician Ralph Nader in the elections last year, the ISO was compelled to polemicize against NOW and assorted feminists for their criticism of Nader's statement to Katha Pollitt of the *Nation* that abortion is "a settled issue" and that "We're not going back to the back alley again. Pro-choicers are too strong." Surely the feminists' main reason for going after Nader was not that his position differed fundamentally from the Democrats', which it didn't, but their fear that Nader would sap votes from their preferred candidate Gore. However, the ISO took the bait and, as the loyal supporters that they were to Nader, made a whole series of apologies for Nader's dangerous remarks while advising him to "place more emphasis on fighting against explicitly sexual and racial oppression" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 September 2000). The ISO tried to make Nader palatable to blacks and women, asserting that "Nader, in other words, believes in the power of broad-based movements to win social change" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 September 2000). The ISO merely provided a left-sounding cover to an openly capitalist politician whose candidacy was nothing more than an attempt to pressure the Democratic Party. So if the feminists were doing "dirty work for Gore" as the ISO claimed, then they themselves were up to their necks in the same muck, albeit under a different guise. When it became apparent in November that Nader had in fact potentially cost Gore the election, the ISO had no compunction about dropping all their left-sounding criticisms of Gore and the Democrats in order to do penance by joining in pro-Gore rallies, chanting "Gore got more!"

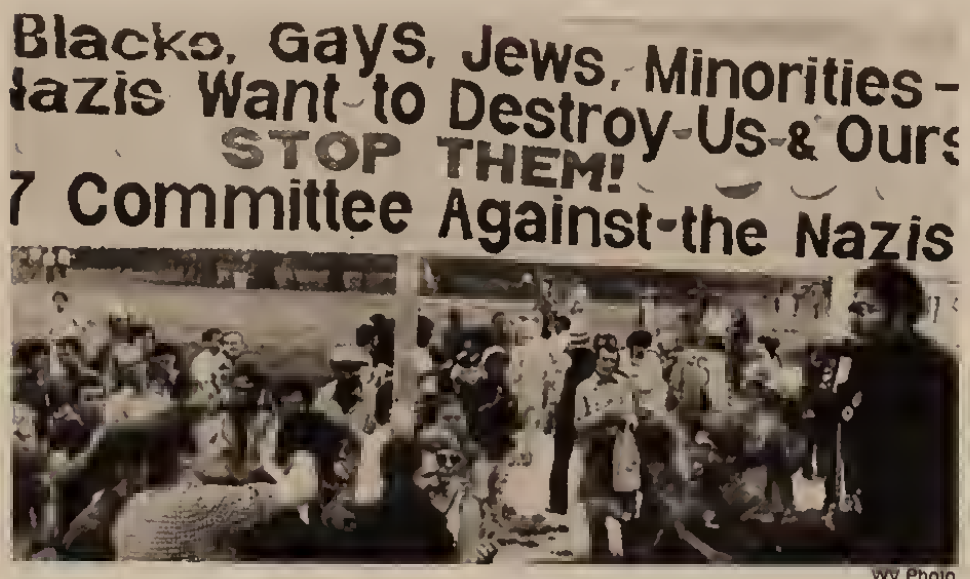
In an October 13 *Socialist Worker* article titled "Will Gore Protect the Right to Choose?" the ISO went to some lengths to convince those who, unlike Nader, cared about the issue of abortion, that "voting for Al Gore won't guarantee a woman's right to choose." But the article shares the feminists' reformist premise that the ultimate solution can be achieved within the framework of capitalism. The concluding paragraph states: "The real power to defend our rights or win changes in society

Paul Keating

Carter speaking in Buffalo church in 1976; Democrat Carter brought religious right to mainstream politics after Vietnam War.

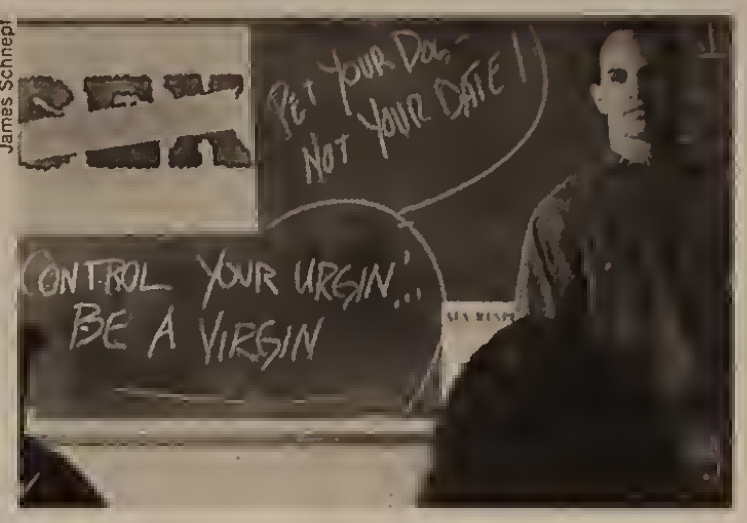
lies not in voting for a Democrat but in building a movement that can put pressure on the politicians—Republican or Democrat—elected legislators or unelected judges, to do what we want." But all the pressure in the world will not make capitalism able to provide women's liberation, an end to racial oppression or "real democracy" without having to smash capitalism!

The ISO fosters the conception common among political youth that whatever happens in society is because of the guys at the top. In contrast, the SYC understands that power in society resides in the working class, which creates the wealth, and that the limited and reversible reforms benefiting workers and the oppressed under capitalism come about because the ruling class fears the spectre of revolution. The fight for women's rights must be generalized and broadened into the struggle to smash the capitalist system as a whole. The vacillation on the



WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated mobilization in Chicago, June 1982, brought out 3,000 to stop Nazi provocation against Gay Pride march.



James Schnepf

Federally funded "abstinence before marriage" programs in public schools preach anti-sex moralism and deny education on birth control and disease prevention.

part of the bourgeoisie on various issues (such as the right to abortion, which has a significant reservoir of support among the population) is part of the nature of the capitalist system, allowing the ruling class to expand and contract democratic rights depending on what is necessary to maintain the stability of capitalist rule. To posit that anything less than the overturn of the capitalist system can be ultimately satisfactory to the needs and wants of working people and the oppressed is the reformist lie retailed by all manner of militant liberals like the ISO.

Reforms Under Capitalism Always Reversible

A useful case study in the nature of reforms under capitalism is the history of how abortion rights came about in the first place and the ways they have come under attack ever since. For all the brouhaha over Supreme Court appointments meaning the overturn of abortion rights, it is revealing that it was not the political composition of the Supreme Court—whose chief justice was a Nixon appointee—which led to the legalization of abortion. The decision in *Roe v. Wade* was the product of a brief period when the capitalists chose to make certain reforms in the face of the explosive social struggles beginning with the civil rights movement in the mid-1950s and continuing into the 1960s and 1970s with the anti-Vietnam War movement. This period marked the end of the "American Century," when the U.S. had been at the pinnacle of its imperialist domination of the world and height of economic prosperity following World War II. American power was significantly weakened as a result of the defeat of the U.S. by the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam. During this time, hundreds of thousands of radicalized youth took to the streets in the struggle for black rights and in opposition to the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam. The spectre of massive social unrest represented by a semi-mutinous army and an entire generation of youth alienated from society led the capitalist ruling class to make two moves in 1973—they abolished the draft and legalized abortion nationwide. But this period was short-lived.

The ruling class realized it had to bring the population into line. A shift to the right followed in the mid-1970s, much of it spearheaded by the Democratic Party administration of "born again" Christian Jimmy Carter. Abroad, Carter renewed U.S. imperialism's Cold War drive aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, this time disguised as a crusade for "human rights." Domestically, a series of socially reactionary bipartisan policies were aimed at overcoming what came to be known as the "Vietnam syndrome"—the widespread disaffection of the population and its mistrust of the government. It was seen as necessary to re-instill an unquestioning acceptance of god, family and, most importantly, the willingness to die for one's country. This was the ideological cover given to a campaign which served to abrogate a whole series of democratic rights domestically, from attacks on measures to desegregate schools to attacks on striking workers, the witchhunting of gay schoolteachers and the restoration of the death penalty by the Supreme Court in 1976. It was in this context that a Democrat-controlled Congress passed the Hyde Amendment of 1976, which banned federal funding of abortions for poor women. It was as a result of this right-wing shift by *both* the Democrats and Republicans that the fundamentalist Christian right was brought to political ascendancy and became part of the mainstream in the White House.

Today the impact of these reactionary forces is evidenced in the teaching of creationism, school prayer, the censorship of pornography and erotic art, and the witchhunting of "pedophiles," including people whose only "crime" is to download a picture off the Internet! A measure of the reactionary influence of religious superstition in this country was depicted in a recent *New York Times* article (28 November 2000) about the rise of exorcisms both in the Catholic church and among Protestants. It quoted an evangelist preacher as having a goal that "no one should ever be more than a day's drive from a city where you can find an exorcist"—if only such were the case for women finding abortions! While Clinton as president backed off from the extreme anti-gay, anti-woman and "family values" religious bigotry of the White House under Reagan and Bush Sr., he repeatedly capitulated to the far right wing—from the "don't ask don't tell" sham which has led to even wider persecution of gays in the military to supporting bans on late-term abortion with an exception for life endangerment. While he presented it in a more rational package, he fundamentally shared the same interests as the extreme right wing—to shore up the institution of the family and the authority of religious ideology in a population viewed as insufficiently compliant with the aims of U.S. imperialism.

Youth in particular bear the brunt of the anti-sex crusades that the ruling class drums up in this especially religious country. The campaign against the "sin" of premarital sex was bolstered by the

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW YORK

The Russian Revolution—How the Working Class Took Power

Tuesday, February 6, 7:30 p.m.
Columbia U., Hamilton Hall, Rm. 609
For Information: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO

Anglo Chauvinism and Canadian Capitalism: Why Marxists Advocate Quebec Independence

Wednesday, January 31, 7:00 p.m.
U of T, International Student Centre, 33 St. George St.
For Information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

NDP Rules for the Bosses: Break with the Pro-Capitalist NDP!

Wednesday, January 24, 6:30 p.m.
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 213
For Information: (604) 687-0353

SYC Speaker at PDC Holiday Appeal

"For a Socialist Future for All Humanity!"

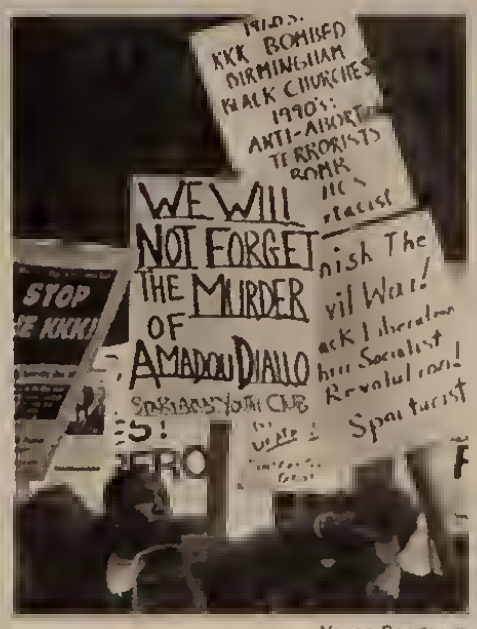
The following is a speech given by New York SYC member Elizabeth Johnson at the Partisan Defense Committee's 15th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners on December 2. Holiday Appeal benefits were also held in Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area. These benefits are held to express solidarity with class-war prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal and to raise funds for the PDC's program of sending monthly stipends and holiday gifts to the prisoners and their families.

Prohahly the best advertisement for the Spartacus Youth Club is just the world around you. If you take a look around you at the world capitalism has bequeathed us, it's a world where unemployment and hunger go hand in hand with the destruction of commodities, like food, for profits. It's a world where imperialist powers devastate whole regions in competition for markets and resources. In this country, particularly if you're young, particularly if you're black, you daily face the savageness of the capitalist injustice system, a violent, racist state, and enforced social repression. So, what are you going to do about it?

The Spartacus Youth Club arms young revolutionaries with the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We intervene into social struggle and mobilize youth behind the social power of the multiracial working class. The strength of this program was seen right here in New York last year on October 23rd in the protest that drove the KKK out of the city. The strength of this program was seen in our united-front actions to defend abortion clinics, and in our active support of the student strikers of Mexico City's National Autonomous University. But why should youth line up behind the proletariat? Why Marxism? Because the working class produces the wealth of society. The working class has the power to shut down the capitalist profit system and thus to remake society. Look at the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the rule of rapacious capital and seized state power.

We defend the Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states just as we defended the Soviet degenerated workers state. We defend them despite their deformation by Stalinist bureaucracies. We defend the social gains of these revolutions. Like the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution of 1949 brought literacy, the emancipation of women, virtually free housing, full employment and pensions. Compare that to the richest country in the world, the United States. Ronald Reagan and Bush the elder brought us social repression, union-busting and massive cuts in public services. But Clinton and the Democrats carried out basically the same program. They brought us the end of "welfare as we know it"—stealing food from the mouths of millions. They swelled the police forces and prison systems, broadening brutal attacks on blacks and minorities. As well, they brought the regimentation of youth, attacks on abortion, attacks on sex and the religious right's moral crusade for the institution of the bourgeois family.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal clearly shows what the hourgeois capitalist state has in store for a black man who fights for social equality. The cops and courts work together to silence such opposition by any means necessary. The Spartacus Youth Club has struggled on and off campus in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, most recently at UC Berkeley against right-wing racist assaults. The SYC also consistently fights against the racist capitalist system that is responsible for Mumia's imprisonment and his death sentence. We say: Abolish the racist death penalty! Free



Young Spartacus

SYCs helped build PDC-initiated anti-Klan mobilization in New York, 23 October 1999.

Mumia! We understand that the black question is a crucial one. Don't turn to black nationalists for black liberation—all they're interested in is black capitalism. Likewise, don't turn to the feminists for social justice—they are busy spearheading their own anti-sex witchhunt, lining up behind religious bigots.

Let us have no illusions in the bourgeois state, in its reformers and hucksters. Let us have no illusions in a state that maintains its rule by racist terror and social repression. The U.S. imperialist state can never be an instrument of international justice, just as it can't bring justice domestically. It did not bring justice to Serbia, to Somalia, or to Haiti. U.S. imperialism is competing worldwide for profits, primarily against its rivals Germany and Japan. Imperialist rivalries drive the UN and NATO. We of the SYC oppose all of the machinations of imperialism, at home and abroad. During the Balkans War, we raised the call: Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! We defend the Palestinian people against attack by the Israeli army—an army funded and armed by the U.S. imperialists. Recently we have been participating with Arab student groups in demonstrations around the city. For example, last week at NYU, we picketed members of the Israeli army who came to drum up support for the genocidal campaign against the Palestinians.

The "Battle of Seattle," the anti-WTO and IMF protests urged various imperialist exploiters to exploit more humanely. Much of the left took Nader as the knight-errant of a kinder capitalism. We understood that he was a shill for the Democratic Party, channeling discontented youth back into the reformist trap of electoral politics. The IMF protests in Prague met the iron fist within Vaclav Havel's Velvet Revolution—which was really a capitalist counterrevolution. The IMF would never have even met in Prague without a counterrevolution.

The SYC sent a reporter, as part of an international team, to the protests in Prague. Various liberal and fake-Marxist groups came to line up youth behind the notion of "human rights" imperialism. We counterposed our revolutionary, international politics, to win new fighters for a better world—for communism. We do this internationally, we do it every day, here in the belly of the imperialist beast.

If you want to fight for the emancipation of all those ground under the boot of U.S. imperialism, to fight for those brutalized by racist capitalism at home, check out the Spartacus Youth Club. Check out our press. Read about what we do and what we stand for. Join us in the fight for new October Revolutions. Join us for a socialist future for all humanity.■

---

advent of AIDS, which was cynically manipulated to enforce ignorance and instill widespread fear about sex among youth and the population in general. Meanwhile the ruling class to this day cares little for funding AIDS research or for providing medical care for those who suffer from the disease. The drive to spread bigotry and superstition about sex among youth went hand in hand with the Democrats' drive to end welfare, which was characterized by a racist campaign demonizing single mothers. Clinton's federal Welfare Reform Act, which passed with bipartisan support in 1996, included a provision for up to $440 million over five years to be spent on abstinence-until-marriage education programs aimed at narrowly or exclusively promoting sexual abstinence. The effect of denying education on birth control and disease prevention is quite sinister; people under 25, many of whom contracted the disease while in high school, account for half of all new cases of HIV infection in the U.S. (*New York Times*, 28 December 2000). Studies show that in 1999 23 percent of secondary school sexual education teachers taught abstinence as the *only* way of preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, compared with only 2 percent in 1988 (*Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 32, No. 5, 2000). This is only likely to increase under a Bush presidency as he has pledged to "elevate abstinence education from an afterthought to an urgent policy" (quoted in *Family Planning Perspectives, ibid.*).

The U.S. has one of the highest rates of unwanted teenage pregnancies of any developed nation, despite all the "just say no" to sex moralizing. For the 65 percent of teens who don't abstain and the 19 percent of those who get pregnant, the possibility of deciding not to have their lives permanently, and often adversely, affected by having a child is being restricted on every front (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1999, quoted in *Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 32, No. 5, 2000, and the Alan Guttmacher Institute Web site, 1999). In addition to the difficulties of finding an abortion provider and the money to have one, many young women face the obstacle of parental notification and consent laws that exist in 31 states. In 16 of those states, a minor must have the consent of one or both parents, and in the other 15 states parents must he notified prior to an abortion. The SYCs stand in opposition to this sanctification of the bourgeois family where parents decree everything a minor can or can't do. We say: Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! We also stand in opposition to the reactionary age of consent laws which brand cross-generational consensual sex a "crime" and are used to further restrict the potentially "sinful" activities of youth.

While abortion is a democratic right that is sometimes recognized under capitalism, the struggle to defend it and make it real for all women means striking blows at the oppressive institutions of capitalism, which necessarily raises the broader question of the light for women's liberation through socialist revolution. The oppression of women is strategic to capitalism. What is required for this struggle is a workers party of professional revolutionaries representing the most advanced and politically conscious elements of the working class, modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party. As the youth auxiliary to the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, section of the International Communist League, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win youth to the struggle for working-class revolution to overthrow the capitalist system as the only means of eradicating the myriad forms of oppression that exist today. As was demonstrated by the socialist Russian Revolution of October 1917, women will be in the front ranks of such a revolutionary movement, understanding that their interests cannot go forward without a working-class perspective, and with the workers movement understanding that it cannot go forward without taking up the fight for women's liberation.■

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Imperialism...

(continued from page 1)

the fundamental point is that the installation of Al Gore in the White House would *not* have benefited the black ghetto masses. In his *Autobiography* in the early 1960s, black militant Malcolm X described the difference between the Republicans and Democrats: "'Conservatism' in American politics means 'Let's keep the n-----s in their place.' And 'liberalism' means 'Let's keep the knee-grows in their place—but tell them we'll treat them a little better; let's fool them more, with more promises'."

The difference between the two capitalist parties was even less apparent in the recent presidential election, where both Bush and Gore ran as "centrists" claiming to represent the mainstream of American politics. The election was exceptionally close because "independent" voters—those who don't normally vote either strictly Republican or Democratic—found little reason to choose one candidate over the other.

But while both parties uphold the racist capitalist system, they do so in somewhat different ways. The Republicans would rather openly repress the working class and minorities, while the Democrats would rather lie. Illusions in the Democratic Party stand in the way of freedom for labor, blacks and all those at the bottom of this society because they reinforce the rule of the exploiters and oppressors. A key role in sowing these illusions is played by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy. As we explained in the recently published Spartacist League/U.S. programmatic statement, "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!":

> "The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy is particularly tightly wedded to the aims and ideology of the racist American imperialist state.
>
> "The trade-union bureaucracy is the chief obstacle to class struggle in the U.S. Through the instrument of the Democratic Party, they chain the workers to the capitalists and their state. In times of sharp class struggle or imperialist war, the labor bureaucrats become the open political police of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. It is the task of the revolutionary party to educate the workers so that they can politically oust these misleaders and set the unions on the path of class struggle against the capitalists and their system."

Radio Times Hulton

National Archives

Democratic president Woodrow Wilson (second from left) used liberal rhetoric to mobilize popular support for U.S. entry into World War I. U.S. troops occupied Far Eastern city of Vladivostok in 1918 in effort to crush Bolshevik government during Russian Civil War.

Arnot/L.A. Times

Asahi Shimbun

U.S. imperialist atrocities in 1941-45 Pacific War with Japan were linked with "yellow peril" racism, as Japanese Americans were thrown into internment camps. War ended with A-bombing of Japanese cities of Hiroshima (right) and Nagasaki.

The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from pro-Democratic Party "lesser evilism" and to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution against the American imperialist order. We publish below an edited version of a public talk given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour last fall in Los Angeles which traces the history of "human rights" imperialism centrally represented by the Democratic Party.

* * *

When I first started giving public talks in the late 1960s and early '70s, during the last years of the Vietnam War, a common slogan among leftists was "American imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples." This was considered a truism, like the sun rises in the east and sets in the west.

That reminds me of a right-wing movie at the time, *The Green Berets* starring John Wayne, which glorified the elite U.S. forces in Vietnam. At the end of this movie, there's a beautiful scene of the sun setting in the South China Sea off the coast of Vietnam. But the South China Sea is *east* of Vietnam. I guess the U.S. defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese Communists so traumatized right-wingers like John Wayne that they forgot that the sun doesn't set in the east.

We had big, heated arguments with other leftists on all kinds of political questions in that period. But we did not have to argue that the American state—the Pentagon, the CIA—was the main instrument enforcing capitalist exploitation and national oppression the world over. But times change. Positions, ideas, attitudes which were commonplace among leftists of one generation in a certain historical period are very different—sometimes even the opposite—of those held by a subsequent generation of leftists in a later, very different historical period.

The present period is dominated by the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the so-called "death of communism" and the emergence of the United States as the self-proclaimed "world's only superpower." So we encounter among the left in the U.S. and West Europe what we call "human rights" imperialism. This is looking to and demanding that the Western capitalist "democracies," centrally the U.S., fight national oppression, eradicate poverty and generally improve the conditions of humanity around the world.

Consider every military action undertaken by the U.S. and its allies since the 1991 Persian Gulf War—Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, the NATO air war against Serbia, East Timor. In every case, the strongest advocates and supporters of intervention have come from the left wing of the political spectrum—liberals, Greens, social democrats, even many self-styled revolutionary socialists. "Send in the Marines" used to be a right-wing slogan. Now it's raised by the "left": Starving Somalis are having food aid stolen by local gangs—send in the Marines; Serbs in Bosnia are killing Muslims—send in the Marines. Only now they're called "peacekeepers."

The so-called "battle of Seattle" last winter—the protests at the meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO)—is widely seen, especially by its participants, as the high point of leftist radicalism in the U.S. in years, even decades. Yet this protest was permeated with the spirit of "human rights" imperialism. To begin with, the main demand was that the Clinton administration pressure the WTO into adopting and enforcing an international code of labor and environmental standards. In other words, the U.S. government, through the WTO, should dictate the economic policies of "Third World" neocolonial countries like Mexico and Indonesia by using the threat of trade protectionism.

Moreover, the Seattle mobilization was politically dominated by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, which staged an orgy of anti-Communist China-bashing. They denounced "slave labor" in China and demonstratively dumped a load of Chinese steel in the harbor. Imagine if there had been a group of Chinese steel workers watching this and someone had told them that this was a leftist demonstration. They might wonder what a right-wing demonstration would look like.

The Seattle protest took place just a few months after the U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia, which largely destroyed the economic infrastructure of this small Balkan country. Enormous quantities of toxic chemicals were released into the air and waterways by the bombing of petrochemical plants and fuel refineries and the Pentagon's use of shells made of depleted uranium, a radioactive waste product. Yet most of the participants at Seattle—the AFL-CIO leaders, the social democrats, the Greens, many self-styled leftists—supported, to one degree or another, the U.S. onslaught against Serbia carried out in the name of liberating the Albanian population of Kosovo from Serbian oppression.

Almost uniquely on the left, we stood for the military defense of Serbia against the forces of Western imperialism. When the bombing began, the Spartacist League issued the following statement:

> "The barrage of cruise missiles and bombs launched against Serbia yesterday by the U.S. and its NATO allies brings us all a step closer to a new world war. This is a bloody statement by America's imperialist rulers that they will stop at nothing in their ruthless drive for profits and world domination....
>
> "Any military blows against U.S. imperialism are in the direct and immediate interest of working people and minorities in this country and around the world."
>
> —*WV* No. 710, 2 April 1999

For over a decade, the U.S. has carried out an economic blockade of Iraq, sanctioned by the United Nations, which has resulted in the deaths of many times more Iraqis than the U.S. killed in the carpet bombing of Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War. One and a half million people in Iraq have died of disease and malnutrition. But there are no big liberal and radical leftist demonstrations against the blockade of Iraq like those against so-called "globalization." Moreover, at the time of the Gulf War almost all liberals and many self-styled leftists, backhandedly like the International Socialist Organization or openly like the anarchist intellectual Noam Chomsky, supported economic sanctions against Iraq as a supposed "humane" alternative to military action. Tell that to the Iraqis!

Woodrow Wilson's "War for Democracy"

In one sense this "human rights" imperialism is new, but in another sense it's a reversion to the basic political pattern of the modern imperialist era. Every major war fought by the United States in the 20th century was fought under, or at least begun under, a liberal Democratic president, not a right-wing Republican one: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry

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S. Truman and the Vietnam War under John F. Kennedy. And all of these wars were fought, in terms of official ideology, in the name of liberal principles. World War I was supposed to be "the war to make the world safe for democracy" and "the war to end all wars." World War II was hilled as a war against fascism and to secure for the world the "four freedoms"—freedom from want, freedom from fear, whatever. The Korean and Vietnam wars were fought in the name of defending the "free world" against "Communist totalitarianism."

What we now call "human rights" imperialism originated during the First World War. There was a division within the U.S. ruling class—characteristically between right-wing Republicans and liberal Democrats—over how to justify U.S. entry into the European war, how to motivate the Ameriean people to be willing to sacrifice their lives and the lives of their children and loved ones. The main protagonists in this debate were former Republican president Theodore Roosevelt and President Woodrow Wilson.

Roosevelt had been police commissioner of New York City. He then organized a cavalry hrigade called the Rough Riders—sounds like a punk rock group, or something seamier—which participated in America's colonial conquest of Cuba from Spain in 1898. By contrast, Wilson was an academic, a man of books. Before becoming U.S. president, he had been president of Princeton University. But it was the bookish liberal intellectual Wilson, not the macho bully boy Roosevelt, who led the U.S. into the First World War, from which it emerged as the strongest imperialist power, able to dictate the economic policies of the European powers.

Roosevelt denounced Wilson's talk of making the world safe for democracy as woolly-headed idealism. America, he insisted, "did not go to war to make democracy safe.... First and foremost we are to make the world safe for ourselves. This is our war, America's war" (quoted in Arno J. Mayer, *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917-1918* [1959]). But Roosevelt's straightforward appeal to national chauvinism and imperialist aggrandizement could *not* have effectively mobilized the American people to go to war. He himself had admitted as much a few years earlier. When the war broke out in 1914, Roosevelt wanted the U.S. to enter it immediately on the side of Britain against Germany. But there was massive public opposition to this. Roosevelt wrote to Rudyard Kipling, the poet laureate of British imperialism:

> "If I should advocate all that I myself believe, I would do no good among our people, because they would not follow me.... Thanks to the width of the ocean, our people believe they have nothing to fear from the present contest, and that they have no responsibility concerning it."
>
> —quoted in Henry Kissinger. *Diplomacy* (1994)

The difference between the U.S. and the warring European states was not only one of geographical distance. The American state was built through waves of immigration, mainly from different European countries. There was a large population of German Americans, who if the U.S. went to war with Germany would be forced to fight and kill in some cases their cousins, their uncles and nephews. There was an even larger population of Irish Americans. And the Irish people were oppressed by British imperialism, not German imperialism. In 1916, the British army suppressed an uprising in Dublin, the Easter Rebellion, for Irish independence. They massacred many of the survivors and executed the leaders.

So the American ruling class had a real problem. How to motivate German Americans to light against Germany. How to motivate Irish Americans to fight on hehalf of British imperialism. How to motivate most other Americans to fight a war in which they helieved they had no interest. Wilson sought to overcome popular opposition to entering the war by *combining American nationalism with liberal idealism*. America, he proclaimed, had a god-given mission to bring democracy, freedom, universal peace and all good things to the rest of the world. When Wilson announced his "14 Points" for ending the war, British prime minister David Lloyd George remarked acidly, "The good lord only had ten."

July 1969 issue of publication initiated by Spartacist supporters in the army during Vietnam War. SL intervened in antiwar movement, as in 1965 NYC protest (right), to link opposition to U.S. imperialism abroad to struggle for proletarian revolution at home.

To German Americans, Wilson said: We are not going to war against Germany. We are going to war on behalf of the German people, to liberate them from the despotism of the Kaiser. We're killing Germans in order to liberate them. To Irish Americans, Wilson argued in effect: We're fighting for the right of self-determination of small nations. If we win this war, America will use its greatly increased influence to pressure Britain into giving Ireland independence. Wilson's declaration of war against Germany in 1917 laid out the ideological posture of American imperialism in the 20th century:

> "Right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right hy such a concert of free peoples as shall hring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."
>
> —quoted in *Diplomacy*

"Democratic" Imperialism and the Cold War

For U.S imperialism, World War II was a two-front war: against Germany in Europe and against Japan in East Asia. Correspondingly there was a two-front ideological offensive. The war against Japan was primarily motivated by appeals to "yellow peril" racism with few democratic pretensions. In faet, Japanese Americans were rounded up and put into internment camps. However, the war against Germany was presented as a war for democracy against faseism. And the strongest supporters of war against Nazi Germany were liberals, social democrats and Stalinists. On the other side, many prominent rightists like industrialist Henry Ford and the national hero and aviator Charles Lindbergh campaigned for friendly relations with the Hitler regime.

There was an important exception to the generalization that the strongest support for the war against Nazi Germany came from the left wing of the American political spectrum. The black population in general was not taken in by the "war against faseism" rhetoric. Many blacks saw through the hypocrisy of the American rulers denouncing the racist doctrines of Nazism in Germany while preaching and enforcing the same racist doctrines in the American South. Franklin Roosevelt's vice president in the 1930s was a right-wing Democrat, John Nance Garner, from Texas, a state with legally enforced racial segregation and where hlacks and also Mexican Americans were subjected to brutal police-state repression. Also most blacks knew that the main colonial powers in Africa subjugating and oppressing millions of hlack people were Britain and France, the so-called Western democracies, not Nazi Germany.

In one fundamental way, the Second World War was different from the First World War. In the former, all of the major combatants were capitalist imperialist states fighting each other over foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. However, centrally involved in the Second World War was a non-capitalist state, the Soviet Union. It was the Soviet Red Army which primarily defeated the Nazi German Wehrmacht and in so doing liberated all of Europe from the nightmare of fascist rule.

The end of the Second World War was followed by a global conllict, lasting almost half a century, between the capitalist imperialist states led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union and its allies. This was known as the Cold War. The Cold War was fundamentally a class war and it originated not in 1945 but in 1917 with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, when for the first time in history the workers took political power and established a government based on workers councils. The term "soviet" is simply the Russian word for council. For the first time—granted, under terrible conditions of war, civil war and devastating impoverishment—a government was instituted that expropriated the capitalists and landowners and consciously controlled the economy in the interests of the toiling masses. The Bolshevik Revolution had a liberating effect in all spheres of social life. Here in the Bay Area, it's generally believed that the first country to outlaw discrimination against homosexuals was San Francisco. Not true. Soviet Russia abolished discrimination against homosexuals in 1920 or '21.

The Bolshevik Revolution was made *in* Russia but it was not made only *for* Russia. Not only the Bolshevik leaders like Lenin and Trotsky hut the Russian working class in general saw the October Revolution as but the heginning, the first step in the world socialist revolution. But while the Bolshevik Revolution inspired revolutionary movements throughout the capitalist world, these movements did not succeed in overthrowing capitalism in any other country. The effect of this failure on the future course of world history and on Soviet Russia itself was catastrophic.

The Bolsheviks emerged victorious from the Russian Civil War in which all of the imperialist states—including U.S. troops sent into northern Russia and eastern Siberia—intervened against them. But they were vietors of a devastated country. Industrial production had fallen to a small fraction of what it had been in tsarist Russia before the war. Famine and disease stalked the land.

So there opened up a seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the liberating goals of the Bolshevik Revolution and the actual frightful conditions in Russia. Under these conditions, there was a tendency toward the demoralization and depoliticization of the working class, on the one hand, and on the other toward bureaucratic conservatism and even corruption among the officials of the Soviet government and ruling Communist Party. These tendencies culminated in a political counterrevolution in 1924. There was a factional struggle in the party between the revolutionary internationalist wing led hy Leon Trotsky and a bureaucratic nationalist wing which came to be led by J. V. Stalin. The Stalin wing bureaucratically suppressed the Left Opposition. The Trotskyists were later expelled from the party, persecuted, then killed. Trotsky was driven into exile and in 1940 murdered by an assassin on Stalin's orders.

Trotsky described the Soviet Union under Stalin as a hureaucratically degenerated workers state. He sought to explain this new and unique historical phenomenon so it would be understandable to workers in North America and West Europe. He used the analogy of a highly bureaucratized trade union in which the leaders suppressed any kind of rank-and-file democracy. Oppositionists are routinely beaten up and expelled; the union misleaders negotiate rotten contracts with the employers. Nonetheless, the workers should still defend this union against the capitalists, during a strike for example, or against a government attack. Similarly, Trotsky argued, workers must defend the Soviet Union against attacks by the capitalist states or internal counterrevolutionary forces.

At the same time, the workers in a bureaucratized union should struggle to oust the existing labor traitors and replace them with leaders who represent their genuine interests. And the workers in the Soviet Union should struggle to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a genuinely communist leadership. Trotsky called this perspective proletarian political revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union rejected, indeed feared, international proletarian revolution, and instead advocated "peaceful coexistence" with

continued on page 10

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist Ideologues ol "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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Imperialism...

(continued from page 9)

world capitalism. But the capitalists had no intention of peacefully coexisting with the Soviet Union. They aimed to destroy the Soviet Union and recapture Russia, the other Soviet regions and all of East Europe for capitalist exploitation, which they finally did in 1989-92. That was what the Cold War had been all about.

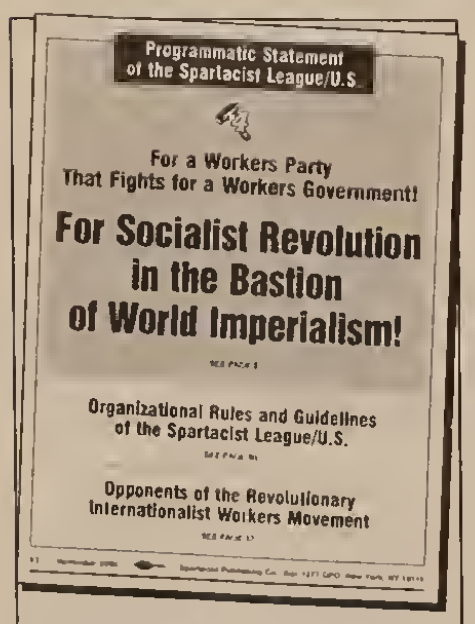
Carter's "Human Rights" Crusade

During the Cold War, the official line of the U.S. rulers was that they were defending democracy, individual freedom and national independence. At the same time, Washington militarily and financially supported every colonial, medieval, reactionary and murderous right-wing regime on the planet: French colonial rule in Indochina and Algeria, white-supremacist rule in South Africa, the Saudi monarchy, the Shah of Iran, military juntas in Latin America.

By the late 1950s, many idealistic liberal youth in the U.S.—I was one—were troubled by this obvious contradiction. They were asking themselves: If America is waging a Cold War against the Soviet Union to defend democracy and national independence, how come we're supporting French colonialism killing one million Algerians—one-tenth of the entire population—in seeking to suppress their struggle for national independence? How come we're supporting the Saudi monarchy, where women who commit adultery are stoned to death? How come we're supporting brutal right-wing dictatorships like Batista in Cuba and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic? And some of these critical liberal youth began to think that maybe the Communists were right, that what the U.S. government was really defending was the profits of Wall Street bankers and American industrialists.

And then came the long, losing war in Vietnam, which radically altered the entire American political landscape. For the first time there developed widespread popular disillusionment with—and rejection of—Cold War militarism. A sizable left emerged which maintained that American imperialism was the main enemy of the world's peoples. The leftist radicalization brought about by the Vietnam War was intertwined with and built on the mass black struggles against racist oppression at home. There's an interesting book called *Brothers* by two black Vietnam War veterans, Stanley Goff and Robert Sanders, in which they write:

> "It was obvious that we were the aggressors because we were fourteen thousand miles from home rather than vice versa.... We didn't really feel that we were fighting for our country; half the brothers felt it wasn't even our war and were sympathetic with [North Vietnamese leader] Ho Chi Minh.



Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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Young Spartacus

As Democratic president Carter launched Cold War II over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979-80, Spartacist League gave unconditional military support to Soviet forces against U.S.-backed Islamic fundamentalists.

> "When I was in the Nam, Mohammad Ali was refusing to take the oath [upon being drafted]. Our reaction was we shouldn't have taken it either. We felt the American Dream didn't really serve us. What we experienced was the American Nightmare."

It's an exaggeration that half the black soldiers in Vietnam sympathized with Ho Chi Minh, but a hell of a lot did.

After the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the U.S. rulers set about trying to restore the moral authority of the American government as part of the ideological preparation for a new Cold War offensive against the Soviet bloc. The Republican administration of Nixon/Ford/Kissinger, which was identified with the Vietnam debacle, was replaced by the Democratic administration of Jimmy Carter. Carter proclaimed that henceforth the goal of American foreign policy would be promoting "human rights."

Seemingly, a major target of Carter's "human rights" crusade was South Africa, a country that was anathema to American liberals and blacks. South Africa actually remained an important regional ally of the U.S. throughout this period. The Pentagon continued to collaborate closely with the South African army and the CIA with the South African political police. Yet almost all liberals and most self-styled leftists applauded the Carter White House when it hypocritically denounced apartheid and called for majority rule in South Africa. In opposition to this, we wrote at the time ("The Main Enemy Is at Home!" *WV* No. 163, 24 June 1977):

> "The American ruling class is no ally of the oppressed non-white majorities of southern Africa.... American imperialism, the butcher of Vietnam, cannot wipe the blood stains from its murderous deeds. The moral pretensions of this behemoth are as sinister as Hitler's claim to be civilizing Europe."

We pointed out that the only real target of the "human rights" campaign was the Soviet Union:

> "We repeat the warning we have sounded since the beginning of Carter's 'human rights' ploy: behind the liberal rhetoric stands the threat of imperialist war, principally directed against the Soviet Union. We are no friends of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which murdered thousands of Left Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, and suppressed soviet democracy for all dissidents, socialist or otherwise. But in the face of this imperialist propaganda blitz aimed at undermining the Soviet degenerated workers state, we insist that the incomparably greater danger is the restoration of capitalism through bloody counterrevolution."

The "Anti-Globalization" Campaign

Basically, Carter's "human rights" propaganda campaign worked. In the so-called Cold War II during the 1980s, almost all liberals and most of the self-described left supported the U.S. against the Soviet Union. They supported the U.S.-armed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan who wanted to re-enslave women in the veil and were fighting the Soviet Army for this "noble" purpose. They supported Lech Walesa and the Catholic nationalists of Solidarność in Poland. They supported the Russian anti-Communist demagogue Boris Yeltsin who seized power in the Kremlin in August 1991 and four months later dissolved the Soviet Union. And, as I indicated at the beginning of the talk, in the post-Soviet period it is liberals and leftists who have been the strongest, most vocal advocates of American dominion over the rest of the world in the name of defending and promoting "human rights."

Now, someone might argue: What about the "anti-globalization" campaign which attacks the malevolent role of large American corporations around the world? That's not support for U.S. imperialism. But in a sense it is. Because the organizers and spokesmen of the "anti-globalization" campaign *deny* that the American state—the Pentagon and CIA—is the main political agency of the Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations. Instead they call upon the American government to oppose the exploitative and destructive practices of U.S. and other large corporations abroad.

Der Spiegel

"Human rights" imperialism in Somalia, 1993: demonstrators gunned down in the streets by UN "peacekeepers."

The ideologists of the "anti-globalization" campaign argue that Citibank and Morgan Stanley, General Motors and Boeing are no longer *American* capitalist enterprises at all. They've supposedly become "transnational" corporations which rule the world, or seek to, through "transnational" institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. In the name of defending American sovereignty, which is supposedly threatened by the nefarious doings of the IMF, WTO and the like, left liberals like Ralph Nader join hands with the right-wing demagogue Pat Buchanan, who would be quite at home in a clerical-fascist regime in the U.S.

In reality, international economic institutions like the IMF and WTO have *no independent power*. They're dominated by the major capitalist states while increasingly becoming an arena of conflict among them. The WTO meeting in Seattle broke up mainly because of differences between the U.S. and Japan over agricultural policy, not because of the street protests. Far from being undemocratic, the IMF is actually a model of *capitalist* democracy. The more money a country has in the Fund, the more votes it has in determining IMF policies. And since the U.S. has the most money it has the most votes. A perfect example of capitalist democracy in practice.

The link between the "anti-globalization" campaign and "human rights" imperialism was clearly stated by Ralph Nader: "The WTO undermines our legitimate local, state and national sovereignties which enable America to lead the way in worker, consumer environmental standards." America, its governmental and legal structure—which is based on private ownership of the means of production—are here held up as a model to be emulated by the rest of the world. But what if other governments and peoples refuse to let America lead the way? Well, that's where the U.S. military comes in, for example, bombing and blockading Iraq and Serbia.

The Battle for China

The main target of American imperialism in this period is the People's Republic of China, the most populous country on earth. That's the big prize. Having succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union, the U.S. rulers now aim to reconquer and exploit China. A few months ago, the London *Independent* (30 August 2000) ran an article stating:

> "The next world war is on its way. That is the only conclusion one can draw from the US defence budget, which has begun a rapid escalation. America may be enjoying its longest period of peace for decades, but you'd never know it from the way the Pentagon is planning to start spending. The target, apparently, is China, the new global enemy for the 21st century."

The London *Independent* is a respectable mainstream bourgeois newspaper, in no way leftist in its views or otherwise "far out." It's not a supermarket rag with headlines like "Al Gore's Mind Controlled by Space Invaders"—which actually is quite plausible.

The Second World War in East Asia was fought between the U.S. and Japan basically over which of the two imperialist powers would subjugate and exploit China. When the U.S. defeated Japan by A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, America's rulers believed they had won China. They had a puppet regime, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. But a few years later, Chiang's forces were defeated by the peasant-based "red" army of Mao Zedong. In 1949, Chiang's forces fled to Taiwan and the American imperialists were driven out of China.

We characterize China (and North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba) as a bureaucratically deformed workers state, a state of qualitatively the same type as the former Soviet Union. Its economy is based on collectivized property while being politically ruled, or rather misruled, by a parasitic bureaucratic caste. However, the historical origin of People's China is significantly different from that of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union originated in a proletarian revolution led by a genuine communist party. The 1949 Chinese Revolution was a peasant-based revolution led by a petty-bourgeois nationalist Stalinist party. The resulting Chinese workers state was thus bureaucratically

deformed from its inception.

Over the past few decades, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, under the rubric of building a "market socialist economy," has enormously strengthened the forces within China driving toward a capitalist counterrevolution. While land remains state-owned, agriculture has been decollectivized, spawning a class of relatively wealthy farmers hiring and exploiting the labor of their poorer peasant neighbors. Capitalist enterprises, some of them fairly large, have proliferated, typically owned and managed by the sons of government and Communist Party officials. China has been opened up to substantial investment by American, West European and Japanese capital and also by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere.

However, the forces driving toward capitalist restoration have encountered *massive and increasing resistance* by the Chinese working class, poor peasants and other toilers. The Chinese Labor Ministry reported that in 1999 there were 120,000 separate labor disputes, some no more than workers submitting petitions but also many militant strikes and shop-floor actions. According to a police report from the central province of Anhui, it has become common for workers to hold managers hostage to force them to meet their demands.

We in the International Communist League stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese workers state, despite its bureaucratic deformations, against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution. There is now a widespread view in the U.S., extending across the entire political spectrum from the *Wall Street Journal* to the left-liberal *Nation*, that China has already become capitalist or semi-capitalist or that the restoration of capitalism is going to be smooth and automatic, a little more capitalism every day. That is not true. The fate of the most populous country on earth will be determined—and soon—through monumental class battles. What is needed is to construct a Leninist-Trotskyist party in China which can channel the elemental struggles of the workers and rural toilers against the forces of capitalist restoration into a proletarian political revolution.

Such a revolution in China would radically change the entire international political landscape and alter the future course of world history. It would have an enormously radicalizing effect on the working class in Japan—the industrial powerhouse of Asia—and throughout East Asia, from the Korean peninsula to Indonesia.

But while the world socialist revolution might well begin in East Asia, the ultimate battle will be fought here in the United States. For it is only proletarian revolution from within that can ultimately destroy American imperialism, which is truly the main enemy of the world's peoples. What is needed to achieve that revolution and lead it to victory is a revolutionary internationalist workers party like the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. If you want to help build that party, join us. ■

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Gary, Indiana: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan on January 20!'"

Partial List of Endorsers as of 16 January 2001

Aboriginal Education Program, University of New South Wales,* Sydney, NSW, Australia

Action Coalition for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Berlin, Germany

African Student Alliance, North Lowndale High School,* La Grange Park, IL

Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 517, Gary, IN

Arab American Action Network, Chicago, IL

Association of former participants in anti-fascist resistance, Victims of the Nazi Regime and Surviving Relatives—Anti-fascist Alliance, Berlin, Germany

Marcellus Barnes, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Black Caucus

Esther Bejarano, Holocaust survivor, Hamburg, Germany

Prof. Dr. Lothar Bisky, Brandenburg Parliamentary Fraction of Party of Democratic Socialism,* Hohen Neuendorf, Germany

Black Heritage Gospel Choir, Chicago, IL

Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Country Club Hills, IL

Chicago Second Amendment Sisters, Chicago, IL

Committee for Struggle Against Torture Through Isolation (IKM), Hamburg, Germany

Concerned Black Students, DePaul University,* Chicago, IL

Joe Davis, President, United Steelworkers of America Local 5544,* Chicago, IL

William A. Dorsey, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

William L. Draine, Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 517, Gary, IN

Ernest Ellis, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 517, Gary, IN

Henry L. English, President/CEO, Black United Fund of Illinois,* Chicago, IL

Hector M. Flores, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308,* Chicago, IL

Gruppe Spartakus/Internationale Bolschewistische Tendenz, Duisburg, Germany

Eric Hampton, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Internationalist Group/League for the Fourth International

Charles A. Johnson, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Marion J. Johnson Jr., Pastor, Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Gary, IN

Mustapha Kamal, Assistant Professor (Arabic Literature), University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL

R. Khalidi, Director, University of Chicago Center for International Studies,* Chicago, IL

Sayoko Kikuchi, Association to Abolish the Death Penalty,* Tokyo, Japan

Dae-Keun Kim, Coordinator, Korean Resource Centre, Inc., New South Wales, Australia

Korean Resource Centre, Inc., New South Wales, Australia

Labor Black League for Social Defense, New York, NY

Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL

Earl McCroy, Unit 1 Chairman, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL

Mexican American Workers' Association, New York, NY

Michael Mezo, Sub-district Director, United Steelworkers of America District 7, Sub-district 4, Gary, IN

Hans Modrow, member of European Parliament for Party of Democratic Socialism,* Berlin, Germany

Pauline J. Morgan, community activist, Gary, IN

Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Gary, IN

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa

New Roots Inc., Gary, IN

Cengiz Oban, press spokesman, Committee for Struggle Against Torture Through Isolation (IKM), Hamburg, Germany

David D. Owen, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308,* Chicago, IL

Keith A. Phelps, President, RWDSU Local 1064,* Southfield, MI

Allen L. Pleper, Downstate Vice President, SEIU Local 73,* Springfield, IL

Paul C. Pratt, New Roots Inc., Gary, IN

Kenneth Riley, President, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422,* Charleston, SC

Joe Rosado, Trustee/Political Coordinator, USWA Local 5544,* Chicago, IL

Eden Schulz, Organizer, UAW Local 2110,* New York, NY

Cassandra J. Seay, member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

Mary Selvie, UAW Women's Committee,* Chicago, IL

Shalom International, Miami Beach, FL

Earl Silbar, Executive Board member-at-large, AFSCME Local 3506,* Chicago, IL

Socialist Cultural Work, Gütersloh, Germany

Spartacist League/U.S.

Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago, IL

Wilford C. Spears, Retired President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308* and Retired International Vice President and General Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL

Trade Union of Trade, Bank and Insurance Workers, Erfurt, Germany

Richard Stomper, First Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, Chicago, IL

United Afrikan Movement (NWI), Gary, IN

United Steelworkers of America District 7, Sub-district 4, Gary, IN

United Steelworkers of America Local 1014, Gary, IN

Lou Jeanne Walton, social worker, Gary, IN

Alex Wheeler, Jr., President, United Steelworkers of America Local 1014, Gary, IN

John Williams, Shop Steward, Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union,* Victoria, Australia

Standish E. Willis, Chairperson, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers,* Chicago, IL

Markus Wolf, Writer, Berlin, Germany

Ryuji Yagi, Director, Publications Department, Social Democratic Party (National Federation),* Tokyo, Japan

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed on page 12.

Stop the KKK...

(continued from page 12)

who is perceived as "costing" big business or violating their reactionary "moral" code. The Democrats, who have destroyed welfare, devised more laws to extend the arm of the state's executioners and flooded the ghettos and barrios with more cops, smile and do the same thing. To defend its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed, labor must break the chains that bind it to the agencies and parties of the capitalist class enemy.

Demonstrating the social power of labor in action against the Klan, the most deadly enemies of labor, would be a powerful message to the Chicago transit bosses who daily up the ante in disciplining the workforce while keeping you on the job without a contract for over a year; to the steel bosses who devastated the plants and mills of the industrial Midwest; to the auto bosses who work you to death and then lay you off. A mass labor/black mobilization to *stop* the KKK in Gary could serve as a big step toward building the kind of party that the working people need—a workers party that fights to eradicate an entire system based on exploitation and racist reaction.

The PDC has initiated mobilizations that have brought out thousands of opponents of fascist terror from Chicago to Washington, D.C. to San Francisco and New York City. Let's make sure that we have such a determined demonstration of the might of the working people that built this country in Gary, Indiana on January 20. *All Out to Stop the KKK!*

Partisan Defense Committee
11 January 2001

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Spartacist Forum

Stop the Klan! For a Workers America!

Black and Red: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Break with the Democrats— For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Saturday, January 27, 5 p.m.

USWA Local 5544 Hall, 9350 S. South Chicago Ave.

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 454-4930

It Costs $$$ to Stop the Klan

Working people, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, gays, Jews, Catholics, as well as immigrants, students and youth—all opponents and targets of racist terror—have a big stake in stopping the KKK killers on January 20. Our labor/black mobilization, "All Out to Stop the KKK January 20!" in Gary, Indiana, costs lots of money. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications and equipment cost thousands. We need your help **now**. Get your union, church group, student club and friends to help defray these costs. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send checks to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 or P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099.

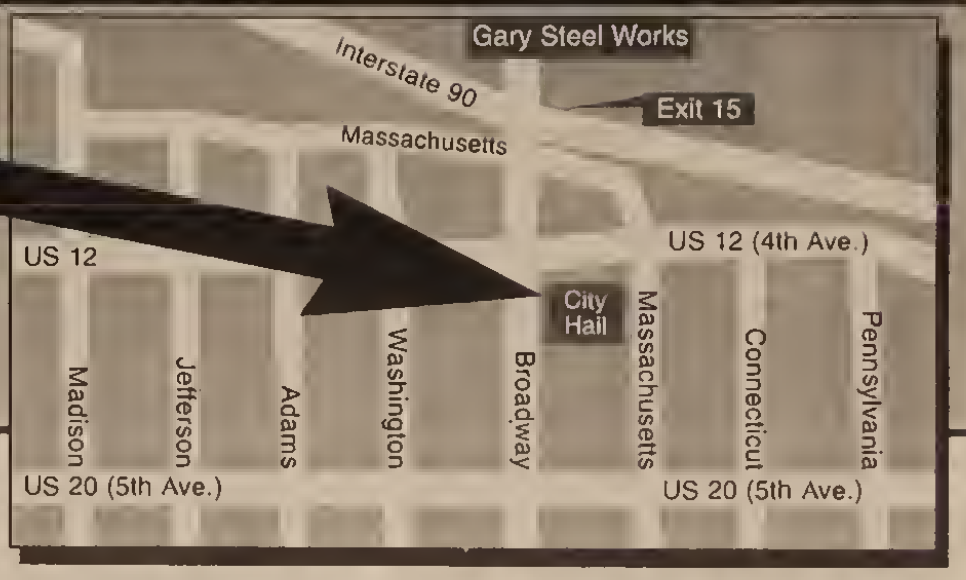
WORKERS VANGUARD

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

Saturday, January 20

BE THERE AT NOON!

City Hall, Gary, Indiana
401 Broadway



The following urgent call was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on January 11.

* * *

The Ku Klux Klan says it's going to rally in Gary, Indiana on January 20. They say they are going to celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., who was gunned down by an assassin's bullet thirty-three years ago. The Klan's purpose is to recruit more racist killers to murder other black men, women and children; to terrorize and kill Jews, Hispanics, Asians, gays and anyone else who doesn't fit in with their demented, genocidal quest for a "racially pure" America where trade unions don't exist.

This is a deadly provocation against the overwhelmingly black population of Gary and the tens of thousands of black and Hispanic working people who live in Chicago's South Side and suburbs just a stone's throw away. The "imperial wizard" of one of the KKK groups mobilizing for this provocation tried it in New York City on October 23, 1999. The Partisan Defense Committee said that the Klan was making a big mistake thinking that they could get away with it. And they didn't. An 8,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the PDC rode the Klan off the streets of New York. This is what is needed in Gary on January 20: a militant, determined and disciplined mobilization of the power of labor standing at the head of all the targets of Klan terror to *stop the fascists*.

The Partisan Defense Committee calls on the steel unions in Gary, on the powerful labor movement in Chicago, on the black population of Gary and the nearby Chicago suburbs, on Hispanics, Asians, Jews, Catholics, youth, campus organizations and all the opponents of racist terror to join us in a massive display of overwhelming strength and social power. All out to stop the KKK on January 20! Be there: noon, at City Hall in Gary, at the same time and the same place that the Klan says they are going to rally.

Beware those who argue that the KKK rally is an exercise of "free speech." As is only too painfully known by many blacks in Gary and Chicago, the Klan "speaks" with the lynch rope. The fascists' "words" are fired out of the barrel of a gun. Look no further than the killing spree of Benjamin Smith, a follower of the fascist "World Church of the Creator," which took the life of Ricky Byrdsong, a black man and former basketball coach at Northwestern University, and of Won Joon Yoon, a young South Korean student, and wounded nine others including several orthodox Jews in the summer of 1999. Beware those who say that the Klan should be ignored. The Klan, which sees Indiana as their turf for terror and murder, won't ignore you.

In December, the Klan rallied in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie, where Ricky Byrdsong was murdered and where the fascists had not dared to show their face since 1978, when a gang of Nazis canceled a planned march in the face of a promised outpouring of thousands of survivors of Hitler's Holocaust. If the Klan gets away with their provocation against the impoverished black population of Gary, these killers will feel the wind in their sails to try to do the same in the heavily black, Hispanic and working-class South Side of Chicago. The Klan's purpose is to bring the "open shop" South to labor/black Chicago.

Appealing to the government, whose cops and other forces exist for war against labor and all the oppressed, to "ban the Klan" will only strengthen its hand against all of *us*. The government, its cops and courts protect the fascists because these paramilitary thugs are the last line of defense when the powers that be can no longer keep the oppressed masses in line by lulling them with the idea that a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few represents the "will of the people."

Going like lambs to the slaughter into police pen traps, which are routinely set up, will only leave you in the hands of the racist cops while giving the Klan a free ride. Engaging in small-group confrontations with the Klan and their police protectors will accomplish nothing other than getting some heads busted and people thrown in jail. What is needed is to mobilize the social power to stop these racist killers. This power lies in the hands of the multiracial working class—from the Gary and Inland steel mills to the powerful Chicago transit unions, Teamsters, postal and airport workers in a city which is the heart of labor/black power in the Midwest.

Celebrating the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., the Klan says it also wants to commemorate the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. The KKK doubtless also wants to celebrate the election of Republican president George W. Bush. John Asheroft, Bush's nominee as attorney general, is a Klan dream come true. In a 1998 interview with *Southern Partisan*, Ashcroft praised this journal, which celebrates the Confederate slavocracy, for "defending Southern patriots like Lee, Jackson and Davis." But black people who keenly feel that they were robbed of their right to vote in the recent elections should remember the forces that stood against them in their fight against Jim Crow segregation and disenfranchisement—the KKK and their Southern *Democratic Party* bosses.

The Republicans revel in their hatred for labor, black rights, abortion rights, immigrants, the poor and anybody else

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Transit workers and other trade unionists formed backbone of labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of NYC, 23 October 1999.

For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 751

2 February 2001

U.S. Hands Off Iraq!

The last act of the Clinton administration was to launch another terror attack on Iraq, as U.S. missiles slammed into the town of Samawa in southern Iraq on the morning of January 20, killing six people. Two days later, the *New York Times* (22 January) carried a front-page article foreshadowing an intensification of U.S. imperialism's ongoing war of terror. Headlined "Iraq Rebuilt Weapon Factories, U.S. Officials Say—A Test of Bush's Vow to be Tough on Saddam Hussein," the article retails a January 10 intelligence report claiming that the Iraqi ruler has rebuilt factories "suspected of producing chemical and biological weapons."

In the Persian Gulf War in 1991, U.S. bombs destroyed a baby formula and powdered milk facility on the outskirts of Baghdad which Washington claimed was a "biological weapons plant." Two years ago, as U.S. missiles smashed into a pharmaceuticals plant in famine-ridden Sudan, Washington

continued on page 2

AFP

AP

Clinton administration's last act: Iraqi village of Samawa devastated by U.S. missiles.

Beware Peace Talks Fraud

Mexican Army Out of Chiapas!

Down With NAFTA!

MEXICO CITY, January 30—On New Year's Day 1994, the day the NAFTA agreement for the imperialist "free trade" rape of Mexico took effect, the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) launched the peasant rebellion that cast an international spotlight on the hideous poverty and oppression of the indigenous people in one of the country's poorest states, Chiapas. The uprising was quickly contained by military repression and death squad terror unleashed by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) regime: In the intervening years, the EZLN has pursued one sham government "peace" initiative after another. Yet Chiapas remains under occupation by at least 70,000 troops, and the government-sponsored right-wing paramilitaries responsible for the 1997 massacre of 45 men, women and children in the town of Acteal continue to operate with abandon.

As soon as he assumed the presidency on December 1, ending more than 70 years of PRI rule, Vicente Fox Quesada of the National Action Party (PAN) vowed to secure a peace deal with the EZLN. With much fanfare, Fox ordered the withdrawal of troops at a number of outposts in Chiapas. The day after his inauguration, the EZLN announced that Subcommander Marcos would lead a two-week march to the capital beginning February 25. The Zapatistas' stated aim is to pressure federal legislators to adopt a constitutional amendment on autonomy for indigenous peoples proposed by the Commission of Concord and Peace (COCOPA)—a group of congressmen designated to mediate peace talks—and endorsed by Fox. They have also called for the release of more than a hundred imprisoned EZLN militants and the withdrawal of troops from seven outposts near Zapatista villages as a precondition for renewed peace talks.

Reuters

U.S.-backed military occupation of Chiapas has meant bloody repression of peasants, indigenous peoples.

On January 12, more than a thousand protesters, mainly students, marched through the capital to support the EZLN's demands, while thousands more demonstrated in Chiapas with signs reading "We Want Peace." After years of looking to the "left" bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) and seeking to pressure the PRI to the bargaining table, the petty-bourgeois EZLN now hopes to pressure the new clerical-reactionary regime to negotiate a peace agreement. In Chiapas, the PRD is in a coalition with the PAN. Addressing Fox, Marcos told the *New York Times* (30 January), "If this government truly represents change...it will address all the issues that provoked war." Such illusions are deadly. The blood-drenched Mexican bourgeoisie, backed to the hilt by rapacious U.S. imperialism, will not and cannot bring justice to the oppressed and impoverished.

There are 259 military outposts in Chiapas and another 396 points occupied by police forces! While the government claims that it has already dismantled four outposts, the reality is that the troops have just been moved back to their barracks a few miles away. Meanwhile, major bourgeois spokesmen are screaming for blood. The PRI is dead set against any autonomy legislation. The head of the COPARMEX employers association rails that "too much space" has already been given and warns Fox it would be "a grave error" to allow the EZLN march to take place. A leading official in Fox's own party, the head of the Chamber of Deputies (Congress) commission on "public security," demands that EZLN leader Marcos be arrested if he leaves Chiapas. On January 20, Fox declared there would be no further troop withdrawals and no more EZLN prisoners freed other than the 18 already released.

Standing behind the Mexican bourgeoisie is the U.S. imperialist colossus, which has funneled vast quantities of military aid to the war of terror against the EZLN peasant insurgents in Chiapas, the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) in Guerrero and the Insurgent People's Revolutionary Army (ERPI). Since the imposition of NAFTA, U.S. imperialism has planted its boot even more firmly on the necks of the Mexican workers and peasants, and Fox was elected on a platform of extending the PRI's sell-off of the Mexican economy to the imperialists. The American capitalists are watching closely to make sure Fox delivers on his promises to further open Mexico to U.S. economic

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Susan Rosenberg Free At Last

On January 20, Susan Rosenberg finally walked out of the prison hell in which she spent the past 16 years. A former member of the New Left Weather Underground, Rosenberg was arrested with Timothy Blunk in November 1984, convicted four months later for possession of firearms and explosives and sentenced to *58 years* in prison. Blunk was paroled after 12 years, but not Rosenberg, despite being described as a "model prisoner." The government demanded that Rosenberg remain in prison at least 15 years longer because of allegations that she had been involved in the 1981 robbery of a Brink's armored truck, though she was never even tried, much less convicted, in the Brink's case.

Rosenberg was among more than a hundred people pardoned by Clinton in his final days in office. Her pardon was met with a bipartisan storm of criticism, including from New York Democratic Senator Charles Schumer, NYC police commissioner Bernard Kerik and Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Giuliani, who as U.S. attorney dropped the Brink's charges against her, conceded he didn't remember the details of the case—but said that Rosenberg should spend her life behind bars anyway!

Conspicuously not included among those pardoned by Clinton was American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, who has been imprisoned for over 23 years, framed up for the shooting deaths of two FBI agents during the Feds' massive siege of the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975. Peltier's appeal for a pardon triggered a vindictive outcry by the FBI and other police agencies. *Free Leonard Peltier!*

Together with Puerto Rican nationalist Alejandrina Torres and Italian leftist Silvia Baraldini, until 1988 Rosenberg had been held in the barbaric High Security Unit (HSU) at the federal prison in Lexington, Kentucky. They were confined to subterranean white tombs under glaring white fluorescent lights 23 hours a day and video surveillance followed their every step, even to the shower stalls. As Rosenberg described it, "They are trying to drive us completely out of our minds." Though the Lexington HSU was ultimately shut down, it served as a prototype for psychological torture chambers which now dot the country's landscape.

Rosenberg's arrest came amid an "anti-terror" frenzy whipped up by the Reagan administration in the 1980s to criminalize leftist politics and labor militancy as the U.S. pursued its Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. This was a time of widespread opposition to U.S. imperialism's support to apartheid South Africa, the contra terrorists in Nicaragua and the death squad regime in El Salvador. Among those still languishing behind bars are four members of the Ohio 7: Jaan Laaman, Ray Luc Levasseur, Richard Williams and Tom Manning. The Ohio 7 were convicted on a conspiracy rap, charged with being members of the United Freedom Front, which took credit for the bombing of government buildings (in which nobody was hurt) to express opposition to U.S. imperialism.

During the heyday of the New Left and the Vietnam antiwar movement, the politics of Rosenberg and the Ohio 7 were held by thousands of radicals who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program. As Marxists, we reject the strategy of individual terror but defend those like the Ohio 7 and Rosenberg and her comrades in the Weather Underground. They committed no crime from the standpoint of the working class but were spurned by the "respectable" reformist left when the full brunt of government repression came down upon them. Neither Rosenberg nor the Ohio 7 should have spent a day in prison. *Free all class-war prisoners!*■

NYPD

Susan Rosenberg under police escort during 1984-85 federal trial.

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Communist International and the Fight for Black Liberation

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 reverberated among the exploited and oppressed internationally, not least the black population in the U.S. In sharp contrast to the social-democratic Second International and the pro-imperialist labor opportunists, the Communist (Third) International under Lenin and Trotsky championed the fight against colonial oppression. Addressing the tasks of American Communists, the Comintern insisted at its Fourth Congress in 1922 that the struggle for black freedom was integral to the fight for proletarian revolution.

The blood, sweat and tears of the "emancipated" blacks helped to build American capitalism, and when the country, now become a world power, was inevitably pulled into the World War, black Americans gained equal rights with the whites...to kill and to die for "democracy." Four hundred thousand coloured proletarians were recruited to the American army and organized into special black regiments. These black soldiers had hardly returned from the bloodbath of the war before they came up against racial persecution, lynchings, murders, the denial of rights, discrimination and general contempt. They fought back, but paid dearly for the attempt to assert their human rights. The persecution of blacks became even more widespread than before the war, and the blacks once again learned to "know their place." The spirit of revolt, inflamed by the post-war violence and persecution, was suppressed, but cases of inhuman cruelty, such as the events in Tulsa, still cause it to flare up again. This, plus the post-war industrialization of blacks in the North, places the American blacks, particularly those in the North, in the vanguard of the struggle for black liberation.

The Communist International is extremely proud to see the exploited black workers resisting the attacks of the exploiters, since the enemy of the black race and the enemy of the white workers is one and the same—capitalism and imperialism....

The Communist International represents the revolutionary workers and peasants of the entire world in their struggle against the power of imperialism—it is not just an organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America, but is as much an organization of the oppressed non-white peoples of the world, and so feels duty-bound to encourage and support the international organizations of the black people in their struggle against the common enemy.

—Communist International, "The Black Question" (1922), printed in *Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International*, Ink Links (1980)

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

cynically lied that the factory produced nerve gas. Now, to beat the drums for a new round of bombing in Iraq, U.S. officials claim that a factory producing castor oil for use in brake fluid is a weapons factory because, we're told, "the mash from castor beans is used to make a deadly biological toxin called ricin."

Even more deadly than these terror bombing attacks is the U.S. starvation blockade of Iraq, imposed in 1990 under United Nations auspices and continued under Clinton, which has killed some 1.5 million people, many of them children under five. Now, the old gang that carried out the 1991 war in which tens of thousands of Iraqis were murdered is back in the White House, with Bush Sr.'s defense secretary, Richard Cheney, serving as vice president and General Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, running the State Department.

Pushing its pro-Democratic Party "fight the right" line, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) introduces an article on the tenth anniversary of the Gulf War by noting that the Bush team "perpetrated one of the greatest war crimes in history—the destruction of an entire country and the murder of more than a million people in the name of oil profits" (*Socialist Worker*, 19 January). But most of those people were murdered under the watch of the Democrats, who don't even rate a mention in the ISO's article. In addition, hundreds of Iraqi civilians were killed by near-daily U.S. bombing in the last two years of the Clinton administration, and many more by earlier terror attacks ordered by Clinton. The Democratic Party is the ***preferred*** war party of the U.S. capitalist class because its posture as a friend of labor and minorities allows it to more readily whip up public support for imperialist adventures abroad.

The U.S. imperialist butchers seek to assert their "right" to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to their rivals that the U.S. remains top dog, particularly in the oil-rich Near East. This has contributed to growing tensions among the imperialists, as evidenced by the clamor from France and other European powers to end the UN sanctions against Iraq. And in recent months Russia, Turkey and Italy have all defied the ban on commercial flights into Baghdad.

Competition over natural resources, markets and spheres of exploitation ultimately paves the way for a new inter-imperialist world war, this time fought with nuclear weapons. The threat of war can only be eliminated through socialist revolution internationally to sweep away the entire system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. From Turkey and Iraq to France and, above all, the U.S., the bastion of world imperialism, we fight to build proletarian vanguard parties to lead the workers to power. *Down with the starvation blockade—U.S. get your bloody hands off Iraq!*■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 751 **2 February 2001**

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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February 13: ***Marxist Economics: Why Capitalist Boom Must Go Bust***
UC Berkeley, 179 Dwinella
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

CHICAGO

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February 3: ***Marxism: The Fight for Socialist Revolution***
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TORONTO

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February 14: ***Racism and Capitalist Oppression***
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February 7: ***Anglo Chauvinism and Canadian Capitalism: Why Marxists Advocate Quebec Independance***
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 213
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The Russian Revolution and the Black Freedom Struggle

"Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races—for all the despised and rejected of the earth."

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement" (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1959; reprinted in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962])

These words, describing the revolutionary ideas which inspired a generation of radicals in the early 1920s, were written by American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon as the historic struggle for

Black History Month

black freedom and equality in the U.S. entered a new chapter with the civil rights movement. The October Revolution of 1917 was a beacon to the exploited and oppressed throughout the world, the greatest victory ever achieved by the working people. As the multinational working class, led by the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, smashed the bloody rule of the capitalist masters and erected its own state power, it opened

National Archives

Black army unit in World War I. Returning black vets played key role in self-defense against rampant lynch mob terror in U.S.

the portals of liberation to all the many oppressed peoples of Russia.

In the U.S., the reverberations of the Russian Revolution coincided with the great migration of Southern black sharecroppers to the cities of the North and the return of some 400,000 black World War I vets. This combination of events gave birth to the rise of a new black militancy. It also gave birth to the far-flung web of repression that a half century later took the form of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) terror operation. From the time of the slave revolts before the Civil War, the sight of black people armed not only with guns but with "radical" notions of freedom and equality has struck fear into America's racist rulers. In a 1919 Senate report, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, author of the infamous 1920 Palmer Raids, warned that "the Negro is 'seeing red'."

Many black radicals in the early '20s did indeed look to the Russian Revolution, and a few joined the early American Communist Party (CP). Among them were leaders of the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), mainly composed of West Indian immigrants, which advocated race pride and armed self-defense against racist terror. As black people took up arms in self-defense against a series of racist pogroms and lynchings that swept American cities from Washington to Tulsa, Oklahoma at the end of World War I, the ABB defiantly proclaimed in an article headlined "The Tulsa Outrage" (*Crusader*, July 1921):

> "As at Washington, D.C., so at Tulsa, Okla. The entire power of the State, all of the forces of capitalist 'law and order,' were turned upon the Negro in the process of 'putting down' race riots that were started and most actively prosecuted by white mobs.... That is the kind of justice the Negro gets in capitalist America! That is the kind of justice the Jew used to get in capitalist-Czarist Russia, until the workers of all races arose in their wrath and overthrew the capitalist-Czarist combination and set up Soviets. Now the workers of all races get equal justice—in Russia. How long will the Negro in America continue to fall for capitalist bunk? How many more Tulsas will it take to line up the Negro where by all race interests he belongs—with the radical forces of the world that are working for the overthrow of capitalism and the dawn of a new day, a new heaven and a new earth?"

These questions are posed with no less urgency 80 years later. The last great struggle for black equality in the U.S., the civil rights movement, resulted in the formal elimination of entrenched Jim Crow segregation in the South. But it did nothing to ameliorate the de facto segregation of the black masses at the bottom of American society—massive and chronic unemployment, segregated and substandard housing and schools, rampant cop terror in the ghettos—rooted in the very foundations of this capitalist system. Thousands upon thousands of civil rights activists faced down shotgun-wielding cops and Klan lynchers in white robes. But the movement was steered away from a revolutionary challenge to racist American capitalism by Martin Luther King Jr. and other liberal civil rights leaders, aided by the long-since reformist Communist Party, and into the dead end of Democratic Party liberalism.

The Spartacist League was born in good part in a fight for a revolutionary proletarian intervention into the civil rights movement. The SL originated as the Revolutionary Tendency within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had been founded and led for many years by Cannon, in struggle against the party's

Black poet Claude McKay addresses Fourth Comintern Congress, 1922. McKay's book *Negroes in America* (1923) was printed in Moscow.

Wide World

descent from Trotskyism into centrism in 1961-63. Weakened by years of isolation during the McCarthyite witchhunt, the SWP criminally abstained from the struggle to win the thousands of left-wing militants who rebelled against King's liberal pacifism, instead adapting to the liberals and later the black nationalists.

Today, the material conditions of the mass of the black population are by every measure worse than they were in the 1960s, while even the minimal gains achieved then have either been rolled back or are under incessant attack. Meanwhile, King's political heirs—Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, etc.—seek to bind a new generation of black youth to the Democratic Party as a capitalist "lesser evil" and to convince them that "communism is dead." The destruction of the Soviet Union, the final undoing of the October Revolution, was an enormous defeat. But the lessons of the Russian Revolution remain no less vital. It will take nothing short of a new October Revolution that sweeps away the U.S. bourgeoisie to bring about freedom and equality for black people and all working people.

The First COINTELPRO

If the class-struggle road to black freedom was first charted in the immediate aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, it was in this period as well that the American capitalist state constructed the deadly apparatus of political repression—with its vast army of spies and informers, local police "red squads," wiretaps and mail interceptions—that was later deployed by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI in the '60s. COINTELPRO singled out the Black Panther Party, the best of a layer of radical black militants who spurned the accommodationism of King & Co., for defiantly asserting the right of armed self-defense. The FBI's war of terror left 38 Panthers dead and hundreds more framed up and imprisoned in America's dungeons, ultimately including onetime Philadelphia Panther spokesman Mumia Abu-Jamal, who now fights for his life from a prison cell on Pennsylvania's death row.

Theodore Kornweibel's *"Seeing Red": Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy 1919-1925* (1998) presents a history of the first edition of COINTELPRO. Kornweibel opens: "Modern America's political intelligence system—surveillance, investigation, and spying on individuals because of fear or dislike of their beliefs, resulting in harassment, intimidation, or persecution—came of age during World War I and the Red Scare of 1919 to 1921." America's entry into World War I, the first interimperialist world war, in 1917 gave impetus to the creation of a far-flung domestic espionage apparatus—including the Bureau of Investigation, the Military Intelligence Division (MID) and the Office of Naval Intelligence—which

continued on page 4

Schomburg Collection

1917 Harlem protest against East St. Louis pogrom in which at least 39 black people were killed.

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 3)

grew from a handful of agents to a staff of thousands by war's end in November 1918. At its center was the newly formed Bureau of Investigation—to be recast in 1935 as the FBI amid a new wave of working-class radicalization—and its General Intelligence Division (GID), headed by the same J. Edgar Hoover.

Within months of its formation in 1919, the GID had compiled a list of 55,000 names. Initially aimed at antiwar dissidents, left-wing Socialists and IWW members, Hoover's political police went on to pursue the fledgling American Communist movement. As always, black militants were a particular target. The federal agencies were assisted by local red squads and private anti-Communist outfits like the American Defense Initiative. The Palmer Raids in the first week of January 1920 resulted in the arrest of over 6,000 Communists and the deportation of thousands of foreign-born anarchists and other radicals. All of this was carried out under "progressive" Democratic president Woodrow Wilson.

Foreshadowing the "human rights" rhetoric which was later used to justify a host of imperialist military interventions by the Clinton White House, Wilson proclaimed that the imperialist war for redivision of colonies and spheres of exploitation was fought to make the world "safe for democracy"—even as he presided over the brutal subjugation of American colonies like the Philippines and Puerto Rico and Jim Crow terror against black people in the U.S. Wilson's "14 Points," including the right of national self-determination, were cynically crafted to counter Bolshevik influence among working people and colonial slaves around the world. As a staunch supporter of segregation, Wilson was representative of ascending U.S. imperialism, whose racist wars of conquest abroad, beginning with the Spanish-American War of 1898, were accompanied by the intensification of racist repression at home.

Based on previously unavailable government documents, Kornweibel presents a powerful exposition of how the federal government mobilized its resources—from the armed forces to the postal service, from the State Department to the Justice Department—to defend the racist capitalist status quo and to crush the new movements for black emancipation and red revolution. A liberal anti-Communist, Kornweibel argues that the Feds had "reasonable grounds for monitoring" black Communists because they supposedly advocated the violent overthrow of the American government and acted as spies for Soviet Russia. He condemns the capitalist government only for spying on large numbers of liberals and non-Communist radicals. Kornweibel sneers that "the Bolsheviks failed to convert more than a handful of blacks to communism in the 1920s."

It is true that as late as 1928, the CP had only some 50 black members. The Palmer Raids and the anti-red witchhunt had served their purpose. The decade of the '20s was marked by an ebb tide in labor struggle, as union membership shrank to barely 10 percent of the workforce. Emboldened by the right-wing climate, the Ku Klux Klan reached a peak of power and popularity, with several million members, including in the urban North. In 1925, the Klan staged a march of 40,000 in Washington, D.C.

But in the immediate aftermath of the Russian Revolution, the bourgeoisie's fears that the black masses might "see red" were not misplaced. The black GIs who had been sent to die in the "great war for democracy" in Europe and were now determined to fight for some democracy at home were, in Wilson's eyes, the "greatest medium in conveying bolshevism to America." As Kornweibel himself recounts, the Bolshevik Revolution was popular among wide layers of urban blacks and even among moderate black newspapers and organizations. The accomodationism of Booker T. Washington, who preached acceptance of Jim Crow segregation and lectured impoverished blacks to pull themselves up "by the bootstraps," had held sway in the years following the elimination of the last remaining gains of Reconstruction in the 1890s, when the downtrodden masses of black sharecroppers in the South entertained little hope of social struggle. But the end of World War I ushered in a new spirit of militancy, the "New Crowd Negro," in the words of black social democrat A. Philip Randolph.

Chicago Historical Society

Vanguard Press

Left: Racist riots in Chicago, 1919, helped break meatpackers union organizing drive. Right: Chicago factory in 1920s. Migration from rural South to industrial North gave black workers social power as integral part of proletariat.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The experience of the Bolshevik Party in leading the first victorious proletarian revolution provoked a polarization and regroupment within the workers movement internationally. In the U.S., many left-wing Socialists and members of the revolutionary-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) joined together to forge an American section of the Communist International (CI). Of particular importance was the profound change inspired by the Russian Bolsheviks in the way American radicals viewed the black question.

Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor was largely composed of lily-white craft unions. Even the IWW, which fought heroically to organize black and immigrant workers, had no program to address the special oppression of black people. The Socialist Party ranged from open racists like Victor Berger, who considered black people "a lower race," to "colorblind" socialists like Eugene V. Debs. Debs staunchly opposed racist discrimination and the exclusion of black workers from the unions but denied that black people suffered from any form of oppression other than as workers, going so far as to challenge: "What social distinction is there between a white and a black deckhand on a Mississippi steamboat?" (Jean Y. Tussey, ed., *Debs Speaks* [1970]). This Debsian outlook was manifested in the 1919 founding program of the Communist Party, while the program of the rival Communist Labor Party (the two groups merged in 1920) simply ignored the black question.

As Cannon, a former Wobbly who became an early leader of the CP and then founder of the American Trotskyist movement, noted in his 1959 article:

> "The earlier socialist movement, out of which the Communist Party was formed, never recognized any need for a special program on the Negro question. It was considered purely and simply as an economic problem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists; nothing could be done about the special problems of discrimination and inequality this side of socialism....
>
> "The difference—and it was a *profound* difference—between the Communist Party of the Twenties and its socialist and radical ancestors, was signified by its break with this tradition. The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russians in the Comintern, were slowly and painfully learning to change their *attitude*; to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a *special* question of doubly-exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it."

Vanguard Pres

Labor Monthly

1925 founding convention of American Negro Labor Congress organized by CP and ANLC secretary Richard Moore. Banner reads: "Organization Is the First Step to Freedom."

Though the early Comintern tended to conflate the black struggle in the U.S. with the colonial struggle in Africa, the manifesto adopted by the First Congress of the CI in 1919, drafted by Trotsky, was a clarion call to the dark-skinned masses throughout the world, proclaiming: "Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will strike for you as the hour of your own emancipation!" The first full discussion of the black question from a Communist viewpoint took place not in the U.S. but in Moscow, at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920. At Lenin's personal request, American Communist John Reed—author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*, the first popular account of the Russian Revolution—was designated to report on the "Negro Question." Describing the horrors of lynch law and Jim Crow segregation as well as the effects of proletarianization and imperialist war, Reed said:

> "If we consider the Negroes as an enslaved and oppressed people, then they pose us with two tasks: on the one hand a strong racial movement and on the other a strong proletarian workers' movement, whose class consciousness is quickly growing. The Negroes do not pose the demand of national independence....
>
> "The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among the Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."

In the years before and during World War I, more than a million blacks fled the rural Jim Crow South to enter Northern industry. In his 1915 pamphlet, *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture*, Lenin wrote: "To show what the South is like, it is essential to add that its population is fleeing to other capitalist areas and to the towns.... For the 'emancipated' Negroes, the American South is a kind of prison where they are hemmed in, isolated and deprived of fresh air." The black question in the U.S. was thus transformed from primarily a Southern agrarian question left unresolved in the aftermath of the Civil War and the radical-democratic Reconstruction era to a key question of the *proletarian* revolution.

Particularly with the formation of the integrated CIO industrial unions in the latter half of the 1930s, black workers became a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat. The special oppression of black people as a race/color caste—segregated at the bottom of this society while integrated into the economy—is the cornerstone of American capitalism. Black workers serve as an industrial reserve army, the last hired and first fired as economic need demands. As well, America's rulers foster racial divisions in order to obscure the fundamental and irreconcilable *class* division between labor and capital and to head off united working-class struggle.

The Spartacist League's proletarian, revolutionary strategy for black liberation derives from the seminal understanding laid out by Reed in Moscow in 1920 and powerfully developed by the later writings of veteran Trotskyist Richard Fraser. In the late 1940s and early '50s, Fraser pioneered the perspective of revolutionary integrationism upheld today by the SL. We fight to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in struggle against every manifestation of racist oppression, a struggle which can only be victorious through the full social, political and economic integration of black people in an egalitarian *socialist* society.

Won to a revolutionary program, doubly oppressed black workers will play a leading role in the fight to emancipate the black masses and all working people by sweeping away the entire system of capitalist exploitation. There can be no

socialist revolution in this country without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party, and there is nothing other than a workers revolution, smashing the capitalist state and expropriating the capitalist class, which can at last realize the historic struggle for black equality and freedom.

Racist Terror and Black Self-Defense

The Red Scare hit full stride in 1919. That year saw the crest of the wave of labor radicalism which swept Europe in response to the great carnage of the war and under the impact of the Russian Revolution. In the U.S., the ranks of the Socialist Party swelled to more than 100,000, mostly foreign-born workers, with two-thirds supporting the pro-Bolshevik left wing. The U.S. was hit by the biggest strike wave up to that time, as four million workers walked off their jobs in response to the mounting cost of living induced by war inflation. Drives to organize unions in meatpacking and steel culminated in a huge steel strike that year which was smashed by federal troops. Shunned by the Jim Crow craft unions of the AFL, many black workers had first been hired by the bosses as scabs and worked in non-union "open shops." Many more had been brought in to replace white workers drafted into the military.

In the South, the sight of armed and uniformed black soldiers drove the racists into a frenzy. In Houston, 13 black soldiers were hanged in September 1917 and 41 imprisoned for life for defending themselves against a racist mob, and the number of lynchings escalated over the next couple of years. Conflicts over housing and jobs set the stage for a series of bloody pogroms and racist massacres, beginning in East St. Louis in July 1917, where over 40 blacks were killed. These conflicts intensified with the end of the war, as white workers demobilized from the army demanded jobs at the expense of black workers and a postwar economic downturn set in.

The Red Summer of 1919, so called for the blood of black victims that flowed through city streets, saw a series of racist rampages that left hundreds dead across the country. In Washington, D.C., the entry of black workers into lower-level civil service jobs during the war provoked a riot by returning soldiers in which six blacks were killed. A five-day riot in Chicago, which broke the back of the meatpackers organizing drive, left 23 blacks and 15 whites dead and over 500 people seriously injured. In Elaine, Arkansas, the formation of the black Progressive Farmers and Householders Union was met with a racist onslaught. Following a mob attack on a union meeting in October, in which some 200 black men, women and children died, federal troops were called in and 12 sharecroppers were sentenced to death and another 80 to prison for "inciting to insurrection." They were finally freed after prolonged efforts by the NAACP.

The worst of these racist atrocities came in Tulsa, Oklahoma in May 1921. As false rumors spread that a young black man had attacked a white female elevator operator, lynch mobs looted and burned black homes and businesses. Black residents, many of them army vets, organized to defend themselves. The police, commandeering private planes, dropped dynamite on the heart of black Tulsa. By the time it was over, the once-thriving black business district, known as "the Negro Wall Street," had been razed. Over 200 black men, women and children (as well as some 50 white attackers) were killed, and over 4,000 more were thrown into concentration camps.

What alarmed the bourgeoisie was not the murderous ferocity of the racist attacks but that they were met by blacks with growing resolve for armed self-defense. The Chicago *Whip*, one of a number of small black newspapers which typified the "New Crowd Negro," drew the ire of the Feds when it headlined a report on a 1920 racist riot in Jersey City in which three whites were badly beaten in self-defense by besieged blacks: "Started by White Hoodlums, Finished by Tough Negroes." Following the Tulsa pogrom, the paper carried a scathing indictment of racist American "democracy": "Americanism! Is that the thing which lynches, burns and murders the weak? If so, then give us Lords and Kings with guillotines and dungeons" (quoted in the *Crusader*, July 1921).

Claude McKay gave voice to the new spirit of militancy in his famous poem "If We Must Die" (1919):

> "If we must die, let it not be like hogs....
> Like men we'll face the murderous cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!"

Though never a member of the CP, McKay was outspoken and eloquent in his support for the Russian Revolution and was invited to attend the CI's 1922 Fourth Congress as a special delegate. When McKay met Trotsky, the Bolshevik leader and Red Army commander talked of his hopes of training a group of American blacks as officers in the Red Army and invited McKay for a three-week tour of Russian military facilities. But, stressed Trotsky, "The training of black propagandists is the most imperative and extremely important revolutionary task of the present time."

Even the cravenly legalistic NAACP ran an editorial in its *Crisis* in May 1919 in which editor W. E. B. DuBois called for black vets to "battle against the forces of hell in our own land" and declared, "We return from fighting. We return fighting." This was deemed so inflammatory that the New York Postmaster ordered 100,000 copies of the issue withheld, despite the NAACP's record of loyalty to the racist rulers. During the war, DuBois had urged blacks to "close ranks" behind U.S. imperialism, while NAACP chairman Joel Spingarn served as an officer in military intelligence, briefly heading up subsection M14E, which specialized in "investigations of blacks' loyalties," as Komweibel reports.

Lake View Press

IWW militants were among the thousands of radicals deported following 1920 Palmer Raids.

After the war, DuBois appealed to the victors of the imperialist bloodbath to apply the "principles" of their robbers' peace—Wilson's "14 Points" and the Versailles treaty—to Africa and played a leading role in the Second Pan-African Congress in 1921, which demanded nothing more lofty than the "right" of the colonial slaves "to participate in the [colonial] government as fast as their development permits." Writing about this period in 1972, even a scholar sympathetic to Pan-Africanism, Harvard political science professor Azina Nwafor, observed:

> "These were, after all, the historical moments when the Bolsheviks had just triumphed in Russia and were exhorting all subject and colonial peoples to rise and overthrow their oppressors, their respective feudal and imperialist regimes, and to 'expropriate all the expropriators.' Such revolutionary principles and appeals were the real radical demands of the epoch—and not a wind of these blew through the civilized halls of the Pan-African Congresses."
>
> —"Critical Introduction" to George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism* (1972)

When McKay criticized the *Crisis* in 1921 for "sneer[ing] at the Russian Revolution, the greatest event in the history of humanity," DuBois replied that "the immediate work for the American Negro lies in America and not in Russia" and pronounced it "foolish for us to give up this practical program...by seeking to join a revolution which we do not at present understand" (*Crisis*, July 1921; reprinted in Philip S. Foner and James S. Allen, eds., *American Communism and Black Americans: A Documentary History, 1919-1929* [1987]). This the liberal DuBois would never understand, even after joining the by-then thoroughly reformist CP in 1961, shortly before his death.

Hoover's Witchhunt Against Black Militants

As racist mobs rampaged against blacks in 1919, Hoover directed his agents to pay "special attention" to "the Negro agitation which seems to be prevalent throughout the industrial centers of the country and every effort should be made to ascertain whether or not this agitation is due to the influence of the radical elements such as the IWW and Bolsheviks." In a report to Congress that year, Hoover railed that "a certain class of Negro leaders" had shown "an outspoken advocacy of the Bolsheviki or Soviet doctrines," had been "openly, defiantly assertive" of their "own equality or even superiority" and had demanded "social equality" (quoted in Robert Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America: 1870 to the Present* [1978]).

In its venomous crusade against anything smacking of black self-assertion, the government even targeted Marcus Garvey's *Negro World* as "probable Bolshevik propaganda." In fact, Garvey was an early exponent of the reactionary separatism and black capitalism today espoused by Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam. In 1922, Garvey even staged a meeting with the head of the KKK. Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association tried to get blacks to move to Africa and establish themselves as a new colonial elite with himself as their emperor. The only black nationalist movement in the U.S. ever to attain a mass base, the Garveyites fed off the disillusionment and demoralization which followed the defeat of the postwar strike wave and the 1919 riots. After a years-long vendetta, the Feds imprisoned Garvey in 1925 on fraud charges, deporting him to Jamaica three years later.

The main targets of government repression, intimidation, infiltration and frame-up were black leftists, especially those like McKay who had traveled to Moscow and were suspected of bringing back instructions from Trotsky to set up a "colored Soviet." The small number of black agents and informants recruited by

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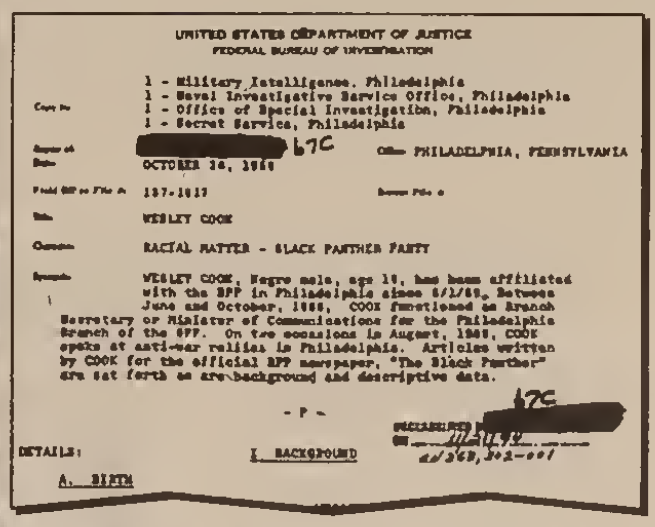
James/Philadelphia Inquirer



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia
1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia

[redacted] b7C — PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
OCTOBER 16, 1968
157-1013
WESLEY COOK
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

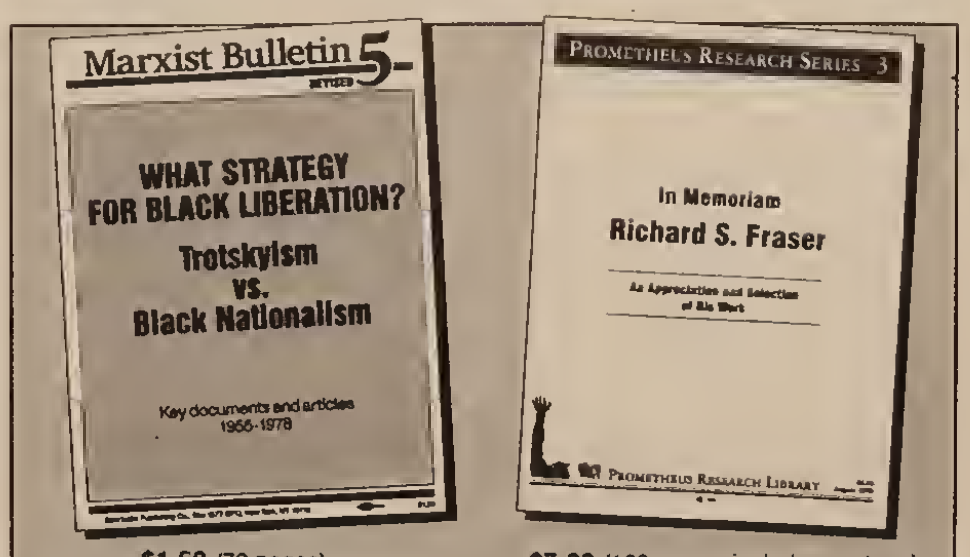
WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 19, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 6/1/68. Between June and October, 1968, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1968, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

- P -

DETAILS:
I. BACKGROUND
A. BIRTH

b7C

From the time he was a Philadelphia Black Panther Party spokesman in late '60s, Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted by FBI's murderous COINTELPRO operation.



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Black Freedom...

(continued from page 5)

the Feds were kept busy infiltrating numerous organizations, in some cases simultaneously, and reporting on public meetings and discussion circles. A particular focus of government spying was Martin Luther Campbell's tailor shop in Harlem, where regular discussions were attended by a wide range of black radicals and Communists, including McKay and leading CPer Rose Pastor Stokes.

Among those targeted by the Feds were left social democrats A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, who published the *Messenger*. The second issue of the *Messenger* (May/June 1919) featured headlines like "The March of Soviet Government" and "We Want More Bolshevik Patriotism." It was from the *Messenger* group and the Harlem branch of the Socialist Party that the Communist Party recruited its first black members, including founding CPer Otto Huiswoud, a union printer from Dutch Guiana (now Surinam). The post office withheld permanent second-class mailing status from the *Messenger* for two years for the following piece puncturing the racist hypocrisy of American bourgeois society:

> "As for social equality, there are about five million mulattoes in the United States. This is the product of semi-social equality. It shows that social equality galore exists after dark, and we warn you that we expect to have social equality in the day as well as after dark."

Though initially an admirer of the Bolshevik Revolution, Randolph sided with the reformist wing of the SP in the 1919 split that led to the formation of the CP. In 1923, he and Owen ran an editorial titled "The Menace of Negro Communists." By the 1950s, Randolph was a Cold War liberal and Democratic Party stalwart.

The African Blood Brotherhood

The CP's real breakthrough in black recruitment came from the African Blood Brotherhood, founded in 1919 by West Indian militant Cyril Briggs, publisher of the *Crusader*. Announcing the formation of the ABB, the *Crusader* wrote: "Those only need apply who are willing to go the limit!" Briggs was led by his uncompromising hostility to imperialist capitalism to embrace a revolutionary outlook, and he and other ABB leaders joined the CP. When the CP, before then underground, set up the Workers Party as a legal party, the ABB sent a fraternal delegation to its founding convention in December 1921 and many ABB members joined the new legal party.

Briggs himself came under surveillance in 1919 when the MID was alerted by a British intelligence report on "Negro Agitation" which described the *Crusader* as a "very extreme magazine" for its opposition to imperialism, its admiration of Bolshevism and its "abuse of the white man." Garvey's pro-capitalist separatist movement was a chief target of the *Crusader*'s polemical fire. This political struggle soon became muddied as Hoover's provocateurs tried to push it toward a violent confrontation, just as 50 years later FBI provocateurs seized on the antagonism between the Panthers and Ron Karenga's "cultural nationalists" in Los Angeles to foment murderous feuding. DuBois and Randolph were trying to get the Feds to prosecute Garvey. Indefensibly, in 1922 Briggs joined with them in this, according to Komweibel, alerting the "New York authorities that the *Negro World* had violated the law by printing advertisements for a cure for venereal disease."

In the wake of the 1921 Tulsa massacre, the ABB was subjected to even closer government scrutiny and a hysterical press witchhunt for supposedly organizing black self-defense efforts there. But the ABB's membership soared as it defiantly affirmed the right of armed self-defense. The CP distributed hundreds of thousands of copies of its own leaflet, "The Tulsa Massacre," which called for blacks "to resist the armed assaults upon their homes, their women and children." Three CPers were convicted and sentenced to five months under Connecticut's sedition law for distributing this leaflet.

RTsKhIDNI

James P. Cannon in Moscow with Red Army soldiers during Sixth Congress of Communist International, 1928.

While the ABB retained a separate existence and identity through 1924, it was closely associated with and served as a recruiting ground for the Workers Party. In 1925, the CP attempted to launch a black transitional organization, the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC), in line with the CI's recognition of the need for special organizational forms to draw into the revolutionary movement specially oppressed layers. Today's Labor Black Leagues initiated by the Spartacist League are an example of such transitional organizations, which are linked to the proletarian vanguard party both programmatically and through their most conscious cadres. The ANLC opposed the color bar in the AFL, calling for unionization of black workers, demanded full social and political equality for black people and hailed "the workers' and farmers' government of Soviet Russia." Its founding conference declared, "The white workers cannot free themselves without the aid of us dark-skinned people, and we cannot liberate ourselves unless they join with us in an assault of the world bastions of imperialism" (*Daily Worker*, 14 November 1925; reprinted in *American Communism and Black Americans: A Documentary History, 1919 to 1929*).

The CP did not have enough black cadre to get the ANLC off the ground, making little headway overall in this period marked by a sharp decline in union membership and massive growth of the KKK. Moreover, by this time the Bolshevik leadership of Lenin and Trotsky which had sought to guide and educate the American Communists had been replaced by the bureaucratic regime headed by Stalin. Hostile imperialist encirclement and the failure of revolution to spread beyond backward Russia to the advanced capitalist world led to the consolidation of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy which usurped power through a political counterrevolution consummated by the smashing of the Trotskyist Left Opposition in January 1924. The Stalinist bureaucracy proclaimed the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," transforming the Communist parties in the capitalist world from instruments for socialist revolution into appendages of the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers.

The Stalinists' conservative policies found an echo among American CP cadre weighed down by the reactionary pressures of an expanding and self-confident imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy manipulated the ongoing and politically unclear factional warfare within the American party for its own ends. In 1928, the CI decreed the so-called "black belt theory," insisting against all reality and the opposition of the majority of the CP's black cadre that the black population in the South constituted a nation and that the key task was to fight for black "self-determination." But as Cannon noted in his 1959 essay, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," it was the CP's "aggressive agitation for *Negra equality and Negro rights an every front*...that brought the results, without the help, and probably despite, the unpopular 'self-determination' slogan."

Cannon explained that the profound changes in the attitude of the American Communists to the black question introduced in the early 1920s, "brought about by the Russian intervention, were to manifest themselves explosively in the next decade." As the Great Depression led to a new period of struggle in the early '30s, the CP took the lead in fights against evictions, in struggles of the unemployed and in the Scottsboro and Angelo Herndon defense campaigns. When the tumultuous battles that gave rise to powerful new industrial unions erupted, "the policy and agitation of the Communist Party at that time did more, ten times over, than any other to help the Negro workers to rise to a new status of at least semi-citizenship in the new labor movement."

But, as Cannon put it, "the American Stalinists eventually fouled up the Negro question, as they fouled up every other question." By the mid-1930s, the CI had adopted the overtly class-collaborationist "people's front" line, manifested in the U.S. in a policy of subordination to Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" Democratic Party, whose Southern wing was the Klan-infested Dixiecrat segregationists. The CP played a key role in subordinating the CIO unions and the fight for black rights to the Democratic Party, *opposing* labor and black struggles during World War II in order to promote the war effort of racist U.S. imperialism.

Break with the Democrats—Forge a Workers Party!

In their introductory note to *American Communism and Black Americans: A Documentary History, 1919 to 1929*, Stalinist academics Philip Foner and James Allen seek to justify this history of sellouts by spitting on the heroic and pioneering work of the early CP. They deep-six the central role of the Russian Bolsheviks in reorienting the American Communists on the black question and criticize them for "requiring adherence to their full program" in the ANLC. They attack the early CP's "negative attitude toward the Black middle class"—i.e., its revolutionary proletarian perspective—and counterpose the need for a class-collaborationist "united freedom front." Because they uphold the Stalinist class collaborationism of the later CP, Foner and Allen are necessarily hostile to the perspective of black liberation through proletarian revolution which animated the American Communist movement under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Stalinists' sellout of the fight for black rights in the service of FDR's Democrats cast a heavy shadow over the American workers movement. That goes a long way to explaining why, in the subsequent years, many blacks—and white workers as well—turned their backs on the Communist Party and the left in general, leaving the field open to Democratic Party liberals like Martin Luther King Jr. and, today, Jesse Jackson. In concluding "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," Cannon wrote:

> "In the next stage of its development, the American Negro movement will be compelled to turn to a more militant policy than gradualism, and to look for more reliable allies than capitalist politicians in the North who are themselves allied with the Dixiecrats of the South. The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary.
>
> "An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.
>
> "Reforms and concessions, far more important and significant than any yet attained, will be by-products of this revolutionary alliance. They will be fought for and attained at every stage of the struggle. But the new movement will not stop with reforms, nor be satisfied with concessions. The movement of the Negro people and the movement of militant labor, united and coordinated by a revolutionary party, will solve the Negro problem in the only way it can be solved—by a social revolution."

WV Photo

Chicago labor/black demonstration to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, November 1998. Our fight for black liberation through socialist revolution stands in tradition of early Comintern.

The forging of an authentically communist vanguard party to lead the multiracial proletariat to power requires breaking working people and the black masses from the grip of the racist capitalist Democratic Party. This is the task of the Spartacist League. As we state in the SL/U.S. programmatic statement "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!": "The shell game through which the Democratic Party—the historic party of the Confederate slavocracy—is portrayed as the 'friend' of blacks and labor has been essential to preserving the rule of racist American capitalism. Our principal task in the U.S. is to break the power of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy over the labor movement. It is this bureaucracy—itself a component part of the Democratic Party—which politically chains the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and is the major obstacle to revolutionary class consciousness, to the forging of a revolutionary workers party." *For black liberation through socialist revolution!*■

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

penetration. Days after his inauguration, Republican president George W. Bush announced that his first visit abroad will be to Mexico. Down with the U.S. "free trade" rape of Mexico! Mexican army out of Chiapas now! Immediate freedom for all EZLN, EPR and ERPI prisoners!

Fox's Sham Autonomy Scheme

The COCOPA proposal, based on the 1996 San Andrés accord, would grant indigenous people "autonomy as part of the Mexican State" and "collective access to the use and enjoyment of the natural resources of their lands and territories...except those whose direct control corresponds to the nation." In practice, these vague promises are meaningless. The proposed autonomous regions, with limited rights to land, would often come into conflict with the big landholders and the industrial enterprises Fox wants to introduce in the area. The territories whose control "corresponds to the nation" are presumably those rich in oil, gas and water resources. Chiapas has 30 percent of Mexico's scarce water resources, 47 percent of natural gas reserves and 21 percent of the oil. In fact, some of the army outposts in Chiapas were set up specifically to protect oil reserves.

The contempt of the government for the indigenous population is clear from the openly racist statement of Rafael Rangel, the president of Fox's National Council of Education for Life and Work. Rangel declaimed that it is "very difficult" to educate half of the country's 36 million illiterate people, who are "dispersed indigenous people" or "don't have the mental capacity" because "their brains didn't develop" due to malnutrition (*La Jornada*, 11 December 2000). First the bourgeoisie starves the rural and indigenous population, and then uses that to justify the fact that they are denied even the most basic education!

Fox took over a country racked by widespread social unrest, exemplified by the year-long strike at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM) that was brought to an end last February when police stormed the campus and arrested over 700 people, including leaders of the General Strike Council. The NAFTA pact has brought untold misery to the proletariat and peasantry. Since 1994, prices for basic necessities like tortillas rose over 400 percent while real wages plummeted by some 25 percent and are barely two-thirds what they were 30 years ago. With the products of American agribusiness flooding Mexican markets, the already impoverished peasantry has been ruined.

Since last July's elections, Mexico has been rocked by labor actions, including a strike by Volkswagen auto workers and, in mid-January, work stoppages by Mexico City subway mechanics and ticket collectors. Fox's selection as labor minister of a former head of COPARMEX was a slap in the face to Mexican workers. One of the government's first acts was to issue an injunction against a strike of 45,000 sugarcane workers, declaring it "nonexistent." On January 11, state cops in Puebla invaded a factory making sweatshirts for Nike, beating and dragging away some of the 850 strikers who had been occupying the plant in protest against wages less than 70 cents an hour and conditions in which workers as young as 14 are forced to work ten hours a day.

At the same time as he moots "peace" in Chiapas, Fox is pushing to impose a 15 percent tax on food and medicine, provoking a furor among working people and the middle class. He is also proposing to open the nationalized electricity industry to foreign investment, which would amount to the privatization his PRI predecessor, Ernesto Zedillo, failed to implement in 1999. In response to the California power crisis, U.S. vice president Cheney is already talking about building new generating facilities in Mexico. Fox's proposal, which would cost tens of thousands of jobs, has spurred union protest marches and could detonate an explosion among the strategic and militant electrical workers. The privatization plan also poses a direct clash with the indigenous people in Chiapas, whose water resources are key to expansion of the electricity system.

The Fox government's talk of transforming Chiapas peasants into small and medium businessmen is worse than a sick joke. A few paltry grants to create tourist enterprises and craft shops will not address the utter destitution of the region. In reality, Fox would like to convert the area into another *maquiladora* zone, exploiting its natural resources and converting the impoverished peasants into low-wage labor for U.S. and other "multinationals."

For Permanent Revolution!

Many radical youth who previously supported Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' PRD had their illusions broken by the blows of billy clubs wielded by police repeatedly called out by the PRD city administration against the UNAM strikers. At the January 12 march in Mexico City, many students told our comrades that the PRD "is just the same as the other parties." These youth continue to look to the Zapatistas' struggle as a way to end misery and oppression. But the Zapatistas don't even pretend to fight for social revolution; Marcos states that they "don't want to create the Union of Socialist Republics of Central America" (*La Jornada*, 8 January).

As the EZLN's current pursuit of a negotiated settlement with Fox underlines, its peasant-guerrillaist strategy is nothing other than liberalism with guns, propagating the illusion that capitalism can be transformed into a more "humane" system. The Zapatistas march with the Mexican flag, promoting the lie that somehow the workers and oppressed will satisfy their felt needs by uniting with the Mexican bourgeoisie to fight against the ravages of imperialism. Mexican nationalism is the common coin of all the capitalist parties—PRI, PAN, PRD—and is counterposed to achieving the rights of the indigenous peoples oppressed by the Mexican bourgeoisie.

Under capitalism, hunger and illiteracy are all the ruling class has to offer the peasantry and indigenous peoples. The fight for social justice for the indigenous peoples, for the elimination of hunger, misery and illiteracy, for an end to the deep-seated oppression of women can only be victorious through a socialist revolution that sweeps away the capitalist system of racism and oppression and expropriates the bourgeoisie! In countries of belated capitalist development like Mexico, the weak national bourgeoisie, dependent on the imperialist overlords, cannot resolve the tasks—agrarian revolution, political democracy, national liberation—historically associated with bourgeois revolutions such as the French Revolution.

We Marxist revolutionaries understand that the poor peasantry is an indispensable ally of the proletariat in the struggle for socialist revolution. But the peasantry can play no independent revolutionary role; these intermediate elements, producing for and dominated by the capitalist world market which drives them to ruination, strive for land and compete among themselves to sell their produce. The peasants' narrow, petty-bourgeois outlook is further reinforced by rural isolation and backwardness.

It is only the proletariat, concentrated in large factories and wielding social power derived from its relationship to the means of production, which has the historic interest and ability to liberate all the oppressed. The rule of the industrial and agrarian capitalists and landlords must be replaced by the rule of the proletariat, supported by the rural and urban poor, which will sweep away pre-capitalist vestiges and resolve the burning democratic tasks as it proceeds to the establishment of a socialist economy. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, which can only be fully realized through the victory of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, centrally the U.S.

Jenkins/Fort Worth Star-Telegram

AP

Mexico's Vicente Fox with George W. Bush before U.S. election. Zapatista protest in Chiapas on January 12 demands: "We Want Peace." EZLN nationalists promote illusions in sham "autonomy" proposal.

The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, fights to forge the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party needed to lead the Mexican proletariat to power. Crucial to this struggle is combatting the influence of bourgeois nationalism within the working class. Nationalism binds Mexican workers to their class enemy and prevents them from uniting with the workers and oppressed in the U.S. in common struggle against the capitalists on both sides of the border.

In the U.S., it is necessary to politically struggle against the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which pushes protectionist poison against Mexican workers and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. With the living bridge provided by millions of Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S., and as the two countries' economies are increasingly interpenetrated, there is a tremendous opportunity for joint class struggle uniting workers in Mexico and the U.S. against the imperialist exploiters. But this struggle will only be victorious under the leadership of a revolutionary-internationalist party. It is the purpose of the Spartacist League to build such a party.

Fake Trotskyists Push Illusions in EZLN

The fake-left groups in Mexico which claim to offer a socialist alternative to the Zapatistas in fact serve to promote illusions in these nationalists. This is crystal-clear in the case of the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS), a centrist group which is revolutionary in words and opportunist in deeds. In a 10 January leaflet titled "The Politics of the Zapatista Leadership," the LTS declares: "Only the *independent mobilization*, nationally and internationally, and the unity of the working class and the poor masses of the city and the countryside can solve the demands of the peasantry." But while raising a call for an "internationalist workers party" and making ritual reference to the proletariat leading the oppressed, the LTS fosters the view that the petty-bourgeois EZLN could play a more revolutionary role. Thus they lament, "Regrettably, the Zapatista leadership changed the demands of LAND!, DOWN WITH NAFTA! and DEATH TO THE BAD GOVERNMENT! a few days after the armed uprising began—to give way to the San Andrés Accords—under the promise of Zedillo's PRI government that it would grant indigenous autonomy."

But from the very start, the Zapatistas made it clear that they were seeking to pressure the bourgeoisie! Lacking in the LTS's whining is any recognition of the *petty-bourgeois class character* of the EZLN. In a separate piece in the same flyer, the LTS demands: "Dissolution of the repressive apparatus of the state that serves to harass and persecute peasant, workers' and student fighters! Punishment to repressive assassins!" While posing as revolutionary advisers to the EZLN leadership, the LTS calls upon the bourgeoisie to punish its own hired assassins and suggests that the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state can be "dissolved" short of a workers revolution. The capitalist state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed; it must be smashed and replaced by a workers state.

The Grupo Espartaquista fights to sweep away the ideological barriers to revolution represented by such centrists as part of the struggle to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat. The urgent task is building a Mexican section of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International under the banner of permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism. ■

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Stop the Klan! For a Workers America!

The following leaflet was issued by the Chicago Spartacist League on January 18 for the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Gary.

* * *

The Ku Klux Klan threatens to rally in Gary on January 20 to "celebrate" Martin Luther King Jr.'s murder and the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. As George W. Bush is sworn in as Commander in Chief, the Klan dons its white robes to celebrate the Confederate slavocracy. These racist terrorists are the shock troops of a capitalist system that has waged a savage and unrelenting attack on American workers, black people and immigrants. No place is a more vivid expression of the cruel contradictions of that system than Gary. Reduced, since the late 1970s, from a solid working-class city to one of this country's boarded-up plywood capitals, it is surrounded by a network of about a dozen Indiana fascist organizations, including five separate KKK groups.

WV Photo

Gary anti-Klan protesters commemorate Ricky Byrdsong, murdered by fascist in 1999 rampage.

In the U.S., the fundamental prop for capitalist rule is the racial oppression of black people, which is used to divide the working class that has the social power to overturn this decaying order through socialist revolution. It is no accident then that the obscene accumulation of wealth in capitalist America has been based on the deteriorating lives of the working people accompanied by a vast expansion of the instruments of state terror—the courts, cops, prisons and the executioner's ax on death row, the victims of which are mostly black and Hispanic. As armed enforcers of the "open shop" South and the auxiliary troops of the primary organizer of racist murder and terror, the U.S. state power, the Klan is the final recourse of the American capitalist rulers. Its minions will be called into service when the anger of the working class and oppressed masses can no longer be restrained by the "normal" mechanisms of bourgeois rule.

The Democrats, widely perceived as the friends of working and black people, have, no less than the Republicans, overseen this era of ruling-class reaction. It was Bill Clinton who gutted welfare, sponsored the explosive growth of the prison system and oversaw the elimination of even token affirmative action. It was ex-mayor Richard Hatcher who held office as Gary was turned into a ghetto slum. It was his black Democratic counterpart in Chicago, Harold Washington, who led the attack against transit workers, gutting their pension fund and salary base, as thousands of industrial jobs disappeared, primarily from that city's South Side. Bush has signaled his intent to more deeply plow the terrain prepared by Clinton with his nomination of a stone racist, "keep-them-barefoot-and-pregnant" anti-abortion geek as attorney general. It has never been clearer that the working class needs to break its ties to the Democrats, the supposed "left wing" of capitalist rule, and forge a working-class party that fights every manifestation of exploitation and oppression as it gathers the forces of socialist revolution.

Zalakowski/Daily Calumet

USWA bureaucrat Jack Parton (left) and Jesse Jackson on their knees outside USX Gary Works during 1986 strike.

This mobilization was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The PDC and SL understand that the organized working class, standing at the head of all the intended victims of the Klan, has the power to stop the fascists. But for that power to be fully felt, labor and its allies must stand independent of all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class enemy. Inside the unions, that independence is daily threatened by the presence of the armed thugs of the state, the prison guards and cops, organized by the union tops as "workers." The cops and prison guards must be thrown out of the trade-union movement! By building this labor/black mobilization we fight to give an organized, militant and determined political expression to the outrage of all working people, to black Chicagoland and Hispanic East Chicago and to all who know the danger posed by the Klan and who don't intend to let them show their hooded faces in Gary.

The Chicago/Gary area remains a stronghold of working-class power. The significantly black workforce, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, produces the lion's share of the nation's steel while generating a yearly social product *ten times* that of all of South Africa. There is *no question* that that power, if mobilized, could drive the fascist scum off Gary's streets. The liberal Democrats act to *block* any such mobilization. Democratic Party mayor Scott King directed the city government to deny the PDC's permit and grant one for the Baptist Ministers' Conference. Then the federal court summarily threw out the PDC's appeal of the city's denial of a permit, while Mayor King announced that anyone demonstrating without a permit on January 20 would be arrested, thus denying the right of trade unionists, blacks and others to mobilize in opposition to the KKK murderers. This is just the way the steel bosses of this company town have always treated the workers, wielding court injunctions to ban union pickets and mobilizing armies of cops to bust strikes.

Meanwhile, the Interfaith Clergy Council of Gary plans to divert people to a "celebration of 'reconciliation and love'" while the Klan announced its intent to rally at 1 p.m. Feeling the pressure from City Hall, some top union officials who originally backed the labor/black mobilization backed out and endorsed the preachers' rally. Make no mistake: ***This is a diversion counterposed to the labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan!***

On top of this came a dirty disinformation campaign by the mayor, the media and preachers who have tried to lull us into thinking the Klan won't show. If the Klan doesn't show their faces, it will only be because trade unionists, black people and other opponents of racist terror have shown their determination to keep the nightriders off our streets. ***Keep the Klan on the run!***

When Jeff Berry, one of the Klan leaders planning to rally in Gary, attempted to bring his racist terrorists to New York City on 23 October 1999, Al Sharpton and other liberals offered to share their permit with the Klan. This craven assembly was in opposition to the 8,000-strong Partisan Defense Committee labor/black mobilization to ***stop the Klan*** that caused Berry to turn tail and flee after a brief appearance. For his part, Jesse Jackson seeks to deflect outrage against the race-terrorists with his proclamation that "ropes never killed as many of our young people as the pushers of drugs." It is precisely the liberals who promote the fascists' "right" to free speech in order to undermine the independent mobilization of the power of labor.

As Marxist revolutionaries, the Spartacist League is well aware of the importance of free speech, which we fight to defend with no illusions that this constitutional right will be respected for those who fight exploitation and injustice. In fact, it is invariably fighters against the capitalist order who have been and will be prosecuted and imprisoned under laws that curtail the freedom of expression and assembly—from the 1940s Smith Act, supposedly directed against the fascists but used to imprison socialists, to today's "conspiracy" laws. That is why the SL opposes any appeals to the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." The defense of free speech, the defense of the right to bear arms, are a defense of the very ability of the masses to organize and defend themselves against racist terror.

But the fascists are not just imbecilic, inbred, lip-flapping refuse: they are a horde of racist terrorists who aim their guns at leftists, trade-union organizers and all fighters against injustice and who ultimately seek to destroy the only organized institutions of the working class, the trade unions. Klan/fascist rallies are military forays. If they drew 100 to 200 supporters unopposed, no one in downtown Gary would be safe. The racist murders of Cathy Long in Indianapolis, of Sasezley Richardson in Elkhart, Indiana and of Ricky Byrdsong in Evanston, Illinois are stark testimony to the fascists' real intent.

The phonies who let the Klan ride under the guise of the "right to free speech" are well aware of that intent. Their message is one of reliance on the cops and courts, the forces of "law and order" of the bosses' state. But it is precisely those forces that erect holding pens to protect the fascists from those who are outraged by their presence. It is precisely the courts and the cops who framed up Mumia Abu-Jamal because he fought racism and oppression. Mumia now sits on death row. The liberals and their left

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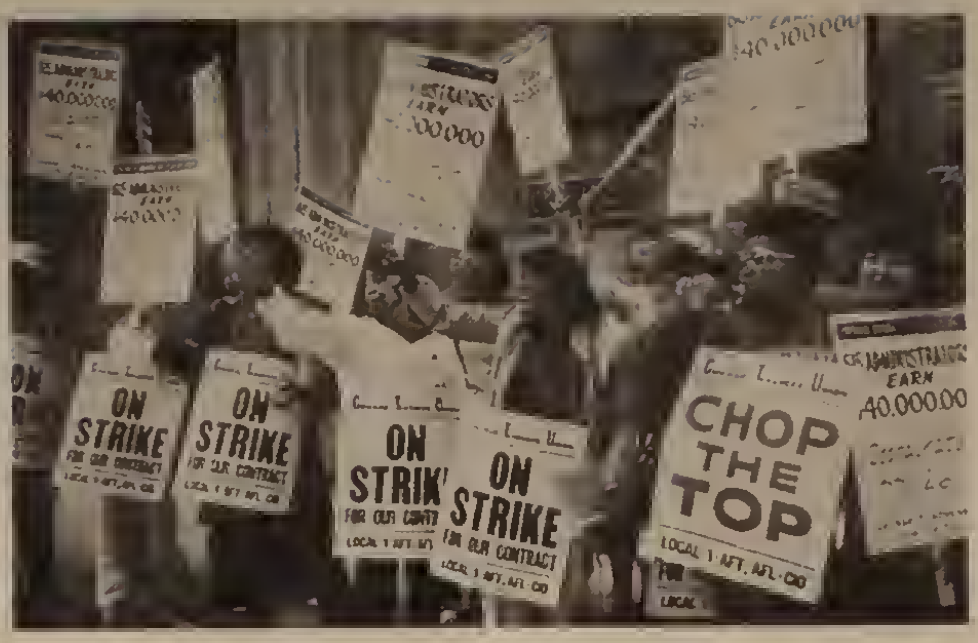
hangers-on "defend" Mumia by calling for a new trial by the very racist system that now plans his execution. He must be unconditionally freed! It is the supposedly august Supreme Court that spit on the right of thousands of black and Jewish voters to be counted in the recent presidential election. It required a Civil War to free the slaves declared less than men by the U.S. Constitution and property by the Supreme Court in the infamous Dred Scott decision.

It will take a socialist revolution based on a struggle against all exploitation and oppression and for black freedom to ensure that the Klan/fascists will never again spread terror in this land, to assign the racist death penalty to the scrap heap of history and to assure that all have the right and wherewithal to realize their fullest potential as human beings. That revolution will expropriate industry without compensation for the fat cats and proceed to build an egalitarian society without unemployment and with full access to decent housing, free, quality health care and the highest levels of education accessible and without cost to all. To achieve these ends, the ties of labor and black people to the Democrats, maintained in the unions by the trade-union tops and in the ghettos by the likes of Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, must be severed and a revolutionary working-class party forged to lead the struggle for a workers America. That party must act as the tribune of all the people, a party that fights against the oppression of women and for free abortion on demand, a party that stands against gay oppression, against state proscription of consensual sexual relationships and against all "crimes without victims" like the anti-drug laws which have imprisoned tens of thousands of people, primarily minorities, who have committed no crime. ***Break with the Democrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!***

WV Photos



As Chicago mayor, Harold Washington presided over massive cutbacks, strikebreaking against heavily black teachers union in 1987.

The union tops, with the assistance of Jackson & Co., stand in defense of the interests of the U.S. imperialist order. They have handcuffed steel workers to the bosses by promoting "America-first" protectionism. This support to the interests of America's rulers comes with a price willingly paid by the trade-union tops: their submission to laws that render the picket line and strike, the only real weapons of the working class against the bosses, impotent under the direction of the capitalist courts. It is "protectionism" of U.S. interests in the oil-rich Near East that has led to the murder of a million and a half Iraqis, many mere children. It is "protectionism" of U.S. interests in East Europe that paved the way for the bombing of Serbia. And it is "protectionism" that has placed Klan/fascist SWAT teams next to the hated *migra* immigration cops on this country's border with Mexico, and that sets native-born labor against immigrants in the U.S. It is to be remembered that when the Klan was at its largest in the 1920s—with Indiana as its most powerful center—Klan attacks here were primarily directed at the newly arrived Catholic immigrant population, as well as at blacks. To rout the Klan in Gary it is necessary to unite all labor—black, Hispanic and white—and this cannot be done under the banner of America-first protectionism. The SL calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. We fight to build an international, revolutionary working-class party to fight against the interests of imperialism.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 set the stage for the U.S. imperialists to redouble their efforts to maintain and expand their world dominance while increasing their attacks on labor, the poor and helpless at home. The capitalist counterrevolutions in the USSR and East Europe resulted in societal devastation, joblessness and poverty attended by the re-emergence of the fascists and of bloody nationalist pogroms and wars that go hand in hand with capitalist rule. We communists of the Spartacist League fought to defend the gains of the 1917 October Revolution that remained in the USSR just as today we fight to defend the gains of the revolutions that expropriated capitalist/imperialist rule in China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. The capitalist counterrevolutions in the USSR and East Europe received invaluable assistance from the Stalinist usurpers of the Bolshevik Revolution who pursued a policy of class collaboration with the imperialists. Like the trade-union tops in this country who accept the right of the bosses' state to dictate the terms of class struggle, the Stalinists willingly paid the price demanded by the imperialists, blocking the only real defense of the gains of October —new workers revolutions internationally to destroy the world imperialist order.

With the sole exception of the SL, those organizations that describe themselves as socialist stood with their imperialist masters in support of the overthrow of the gains of the October Revolution. It is no accident that the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which saw the USSR as just another stronghold of imperialism, does not see the trade unions as organizations of the working class and, ignoring the class line, does not seek to mobilize organized labor. Instead, PL's "strategy" to fight the real fascists like the KKK is to seek small group encounters with the Klan and with its police protectors, displaying at the same time their contempt for the organized power of the working class and their unbounded faith in the forces of bourgeois state repression which, if necessary, would attempt to destroy PL and its followers.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), literal cheerleaders for the overturn of the gains of the October Revolution, slavishly follows the lead of the liberal Democrats. In New York City in October 1999, the ISO attached itself to the Democrats who sought to assure the "right" of the Klan to free speech. Most recently, after supporting the candidacy of Ralph Nader, the "third-party" candidate for capitalism, the ISO now explicitly embraces the Democratic Party by wedding itself to those who moan that Gore was robbed, and, in fact, has committed the majority of its forces to the January 20 demonstration in Washington protesting Bush's inauguration. Petty and not so petty robbery is an age-old component of elections under bourgeois rule, but it is to be noted that the ISO *betrayed* the working class in its struggle for independence by throwing its support to the reformer of capitalism and of the Democratic Party, Ralph Nader.

A mass labor-based mobilization to stop the Klan in black working-class Gary, the heart of steel in the U.S., would set the stage for the welding of black/labor power necessary to unionize the "right to work" South. Last year's strike by Charleston longshoremen, who faced down virtually the entire available police forces of South Carolina, revealed the potential dynamite of labor/black power. The successful strike by Verizon telecom workers who mobilized flying pickets across state lines showed labor's combativity and eagerness to battle the profit-bloated bosses.

The imperialists, invigorated by the counterrevolution in the USSR, have unleashed a holocaust of exploitation and oppression. Africa has been decimated by starvation and AIDS. NAFTA has ravaged the Mexican working class and peasantry. The South American and Asian masses are destitute under the burden of International Monetary Fund dictates enforced by their venal comprador ruling classes. Social benefits are under attack throughout Europe and double-digit unemployment is the order of the day. The 1949 Revolution in China which expropriated the capitalist class is endangered as the Stalinists encourage counterrevolutionary forces by dismantling state industry piecemeal while allowing the spread of domestic and imperialist capitalist enterprise. China must be defended from imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. The Stalinist ruling caste must be overthrown through a proletarian political revolution.

The continued existence of world capitalism means deteriorating living conditions, predatory imperialist wars and the danger of fascism. The SL, as the American section of the International Communist League, seeks to unleash the forces of world socialist revolution by building a revolutionary working-class party in America to overthrow the American imperialist order, which would ignite international class struggle. And to accomplish this, the cause of black freedom must be linked, in this country, to the fight against all oppression and exploitation. Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

WV Photo

SYC mobilized campus youth for Gary anti-Klan rally.

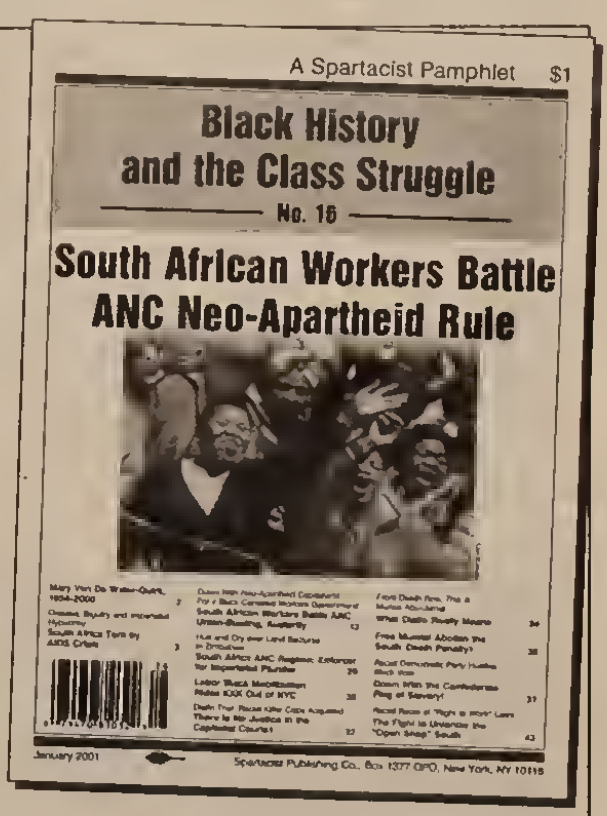
We print below a speech by Josh K., a Richmond, Virginia student activist, at the Gary anti-Klan demonstration.

We still see on the streets of Richmond today what the Civil War represented to the South. We have a street dedicated to the Civil War generals, and those monuments still represent to the South the slavocracy that the Klan is trying to uphold. They're saying that "we still run Richmond." Richmond is more segregated today than it was prior to the Civil War. It's only through mobilizations like this, through the power of labor, through students, through Latinos, blacks, whites, men and women that we can get out and change this oppressive system and fight for a communist future.

JUST OUT!

Contents Include:

- South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis
- South African Workers Battle ANC Union-Busting, Austerity
- South Africa ANC Regime: Enforcer for Imperialist Plunder
- Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of NYC
- Diallo Trial: There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!
- From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal: What Diallo Really Means
- Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
- Down With the Confederate Flag of Slavery!
- The Fight to Unionize the "Open Shop" South



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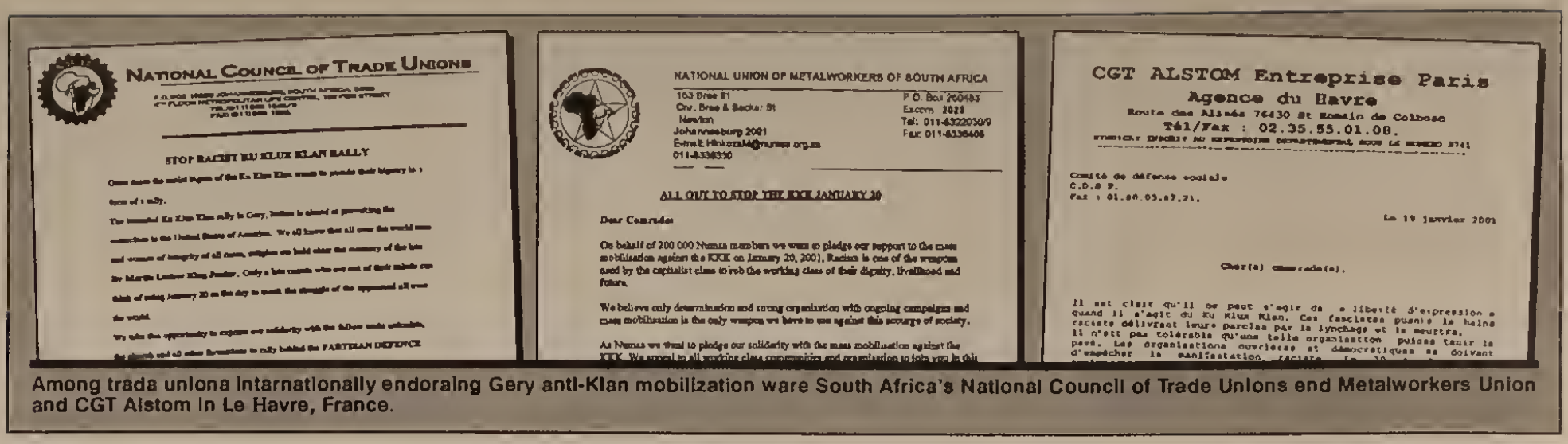


NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS

STOP RACIST KU KLUX KLAN RALLY

NATIONAL UNION OF METALWORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK JANUARY 20

Dear Comrades

CGT ALSTOM Entreprise Paris
Agence du Havre

Among trada unions internationally endoraing Gery anti-Klan mobilization ware South Africa's National Council of Trade Unions end Metalworkers Union and CGT Alstom in Le Havre, France.

Gary...

(continued from page 12)

could not carry out his threats with impunity. This was a powerful and principled demonstration of the united front in action in defense of workers' interests. Despite political differences, opponents of KKK terror and opponents of the Democratic Party mayor and his lackeys' diversionary love fest took united action to stop the KKK from rearing its head in Gary.

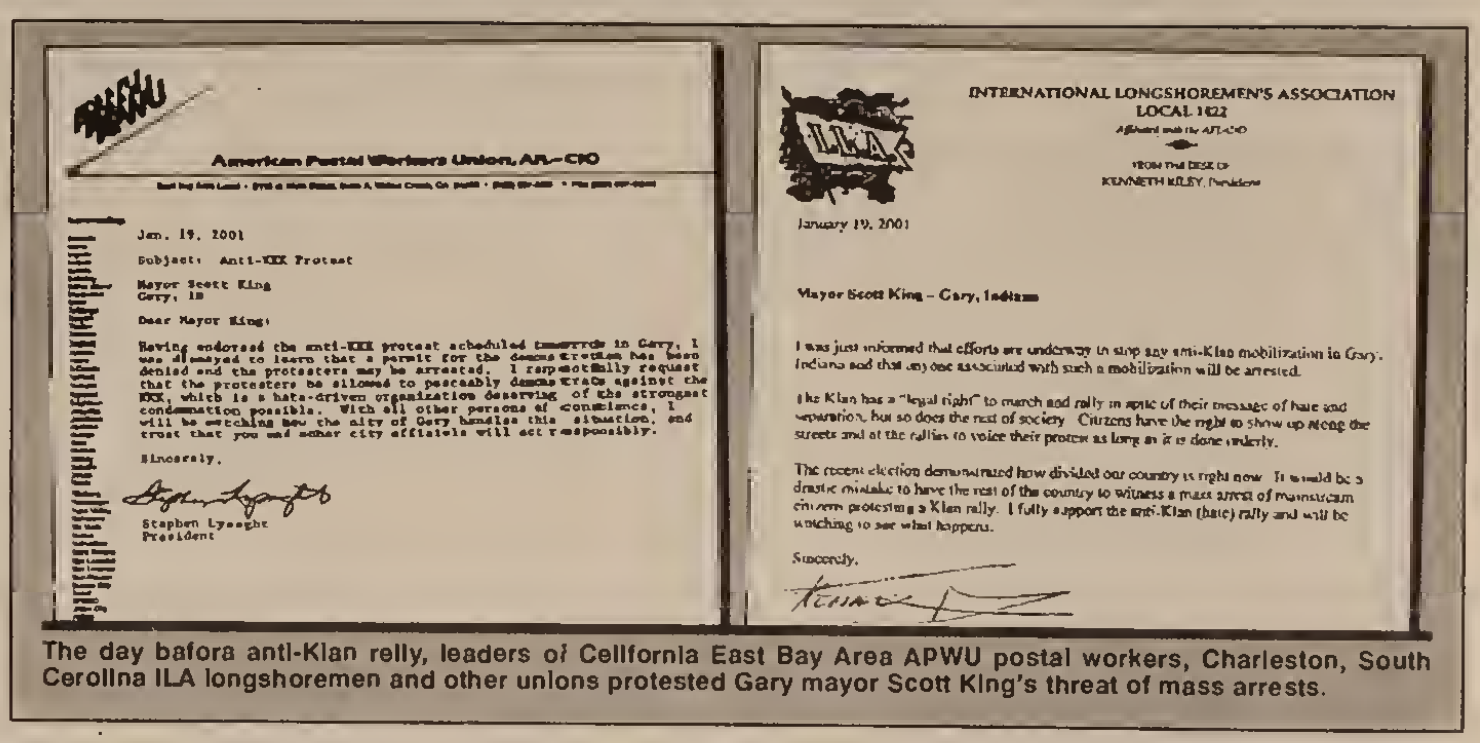
Gary: A Company Town

Gary is a vivid statement of the decay of capitalism, its main street largely boarded up, with a pawn shop, bail bondsman and blood bank that offers immediate payment for donations virtually the only going concerns. Named after Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel and field marshal to robber baron J. Pierpont Morgan, Gary was built in 1906 as a company town to service the burgeoning steel industry. In the 1960s, Gary was among the first cities to elect a black mayor, Democrat Richard Hatcher, who presided over the "rust belt" devastation of the city as mass layoffs and closures followed one after another.

The PDC's call to stop the KKK struck a real chord in this strong union town whose population is 85 percent black, and among blacks and Hispanics in Chicago's South Side and suburbs. A measure of the impact was a front-page article headlined "Stop KKK March in Gary" in the black establishment *Chicago Defender* (17 January), which only a few weeks earlier had scurrilously denounced anti-Klan protesters in Skokie as no better than the fascists. Thousands of PDC leaflets were distributed at factory gates, campuses and black and Hispanic neighborhoods, and endorsements ranged from Chicago and Gary ATU and USWA local officials to Chicago's Arab American Action Network. The Spartacus Youth Club heavily built for the demonstration on many Chicago area campuses. Buses brought students especially from the University of Chicago and also from heavily black Chicago State, Northeastern and other campuses. Carloads of youth came from as far away as Minneapolis and Richmond, Virginia.

As support for the anti-Klan mobilization grew, the dirty campaign of legal repression, disinformation and diversion by those hell-bent on heading off an independent mobilization of the working class took shape as well. The efforts to ban our mobilization by the city administration and federal courts provided a vivid picture of a nasty company town ruled with an iron fist on behalf of the steel bosses.

While the PDC fought for our legal right of freedom of speech and assembly, we also understand that the only rights that the working people have in this society are those that they *fight* to win and defend against the capitalist state. The city rulers sought to criminalize the intended victims of the KKK and create a leaderless and chaotic situation, a setup for police violence. This was directly counterposed to our purpose, which was to provide a militant, determined and disciplined expression of outrage against the Klan. After being served with a citation for violating the city's laws against parading without a permit at the anti-Klan rally, LBSL spokesman Quirk said, "Permits be damned!"



American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
LOCAL 1422

The day bafora anti-Klan relly, leaders of Cellfornia East Bay Area APWU postal workers, Charleston, South Cerolina ILA longshoremen and other unions protested Gary mayor Scott King's threat of mass arrests.

Mayor King cynically claimed to be defending the rights of black and working people. But this is belied by the Democrat's whole term in office. When hospital workers in Service Employees (SEIU) Local 73 tried to rally to demand a decent contract six months ago, King outrageously compared this integrated workforce with the KKK, saying he had denied the Klan a permit in 1999 and would do the same to the SEIU! And the cops showed whose interests they "protect and serve" when they waded into a strike support rally, with one pulling out a gun and arresting a union organizer.

When PDC spokesmen and union leaders held a press conference on January 16 to announce the anti-Klan mobilization, they were driven off the steps of City Hall by one of King's cops because they did not have a permit. The next day, the city administration formally denied the PDC's request for a rally permit. King then issued his own diktat requiring a 45-day waiting period for any rally permit, putting off any legal demonstrations in the city until after the staging of the Miss USA pageant! The federal district court in Hammond upheld the denial of the PDC's permit without even a hearing. In his ruling, Judge Moody declared that the PDC's purpose of honoring "the working people of this country who have been denied the fruits of their labor" was "wholly irreconcilable" with mobilizing to stop the KKK. As an appeal filed the following day in federal appeals court, which was simply stamped "denied," stated:

> "In fact there is every connection between the struggle of working people and minorities and the struggle against the lynch mob terror of the Klan. Consider the situation of a downtrodden black garment worker in the open shop South who faces Klan cross burnings at his factory gates during a union organizing drive. Similarly, United Steelworkers of America members at the U.S. Steel Gary Works who are faced with the prospect of a Ku Klux Klan rally four blocks from their plant can well see the connection between the struggle against KKK terror and the defense of their union."

Moody underlined his viciously anti-labor stance by citing a *1921* ruling backing the steel bosses which declared, "The name 'picket' indicated a militant purpose, inconsistent with peaceable persuasion." That ruling—laid down the same year a black neighborhood in Tulsa, Oklahoma was razed to the ground and hundreds murdered by white racists—demonstrated the iron link between the defense of organized labor and the fight against the KKK. In the 1920s, the Klan had millions of members. Lynchings were virtually a daily occurrence. The unions were decimated. The robber barons rode high in the saddle under the presidency of Calvin .Coolidge, who declared that the "only business of America is business." The bosses, the Republican and Democratic parties that represent their interests and the fascist paramilitary gangs like the KKK want to roll things back to those days.

Democratic Party: Enemy of Labor, Blacks

The Rev. Jesse Jackson and local black preachers acted as auxiliaries to the Gary Democratic Party administration. The preachers railed against radicals out to disrupt the supposed "brotherhood" of the people of Gary with Mayor King. The "reconciliation and love" rally

WV Photo

Rust Belt USA: Every shop in this photo of Gary's main street is closed down or boarded up.

Gary Labor/Black Mobilization Cost $$$

Working people, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, youth and all opponents of racist terror had a big stake in the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Gary, Indiana on January 20. We need your help *now*. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications and equipment and the legal battle against the government's effort to deny the right of working people to mobilize against the Klan cost thousands. Get your union, church group, student club and friends to help defray these costs. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send checks to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 or P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099.

WV Photo

Katopodis/Hammond Times

Gary mayor Scott King watches as anti-Klan protesters defy threat of mass arrests.

organized by the Baptist Ministers Conference and Interfaith Clergy Council—the only rally sanctioned by the capitalist state that day—drew barely a few dozen people, but its purpose from the start was to get Gary's black residents to stay home and ignore the Klan. In this, they played the role described by one black preacher in the Jim Crow South: "We are the policemen of the Negroes.... If we did not keep down their ambitions and divert them into religion, there would be upheaval in the South" (quoted in George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945*).

Speaking at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois on January 15, Jackson stated that the main danger isn't the Klan but John Ashcroft, George W. Bush's appointee for attorney general. Ashcroft is an open apologist for the Confederate slavocracy. Doubtless part of the Klan's intention in trying to rally on January 20 was to celebrate Bush's inauguration that day. But Jackson's purpose is to channel the increasing anger of workers, black people, immigrants and others back into the shell game of Democratic Party electoral politics. As LBSL spokesman Bernard Branche said:

> "What has voting Democrat achieved? The Clinton administration abolished welfare, escalated the racist 'war on drugs' that has imprisoned millions of black and Hispanic youth and has inflicted even more desperate conditions of poverty, union-busting and destitution, which nourish the KKK. The Republicans would rather openly repress us while the Democrats would rather lie. We don't want to be lied to or repressed. Illusions in the Democratic Party stand in the way of freedom for labor, blacks and all those at the bottom of this society because they reinforce the rule of our exploiters and oppressors."

Jackson's injunction that the biggest threat is Ashcroft and not the Klan ignores the bitter history of black people in this country, especially in Indiana. At the height of the Klan's influence in the 1920s, it was in Indiana that it "reached the zenith of its power," as Wyn Craig Wade writes in *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (1987). "It was the only state where Klaverns were chartered in every one of its ninety-two counties. It was the only state where the Klan elected the governor and both U.S. senators."

USWA district director Jack Parton and other labor bureaucrats played their role as lieutenants for the capitalist Democratic Party. Parton launched a nasty campaign to defame the PDC as violent "outside agitators," telling the *Gary Post-Tribune* (19 January): "I told them we have enough violence in Gary and we don't need them in here with that." In tandem, the local newspapers carried some lame redbaiting articles, with the *Hammond Times* (17 January) reporting that "the Partisan Defense Committee's plans are being broadcast on a Web site of the International Communist League." PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson responded, "These articles point to the PDC's affiliation with the Marxist Spartacist League of which we are open and proud."

For their part, the labor tops purport to act as representatives of the workers while serving the interests of the bosses. Parton's "outside agitator" line is a timeworn weapon of the racists and union-busters. The bosses and their press in the 1930s screamed about "outside agitators" and reds when the industrial unions were being organized. Civil rights protesters were brutally attacked by Bull Connor's cops in Alabama as "outside agitators." Parton's violence-baiting and redbaiting demonstrate how the pro-capitalist labor tops act as enforcers for the steel magnates who rule this company town. In 1998, for example, Parton opposed the idea of a strike for health benefits by cleaners at the Gary Works.

Bending to the pressure from the top, one USWA official shamefacedly blamed his endorsement of the PDC-initiated action on his secretary, who he had asked to sign on for him. But as evidenced by the leaflet issued by Wheeler, the labor officialdom also had to contend with pressure from the base, as thousands of PDC mobilizing leaflets were distributed at the Gary Works and posted inside the plant by workers.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Earlier in the week, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) had put out a leaflet calling to "organize thousands of people to come out to oppose the Ku Klux Klan," arguing: "If the KKK is having a rally, we should be prepared to prevent them from getting their message out.... If the KKK does not come we should have a multiracial rally, celebrating the unity of all working-class people." But PL's rejection of the trade unions as the mass organizations of the working class makes it incapable of mobilizing labor's power, leaving it no recourse but hot-air bravado or occasional substitutionist confrontations with the Klan. And given its sectarian hostility to the communist Spartacist League, it is not surprising that PL did not show up at all.

The same KKK outfit that threatened to rally in Gary tried to stage a race-hate provocation in New York City in October 1999. In a statement of solidarity to the Gary labor/black mobilization, the National Council of Trade Unions in South Africa noted, "Let us remember that they were stopped in New York last year and they can and must be stopped in Gary." In New York, more than 8,000 people—unionists, blacks, Hispanics, Jews, student organizations—came out in response to the PDC's call to stop the Klan. The Democratic Party politicians, from black preacher Al Sharpton to the top layers of the state party machine, tried to *stop* this anti-Klan protest, going so far as to offer to share a sound system with the KKK for a "demonstration for tolerance." But they didn't succeed, as the labor/black mobilization rode the Klan off the streets.

In New York, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) acted as the most energetic builders for the Democrats' rally for tolerance for the KKK in New York. In the face of the KKK's threat in Gary, the ISO once again turned its back on any fight to defend labor, blacks and all the intended victims of fascist terror. Instead, their efforts were devoted to boosting the fortunes of the capitalist Democratic Party by mobilizing for the "counter-inaugural" rallies against Bush that day. Taking the line of the Gary mayor, black liberals and the Klan, ISO members boarding buses in Chicago for the anti-Bush protest in Washington, D.C. told our comrades that the KKK would not rally without a permit and denounced us for not uniting with the preachers' "reconciliation and love" diversion. A representative from the League for the Revolutionary Party spoke at the Gary demonstration. Not a single other fake-left group turned out.

The political battle waged to build a labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Gary on January 20 demonstrated that the capitalist state is not "neutral" but rather the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class—the capitalists—over another class, the proletariat. It showed that the Democratic Party, far from being the "friend" of labor and blacks, represents the interests of the class rule of the few who profit by the exploitation of the many. It underlined the role played by the labor bureaucracy as the instrument for chaining the working people to a system based on their exploitation and oppression. In summing up the lessons of the mobilization, Spartacist League spokesman Ed Kartsen said: "In Washington, the Republican Bush government, with its Confederate sympathizers, is being inaugurated. But let the role played by Gary's Democratic Party mayor be a lesson. As King demonstrated, what they fear and loathe above all is the independent mobilization of labor/black power."

Our mobilization was built on the understanding that for labor to win it must be mobilized independent of the parties and agencies of the class enemy. As a new member of the Spartacus Youth Club said at a Chicago SL forum on the Gary mobilization on January 27: "Not only did we see the social power of labor in building this mobilization, but we also saw the raising in the level of consciousness of these workers. We made the necessity of a proletarian revolution and what is required to realize it that much clearer to them: the building of a revolutionary workers party linking the cause of black freedom to the struggle against all exploitation and oppression to overthrow the existing capitalist order through socialist revolution."■

Black History Month Forums

The Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877:
The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism

Saturday, February 24, 3 p.m.
Harvard University
room to be announced
For more information: (617) 666-9453

BOSTON

Down With ANC Union-Busting and Austerity!
For a Black-Centered Workers Government!
South African Workers Battle ANC Neo-Apartheid Rule

Thursday, February 15, 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University, room to be announced
116th St. and Broadway
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

The Fight for Black Liberation: Key to the American Socialist Revolution

Friday, February 9, 7 p.m.
160 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 395-9520

BERKELEY

Saturday, February 10, 4 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church, Geneva Room
3300 Wilshire Blvd. (at Berendo)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Forums will include reports from successful labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Gary, Indiana on January 20!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defying Democratic Party Mayor's Threat of Mass Arrests

Gary, Indiana: Labor/Black Mobilization Keeps Klan Out

WV Photos

January 20: PDC-initiated anti-Klan rally brought out solid contingent of ATU transit workers and others in defiance of city administration, courts and their labor bureaucrat and black preacher allies.

The Ku Klux Klan said they would rally in Gary, Indiana on January 20. These hooded lynchers said they would celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. But the Klan did not show its face in Gary that day. Instead, some 150 protesters—including a solid contingent of members of Chicago's powerful Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), as well as other unionists, blacks, students and socialists—marched at the site of the intended Klan provocation in front of the Lake County Courthouse chanting "KKK, no way! You didn't march today!"

Gary's Democratic Party mayor, Scott King, had threatened to arrest any and all who came out in response to the Partisan Defense Committee united-front call, "All Out to Stop the KKK!" Serving as King's front men, black ministers tried to divert outrage against the Klan into a rally for "reconciliation and love" for the racist terrorists. The local capitalist media, aided by the United Steelworkers (USWA) district director and a couple of flunkies, tried to spike the mobilization with a redbaiting campaign against "outside agitators."

The mayor, preachers and press also tried to lull people into thinking there was no danger of a Klan rally because they were denied a permit. They were aided by the Indiana Civil Liberties Union, acting as legal counsel for the KKK, which announced that the fascist Klan promised not to march without a permit. But as PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein said in a January 15 press statement: "Did the KKK get a permit for the 1963 Birmingham church bombing which killed four young black girls? Did the white-supremacists in Indiana who murdered 19-year-old Sasezley Richardson as part of their 'initiation' into the fascist Aryan Brotherhood get a permit?"

The hardcore forces who came out on January 20 made sure that the KKK did not ride in Gary that day and gave these race-hate terrorists a message of the labor/black power that can and must be mobilized to crush the fascist scum. Chicago Labor Black Struggle League spokesman Kevin Quirk, a member of ATU Local 241, summed it up best at the victory celebration at the USWA Local 5544 union hall in South Chicago later that day:

> "We stood in defiance of the KKK. We stood in defiance of the efforts of the powers that be, their cops and courts who wanted to stop us. We stood in defiance of efforts by the preachers to divert us into a revolting rally for 'love and tolerance' for the KKK. Although our numbers were diminished by the forces who tried to stop us, we prevailed today because we fought on the basis of mobilizing the power that lies in the hands of the working people who built this country against all the parties and agencies of the enemy class. Through our efforts, we stopped the fascist stormtroopers whose aim is a 'white-only' America where trade unions don't exist."

The hand of the mayor was stayed by the wide array of union endorsements for the PDC-initiated mobilization—from ATU Local 241 and Gary ATU Local 517 to USWA Local 1014 at the huge U.S. Steel (USX) Gary Works—as well as protests by union leaders from around the area and the country against the threatened arrests. Writing from Charleston, South Carolina the day before the rally, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 president Kenneth Riley notified King: "It would be a drastic mistake to have the rest of the country witness a mass arrest of mainstream citizens protesting a Klan rally. I fully support the anti-Klan (hate) rally and will be watching to see what happens." This sentiment was echoed by California East Bay Area APWU postal workers president Stephen Lysaght, who wrote: "With all other persons of conscience, I will be watching how the city of Gary handles this situation."

Among those who sent a protest to King was ATU International vice president Jackie Breckenridge, who also spoke at the rally, telling the crowd, "I am proud to be here and proud to see so many people show up here today to stand up against racist terror. The KKK is an organization that must be crushed by any means necessary." ATU Local 241 executive board member Marcellus Barnes, president of the ATU Black Caucus, recalled that M. L. King was assassinated in Memphis amid an organizing struggle by sanitation workers and added, "We didn't know what we were going to be faced with this afternoon, but we all came out. I say to all of you, whenever we're called on, we must respond to fight against organizations like the KKK." William Draine, vice president of ATU Local 517, told the press at the rally, "Labor is a lot stronger than any person could imagine. We know what the KKK's about. I knew for sure that they wouldn't be here today."

While the PDC's call had been widely distributed and discussed among USWA members at Gary Steel Works, on the eve of the demonstration Local 1014 president Alex Wheeler Jr. issued his own leaflet calling on union members to turn out at the PDC rally site. In the upshot, Wheeler himself did not turn up at the rally. But his statement lending Local 1014's authority to the anti-Klan demonstrators, as well as the protests by union officials, made it clear to King that he

continued on page 10

Black History Month

Government War on Blacks and Reds in the Early '20s

The Russian Revolution and the Black Freedom Struggle...3

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 752

16 February 2001

California Power Meltdown

AP

Capitalists Wreck Energy Supply, Loot Everyone

Stewart/SF Chronicle AP

Outages and outrage: Cops attack protesters outside PG&E utility headquarters in San Francisco, January 10.

On two days in mid-January, Silicon Valley millionaires and janitors alike were left in the dark as rolling blackouts struck big swathes of Northern California. The cause was not an earthquake, storm or mechanical failure of the state's aging infrastructure. Rather, the ongoing electric power crisis in California, which has the sixth-largest economy *in the world*, has been brought about by the anarchic organization of society's productive resources in the interest of capitalist profits.

Electric bills have been jacked up 9 to 15 percent so far and are sure to rise far higher; in some cities, like Riverside, monthly bills have tripled or quadrupled. At the same time, natural gas prices have skyrocketed, driving many working-class families who use it for heat and cooking to desperation. The hike in gas prices has also driven the wholesale price of electricity higher still, as the fuel is used by about half the state's power plants. And it's not just California. In the Midwest, families that rely on propane for heating fuel face living in freezing homes because "filling the tank for a month can cost more than the rent or the mortgage payment" (*New York Times*, 4 February).

While oil, gas and electricity interests are raking it in, other capitalists, especially in the California epicenter of the high-tech boom, are starting to lose serious money. Last month's power cuts cost the state's economy $1.7 billion in one week alone. Intel CEO Craig Barrett declared there was "not a chance" his company would now expand in Silicon Valley anytime soon. As "stage three alerts," triggered when electricity demand is dangerously close to the available supply, extend into their fifth straight week, this debacle is certain to deepen the economic downturn already beginning in the country as a whole.

Currently the two largest state utilities, Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) and Southern California Edison, teeter on the edge of bankruptcy. They blame a deregulation scheme that requires them to buy at any price on the wholesale market while selling at a retail price set when deregulation went into effect in 1996. At the time, the utilities bet that they would make a killing from the then much lower wholesale rates. This is exactly what they did for two years, siphoning off some $10 billion to parent corporations that made record profits, paying lavish stock dividends and investing elsewhere. Then wholesale prices soared. Last June, the state experienced the largest planned blackout since World War II. Now the utilities are screaming for the retail rate cap to be abolished.

Declaring deregulation a "colossal and dangerous failure," California's Democratic governor, Gray Davis, wants the federal government to set a wholesale electricity price cap. Meanwhile, he's moving to bail out the utilities—at a cost of at least $10 billion—by guaranteeing their debts and having the state government broker long-term contracts at lower wholesale prices (but still substantially above current retail rates).

Even fellow "new Democrat" Clinton resisted Davis' pleas for a wholesale rate cap. The Bush White House is not only ideologically opposed to the idea, but some of George W.'s best friends and biggest financial backers are the heads of Texas-based power companies like Enron and Reliant which are currently tripling or quadrupling their profits from the California fiasco. And this is not to mention the Bush family's longstanding personal ties to the Oil Patch. Everyone in the chambers and corridors of power knows electricity bills will soar. And this is bad news for everyone from the middle class to workers and the poor—as well as for the sectors of the American capitalist class whose ability to compete on the world market will be hamstrung.

Liberal consumer advocates are pushing straight-out re-regulation, arguing that the mission of the utilities should be the "public interest," selling electricity at a "fair price" for a "fair profit." The reformist left, appealing to the Democrats, is pushing for state and local governments to take over power plants and/or the transmission lines. The Green Party hypocritically denounces the blackouts as a ruse by utilities to force up retail prices, but many environmentalists would welcome big price increases as a way to reduce demand. To the petty-bourgeois eco-movement, the blackouts are a good thing in principle, since they see the problem as not too little power but too much consumption. Green leader Medea Benjamin belittled Davis' pleas for everyone to "conserve" energy only for not being serious enough (*Daily Californian*, 8 February).

The government exists to defend not the "public interest" but the interests of the capitalist class as a whole—first and foremost protecting their riches from the exploited and oppressed with the armed might of its police and military. The truth is that this crisis is rooted in the basic workings of the capitalist system, "regulated" or not. The deregulation of the power and gas industries in California, launched in 1996 and 1998 respectively, was meant to be a showcase for "the magic of the marketplace." Instead it is providing a stark demonstration of the bankruptcy of this whole capitalist system, based on enriching the wealthy few who own the generating plants, factories, refineries, mines and banks on the backs of those who labor. It is a dead weight around the neck of the population, an obstacle to fulfilling the most basic daily needs of life.

The only way forward lies through a workers revolution that will create a workers government, seize the productive forces from the capitalist owners—from L.A. and San Francisco to Houston and Wall Street—and forge a socialist planned economy. This alone can create a genuinely egalitarian society, based not on scarcity and a regression in technology

continued on page 10

07

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Revolutionary Leadership and the Fight Against Klan Terror

Dear *Young Spartacus*,

I am writing this letter to comment on the January 20, 2001 Partisan Defense Committee Labor/Black Mobilization against the KKK in Gary, Indiana. The event was the first mobilization of its type in which I have been involved. It gave me insight into the power of labor and the need for a party of and for the

Young Spartacus

interests of the proletariat that will fight for a communist future.

Karl Marx wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*: "All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind." And as five friends from Richmond, Virginia piled into a rented car, heading northwest through fog and rain, mountains and snow, for fourteen hours one way, we were to learn lessons in Marxism that we would never be able to understand through reading alone. We were to see Marxism in concrete terms: in the streets of Gary, a company town, shadowed by the state but in the midst of the power of labor. We were "compelled to face with sober senses the real conditions."

During our trip, we were unaware of the developments taking place in the days prior to the Mobilization. The KKK and the PDC had been denied permits to demonstrate. The PDC had been stonewalled through legal avenues, namely the courts, in their determination to make their actions legal. But there was also the understanding that the working class should not put its reliance in the bourgeois courts. The KKK, on the other hand, filed a lawsuit with the ACLU, whose legal position was that the Klan's First Amendment Rights were being violated. But the Klan, as blacks are all too familiar, are racist terrorists. As the PDC's Mobilization leaflet "All Out to Stop the KKK" succinctly stated: "the Klan 'speaks' with the lynch rope. The fascists' 'words' are fired out of the barrel of a gun."

We had driven from Richmond, a town where museums are dedicated to the Confederate soldiers and battles. Monument Avenue, which runs through the heart of the Fan neighborhood, is lined with enormous statues hailing the racist likes of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. These monuments are indicative of who still runs Richmond, and the South, a hundred and thirty-six years after the Confederacy was defeated by the Union Army.

We discussed the events at Greensboro in 1979 and in New York City on October 23, 1999 but perhaps we were not truly aware of what lay ahead as our car rambled through Gary toward Chicago, the wind outside cutting to the bone, and the extent of industrialization in the area we realized through miles of factories along I-65 and I-90.

The PDC mobilization went ahead on January 20th despite the lack of a permit. As we walked, in single file line toward the Gary Court House, the Gary police were out in strength. Mayor King had stated that anyone who demonstrated in the streets of Gary would be arrested. But the police never moved in to arrest any demonstrator, only handing out one citation. We began to understand the scope of what we were a part of. It was because of the number of powerful trade unions represented at the mobilization, the ATU and the USWA among others, and faxes of support from organizations and trade unions from around the country and the world that had flooded Mayor King's office, that the police backed down. The power of labor had won.

Marx also wrote: "Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers."

And the workers are the only group that has the power to smash fascism in its place whenever it raises its cowardly head. If fascism is to prevail, the working class is the group whose trade unions are made illegal, whose newspapers are censored and whose rights are taken away. Trotsky wrote in 1934: "The growth of the fascist bands is, in turn, a product of the ruin of the petty bourgeoisie." And as capitalism continues to decay, "big capital ruins the middle classes and then, with the help of hired fascist demagogues, incites the despairing petty bourgeois against the worker. The bourgeois regime can be preserved only by such murderous means as these.... Until it is overthrown by proletarian revolution."

These are some of the lessons that we learned in Gary. We learned, in concrete terms, the power that labor wields and the need for a workers party that will fight for socialist revolution. The proletariat needs a party to break from the Democrats, the party of illusions in which the working class has no interest. It was black Democrat Al Sharpton who raised the call for "tolerance" for the KKK, along with the New York Civil Liberties Union and fake socialists like the International Socialist Organization during the October 23, 1999 PDC Labor/Black Mobilization to shut down a KKK demonstration in NYC.

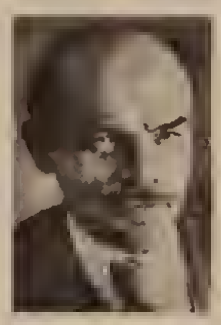
And as the *Workers Vanguard* "Labor/Black Mobilization" supplement (November 1, 1999) stated: "We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a planned socialist economy that operates not for the profit of a few greedy exploiters but for the working people who produce the wealth of society."

Comradely,
Josh K.
Richmond, VA

WV Photo

January 20 PDC-initiated anti-Klan rally in Gary, Indiana.

TROTSKY



LENIN

The French Revolution and the Proletariat

The radical sector of the bourgeoisie that carried out the Great French Revolution of 1789-94 proclaimed the ideals of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels embraced the egalitarian heritage of the French Revolution. But they explained that the formal equality championed by the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy did not and could not satisfy the demand of the emerging proletariat for social equality, which could only be realized through the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation and the creation of a classless communist society.

The demand for liberation from feudal fetters and the establishment of equality of rights by the abolition of feudal inequalities was bound soon to assume wider dimensions from the moment when the economic advance of society first placed it on the order of the day....

From the moment when, like a butterfly from the chrysalis, the bourgeoisie arose out of the burghers of the feudal period, when this "estate" of the Middle Ages developed into a class of modern society, it was always and inevitably accompanied by its shadow, the proletariat. And in the same way the bourgeois demand for equality was accompanied by the proletarian demand for equality. From the moment when the bourgeois demand for the abolition of class *privileges* was put forward, alongside of it appeared the proletarian demand for the abolition of the *classes themselves*—at first in religious form, basing itself on primitive Christianity, and later drawing support from the bourgeois equalitarian theories themselves. The proletarians took the bourgeoisie at their word: equality must not be merely apparent, must not apply merely to the sphere of the state, but must also be real, must be extended to the social and economic sphere. And especially since the time when the French bourgeoisie, from the Great Revolution on, brought bourgeois equality to the forefront, the French proletariat has answered it blow for blow with the demand for social and economic equality, and equality has become the battle-cry particularly of the French proletariat.

—Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is February 13.

No. 752 — 16 February 2001

Black History Month Forums

The Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877:

The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism

Saturday, February 24, 3 p.m.
Harvard University, Science Center Hall E

BOSTON For more information: (617) 666-9453

The Fight for Black Liberation: Key to the American Socialist Revolution

Saturday, February 17, 5 p.m.
University of Chicago, Third Floor Theatre, Ida Noyes
1212 E. 59th Street (at Woodlawn)

CHICAGO For more information: (312) 454-4930

Forums will include reports from successful labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Gary, Indiana on January 20!

Mexico City: Student Activists Occupy UNAM Campus

Drop All Charges!

MEXICO CITY—On February 6, the students of Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM) commemorated the one-year anniversary of the brutal police suppression of the ten-month-long strike in defense of the right to free, public education, in which nearly a thousand student activists were imprisoned and the campus facilities were occupied by the Federal Preventive Police. Students' assemblies from several UNAM schools decided to carry out a 24-hour occupation beginning on the night of February 5, and two massive demonstrations the next day. Both demonstrations were held in defiance of recent threats by the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) city government to outlaw and attack any protest that might block traffic. During the stoppage, the university workers union (STUNAM) refused to work in the occupied facilities. The following is an eyewitness account from a comrade of the Juventud Espartaquista (JE), youth group of the International Communist League's Mexican section, the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), who was present at the Political Sciences school when the students defeated an intended provocation by 35 strikebreakers.

* * *

There were about 100 activists, half of whom were women, staying overnight to guard the school of Political Sciences. Due to rumors about some hired thugs (*porros*) hiding in the local administration building and keeping in mind a previous attack at the School of Engineering where an activist ended up in the hospital, the activists' meeting decided around 1:00 a.m. to go all together and check the facilities. It turned out that there were 35 thugs, including campus functionaries and teachers, whose explicit purpose was to break the occupation. When we entered the room where the *porros* were gathered, several of them began to arm themselves with pipes, looking for a physical confrontation. Given our numerical superiority, we proceeded to surround them and take them out to the square. We took their pipes away. Many students were shocked to see some of their teachers playing the role of vicious strikebreaking thugs. When we finally managed to get them all together and seated at the center of the square, the students began to demand that the *porros* take off their pants and shoes (with the exception of the three women among them), chanting "Mexe! Mexe!" This was a reference to the famous episode just two weeks after the government crackdown on the UNAM strike in Mexico City, when the population of the village around the El Mexe teachers school prevented a police squad from capturing the striking students, tying up the cops and forcing them to strip in the central square. As some of the student activists were taking the shoes away from their "prisoners," they shouted, "Now you know how our indigenous brothers feel!" One of the thugs grotesquely whined, "These are Maoist methods!" Coming from a right-wing strikebreaker, this was hardly an insult. As he refused until the end to take his pants off, the students took them off forcibly. Some of us thought it would be a beautiful irony to make these thugs vote as to whom they wanted to donate their pants and shoes: to the earthquake victims of El Salvador or India or to the indigenous Zapatista villages under military siege.

There were a lot of different groups and tendencies among the students, reflecting acute political differences, but it took the joint action of all of us to put the strikebreakers under control. Later on, the students took a vote and decided to give them their clothes back. When the media finally showed up in response to our call, a student read a statement explaining what had occurred and the strikebreakers were released, after being gently escorted a few blocks away from any other occupied campus building. This successful defensive action may have helped persuade the strikebreaking thugs at other schools against carrying out similar attempts as they had threatened. Now many of the student activists are facing charges in the university tribunal amid a witchhunt by the vengeful university authorities and the bourgeois media. It is urgently necessary to mobilize the power of the workers to defend the student activists! *Drop all the charges!*

The JE intervened in this defensive action, counterposing our proletarian revolutionary views to those of other groups within the student movement. We sharply exposed the arrogant program of "student vanguardism" that rejects the centrality of the working class and fosters the illusion that students can, by themselves, solve the contradictions of the whole society by turning the campus into an isolated "territory of justice" within capitalism. This program is advanced by organizations like the left-wing student group "En Lucha," and is doomed to capitulate to the ruling class, seeking to reform capitalism rather than destroy it and replace it with an egalitarian socialist society where those who labor rule. Grotesquely, some of En Lucha's top leaders have denounced the victory of the students over this strikebreaking provocation as a "mistake" (*La Jornada*, 9 February), objectively embracing the witchhunt launched by the university authorities. The JE, a training ground for future communist cadre, fights to win over radicalized youth to struggle at the side of the workers to achieve proletarian class dictatorship through socialist revolution. Join us!■

AP

Mexico City, February 6: Student march marked one-year anniversary of government crackdown on 10-month-long strike at UNAM.

PL and UC Berkeley Coalition

Six Degrees of the Democratic Party

On January 24, a new movement was launched at UC Berkeley with a forum called by the fledgling Progressive Student Alliance (PSA), which unites unaffiliated political students with the racist, capitalist Democratic Party and its associated single-issue auxiliaries in the ACLU, CalPIRG, Queer Resource Center, the Cal Human Rights Campaign and even the Cal Vegetarians. But far from a cynical ploy launched by the Democrats to lure disillusioned students back into the fold, the real blame lies with the fake socialists of Solidarity and the International Socialist Organization (ISO), without whose organizational savvy and flyer foot-soldiering the PSA could well dissolve into a hazy mist of liberal good intentions, and without whose left cover the PSA's nature as a prop to capitalist rule would be immediately apparent to the most naive student.

But special distinction must be given to Progressive Labor (PL) who, though no longer members, provided the red eggshell which protected the PSA while it was still in its embryonic form as Students for Nader (SFN). In our article "Progressive Labor Crawls for Nader" (*WV* No. 746, 17 November 2000), we detailed PL's entry into SFN and its craven kowtowing before campus liberals. PL's press attacked Nader as a bourgeois candidate, but when faced with the unpopularity of "fighting for communism" among liberal students, PL found that "We made our first mistake at the very first meeting by openly attacking Nader.... We were written off as 'outsiders'" (*Challenge*, 15 November 2000). Where revolutionaries seek to win young people to the need for the revolutionary overthrow of racist U.S. imperialism, PL illustrated its own opportunism in preferring to "develop friendships," "build close ties," and "find the points of unity."

From there, it was only a short step to fawning messages to the SFN e-mail list, with PL members cooing "I think it's going to take a revolution, and some in Students for Nader disagree. But I think we are overall on the same side.... I'm glad I joined." Even when faced with an SFN member's support of Republican John McCain as an advocate of campaign finance reform, PL members were careful not to step on those "friendships," replying cordially that "What unifies us is our desire for a drastic change in the way the system operates. Personally, having John McCain in the coalition I feel would jeopardize that heinously." No kidding.

While PL provided the shiniest possible red veneer to the same old liberal crap, the Spartacus Youth Club explained that Nader's campaign aimed to refurbish the image of the capitalist electoral system, and therefore to channel those discontented with this society toward the Democratic Party. The role of capitalist third party movements in the U.S. has been to divert anger among the masses away from social protest and back into the dead end of bourgeois electoral politics. In seeking to prettify a system which has black oppression at its core, Nader had little support from blacks, and even less to offer them. But instead of exposing Nader's intentional indifference to racism, PL sought to provide him with some progressive credentials. In the same 15 November *Challenge* article titled "Nader Student Group Won to Anti-Racist Stand," PL wrote: "Once we felt more comfortable in the group, we 'upped the ante' at the weekly meeting. We pointed out that the group was predominantly white, and that we should try to change this.... We proposed a prison labor forum highlighting racism which could attract more minority students."

At that prison labor forum a Spartacist supporter intervened to point out that the

continued on page 11

Spartacus Youth Forum

Down With NAFTA "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico!

For Workers Revolution in Mexico!

Mexican Army Out of Chiapas! Beware of Peace Talks Fraud!

Wednesday, February 21, 7 p.m.
UCLA Ackerman 3508
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Susan Adams

Spartacist

4

1948-2001

Our comrade Susan Adams died at home on the morning of February 6 after a two-year struggle with cancer. In her 30 years as a communist cadre, Susan served on many of the battle fronts of our international party. There is hardly a section of the International Communist League or an area of our work which did not benefit directly from her political counsel and from her exceptional talents as a teacher and trainer of a new generation of proletarian leaders. She continued to carry out vital work as a member of the leading committees of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the ICL until her death. We salute her memory and share in the pain and loss of her longtime companion and comrade, François, her family and her many comrades and friends around the world.

Like thousands of youth, Susan was propelled into political activism in the mid-1960s by the civil rights movement, the growing opposition to the Vietnam War and the near-revolutionary upheaval in France in May 1968. She vehemently rejected the mysticism and hypocritical moralism of her Catholic background and struggled against the internalized oppression that it caused. While at the University of California in San Diego, she joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and was drawn to the pro-working-class wing led by the left-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party. Susan was won to Trotskyism as she began working with the SL-led Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS in 1970 after moving to the State University of New York in Stony Brook. Having moved back to California, she became a member of the Spartacist League in December 1971. Within months, she was elected organizer of our rapidly growing Bay Area local committee, helping to integrate new recruits from a variety of political tendencies.

When we moved to set up a branch in the "Motor City," Detroit, in early 1973, Susan was chosen to lead it. She proudly described this center of the black industrial working class as the Vyborg of the American proletariat, in reference to the militant proletarian stronghold of Bolshevism in Petrograd on the eve of the Russian Revolution. She was aggressive in ensuring that our Trotskyist propaganda penetrated the combative proletariat in the auto plants, often taking a direct hand in writing, mimeographing and distributing our first leaflets. Susan saw to it that the local carried out a program of intensive Marxist internal education and that the industrial comrades, who were working 50 hours or more on swing shift on the assembly lines, got their share of polemical combat doing campus work.

After little more than a year in Detroit, Susan moved to New York to be the central leader of our national youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League. As always, she took on this task with energy and political determination, frequently touring the locals, initiating or directing local and national SYL campaigns, overseeing the publication of a high-level monthly press, *Young Spartacus*, with an emphasis on Marxist education and polemics.

In 1976, as the Spartacist tendency began to gain small footholds in Europe, Susan took on another crucial area of party work, this time for our International Secretariat. Stationed mainly in Paris, she became the central leader of our work in Europe, and Paris became one of three main political centers of our International. Until 1992, Susan was the principal leader of the Ligue Trotskyste de France. She was centrally involved in the debates and discussions undertaken in the LTF and the International to hammer out our strategy and tactics in this international center of ostensible Trotskyism, particularly in response to the resurgence of the popular front in the form of the "Union of the Left" in the late 1970s and early '80s. Determined to implant the Cannonist understanding of party building and Bolshevik norms of functioning which were largely alien to European cadre, she worked closely with often inexperienced leaderships in the European sections, getting them to seize on opportunities for building the party, to carry through regroupments with leftward-moving elements of opponent organizations and to combat the incessant pressures of French parocialism, British Labourism, resurgent German nationalism and so on.

In July 1994, helping to redirect the work of the ICL in a genuinely new and difficult period signaled by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Susan wrote a letter to the International Secretariat:

> "The main task of the I.S. is the production of the appropriate, necessary and urgent literary propaganda, quadrilingually and in part pentalingually, i.e., also in Russian, mainly in the *Spartacists*.... Publishing propaganda presumably gives political direction; it creates the scaffolding inside which the sections construct their work, in the spirit that Lenin developed in *What Is To Be Done?*"

When the incipient proletarian political revolution erupted in East Germany in the fall of 1989, Susan of course threw herself into guiding and pushing forward our Trotskyist intervention, playing a major role in building the united-front mobilization we initiated to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial, which drew 250,000 people to East Berlin's Treptow Park on 3 January 1990.

In 1992, when the LTF leadership itself succumbed to the same pressures Susan had seen so clearly and fought so well elsewhere, there was a sharp political fight at an ICL conference. Susan sought to assimilate the political lessons of the fight and only a few months later accepted the difficult assignment of heading up our small ICL station in Moscow, taking up the work of our comrade Martha Phillips who had been murdered at her post there earlier that year. Working in a situation where there was little room for mistakes, our Moscow group fought to reimplant Bolshevism in the face of the devastation of capitalist counterrevolution and of the retrograde Stalinist-derived chauvinists of the "red-brown" coalition.

Although foreign languages did not come easily, Susan embarked on learning Russian with the same discipline and resolution that she had applied to studying French. The combination of limited party resources and the overwhelmingly negative objective situation in the former Soviet Union ultimately forced us to abandon an organized presence in Moscow. To her last days, Susan would speak fondly of her "Moscow boys," as she called the young members from various countries, among them recent recruits from the former DDR, who had volunteered for this arduous and dangerous assignment and who received their shaping as Leninist cadre under Susan's tutelage.

After nearly 20 years of overseas assignments, Susan returned to the U.S. to work in the central party administration, directing her energies particularly on working with a new layer of youth recruits in New York and nationally. Seeking to capitalize on our very successful anti-Klan mobilization in October 1999, Susan addressed the New York Spartacist branch, of which she was political chairman:

> "This demonstration really does put into context the last decade, when there wasn't very much going on. In the last couple of years, there have been many struggles in the party. We have sought to grind off the rust in the party and prepare ourselves for exactly the kind of situation that I think our party responded to very well this month. And now the question is the follow-up. In short, the whole point here is: this is what we live for, this is what we prepare for, and now we're in it and we must take advantage of it in the maximum political way."

During this period she also devoted much of her waning energy to preparing her public presentation on "Women and the French Revolution" and expanding it for publication. Even while homebound in her last few days, she was involved in helping select graphics for the layout. Several of her other projects remain to be completed, including an index for the first bound volume of French-language *Spartacist*.

Susan's beauty and graciousness struck all who met her. She solicited and listened intently to the opinions of the newest youth member no less than those of the most senior party cadre, arguing with them openly when she disagreed. Her intellectual curiosity was intense and many of us fondly remember sharing a book-shopping expedition, a novel, a Shostakovich symphony, an art exhibit or a play with Susan in whatever city of the world we found ourselves. Her critical-mindedness, integrity and revolutionary determination serve as an inspiration to us all as we go forward to realize the task to which she dedicated her life, the reforging of a Trotskyist Fourth International and the achievement of communism worldwide.

Memorial Meetings

Memorial meetings are planned in several cities—Berlin: February 24, for information call: (030) 4 43 94 00; Paris: March 3, for information call: 01 42 08 01 49; New York: March 3, for information call: (212) 267-1025.

Spartakist

East Berlin, 14 January 1990: Susan (at left) with Spartakist contingent at demonstration honoring Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg during incipient political revolution.

WOMEN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Buttoz

October 1789: Parisian women armed with pikes, the "people's weapon," march on the royal palace at Versailles to protest counterrevolutionary outrages and demand bread.

Throughout her years as a communist, our comrade Susan Adams had an intense commitment to the study of history and culture, which she put to particular use as a member of the Editorial Board of Women and Revolution *while that journal existed. We publish below an edited version of a presentation she gave at a Spartacist League forum to celebrate International Women's Day in New York City last year.*

International Women's Day originated in March 1908, with a demonstration here in Manhattan by women needle trades workers. They marched to oppose child labor and in favor of the eight-hour day and women's suffrage. March 8 became an international day celebrating the struggle for women's rights. And then on International Women's Day in 1917, right in the middle of World War I, 90,000 textile workers, many of them women, went on strike in Petrograd (St. Petersburg), the capital of the Russian tsarist empire. They rose up from the very bottom rungs of society, and it was these most oppressed and downtrodden of the proletariat who opened the sluice gates of the revolutionary struggle leading to the October Revolution, where Marx's ideas first took on flesh and blood.

The Soviet state was the dictatorship of the proletariat. It immediately enacted laws making marriage and divorce simple civil procedures, abolishing the category of illegitimacy and all discrimination against homosexuals. It took steps toward replacing women's household drudgery by setting up cafeterias, laundries and childcare centers to allow women to enter productive employment. Under the conditions of extreme poverty and backwardness, those measures could be carried out only on a very limited scale. But they undermined the institution of the family and represented the first steps toward the liberation of women. The collectivized planned economy laid the basis for enormous economic and social progress. Fully integrated into the economy as wage earners, women achieved a degree of economic independence that became so much a matter of course that it was barely noticed by the third generation after the revolution. We fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution up until the very last barricade.

The great October Russian Revolution has now been undone and its gains destroyed. Surrounded and pounded by the imperialists for seven decades, the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. The responsibility for that lies primarily with the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the working class in 1923-24 and betrayed the revolutionary purpose of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party and the revolutionary Communist International that they founded. Not the least of the Stalinists' crimes was the glorification of the family and the reversal of many gains for women. We called for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

In celebrating International Women's Day, we reaffirm that the struggle for women's rights is inextricably linked to revolution and we honor the women fighters through the centuries whose courage and consciousness has often put them in the vanguard of struggles to advance the cause of the oppressed. The Russian Revolution was a proletarian socialist revolution; it overthrew the rule of the capitalists and landlords and placed the working class in power. The Great French Revolution of 1789-94 was a bourgeois revolution, the most thorough and deepgoing of the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The French Revolution overthrew the rule of the monarchy, the nobility and the landed aristocracy and placed the bourgeoisie in power. It swept Europe with its liberating ideas and its revolutionary reorganization of society. It transformed the population from subjects of the crown to citizens with formal equality. Jews were freed from the ghettos and declared citizens with full rights; slavery was first abolished on the territory of the French nation. It inspired the first successful slave revolt in the colonies, the uprising led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in what became Haiti. And, within the limitations of bourgeois rule, it achieved gains for women that were unparalleled until the time of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Today's capitalist ruling class is unsurpassed in bloody terrorism against working people around the world in defense of its profits and property. As hard as it is to imagine, the ancestors of this bourgeoisie played a historically progressive role then, sweeping away the backwardness, irrationality and inefficiency of the previous feudal system. The leaders of the French Revolution, who represented the most radical sector of the French bourgeoisie, spoke with—and for the most part believed—the words of the Enlightenment, justifying its fight to destroy the nobility as a class and take political power itself as the advent of "liberty, equality and fraternity" for all. They could not, and the majority of them did not intend to, emancipate the lower classes. Nevertheless, something changed in the world.

Particularly since "death of communism" propaganda has filled the bourgeois press and media following the destruction of the Soviet Union, there's been a real attempt to demonize not just the Russian Revolution but any revolution, the French Revolution in particular. The push for retrograde social policies has been historically justified with a virtual flood of books and articles attacking the humanist values of the Enlightenment philosophy which laid the ideological basis for the French Revolution. Today, while the bourgeoisie in its decay disowns the rationalist and democratic values it once espoused, we Trotskyists stand out not only as the party of the Russian Revolution but the champions of the liberating goals of the French Revolution.

Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin identified with the Jacobins, the radical wing of the French revolutionary bourgeoisie, whose most prominent leaders were Maximilien Robespierre, Jean-Paul Marat and Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just. Lenin wrote that the "essence of Jacobinism" was "the transfer of power to the revolutionary, oppressed class" and that Jacobinism was "one of the highest *peaks* in the emancipation struggle of an oppressed class." You can better understand why Lenin was inspired by the Jacobins from the following words by Saint-Just: "Those who make a revolution with half-measures are only digging their own grave."

VAAP

March 1917: Petrograd women march with banner reading, "As long as women are slaves there can't be freedom. Long live women's equality!" Earlier protest on International Women's Day marked start of Russian Revolution.

Women's Oppression and Class Society

In the early 19th century, a French socialist named Charles Fourier carefully studied the French Revolution. He wrote biting, witty and humorous criticism of existing social relations, including working out a whole scheme—kind of nutty but fun and food for thought—for perpetually satisfying sexual relations. Needless to say, he thought sexual monogamy was a curse worse than death. In a famous statement quoted by Karl Marx in his 1845 book *The Holy Family*, Fourier said:

> "The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by women's progress towards freedom, because here, in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation."

And that quite profound observation guides us today in our understanding of society.

Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family and has been a feature of all class societies. At one point before recorded history, it didn't much matter who the father of a child was, since children were largely cared for communally. But then inventions such as agriculture made it possible to produce more than the producers could actually consume. This ability to produce

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French Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

a surplus meant that a leisure class could live off the labor of others and accumulate property. It became important to know who the father of a child was so that he could pass on his property to his own children. Monogamy appeared, making the man dominant and the woman subservient, enslaved.

The family is a key social unit for the maintenance of capitalism. For the capitalists, the family provides the basis for passing on accumulated wealth. And where there is no property to pass on, the family serves to rear the next generation of workers for the capitalists and to inculcate conservative social values. It is the family—and the necessity to control sexual access to the woman to ensure that the man knows who his real heir is—which generates the morality codified in and reinforced by religion. It is the family which throughout a woman's life gives definition to her oppressed state: as daughter, as wife, as mother.

We Marxists fight to rip the means of production out of the hands of the capitalists in order to put them at the service of the needs of the working people that create the wealth. Only then can household drudgery be replaced with socialized childcare, restaurants, laundries and so on. The program of communism is for a classless society in which the family is transcended by superior sexual and social relations which will be free of moral or economic coercion. Our slogan is: "For women's liberation through socialist revolution!"

Marx said that revolution is the locomotive of history. In the Great French Revolution, the women of Paris were often the engineers in that locomotive. I'm going to be talking about the role of thousands of women leaders, military commanders, propagandists and organizers whose role at key junctures of the French Revolution was quite simply decisive. Groups like the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women literally shaped history. Count Mirabeau, one of the major actors in the beginning of the revolution, was an extremely sleazy guy, firmly in favor of a constitutional monarchy, occasionally in the pay of the king. But even he said: "Without women, there is no revolution."

Mansell Collection

Bulloz

Bulloz

14 July 1789: Depiction of storming of Bastille prison and garrison by Parisian working people. Right: Parisian *sans-culottes*.

Bibliotheque Nationale

Contemporary print shows May 1791 decree giving civil rights to free black men and Declaration of Rights of Man. Reason is seen holding a level to symbolize equality of black and white.

Most histories of the French Revolution concentrate their chief attention on the upper levels of society and the top layers of the plebeian masses. In recent years, a number of French and American women historians have done very interesting and important research into the dusty archives of the revolution in Paris—police reports, newspaper articles. Some of these historians are feminists; that is, they see the fundamental division in society as that between the sexes.

At the time of the revolution, a movement focused specifically on women's rights was in the minority. One person who was what you would call a feminist today, at least as far as I have been able to put together her history, was Olympe de Gouges. In her pamphlet, *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen*, written in the fall of 1791, she implicitly called for the vote for women, for a women's assembly and for equal rights with men. She also dedicated her pamphlet to the despised queen Marie Antoinette! De Gouges was not an aristocrat but a butcher's daughter from outside Paris, yet she remained a royalist throughout most of the revolution and was guillotined in November 1793.

Some of the recent analysis by feminist historians feeds right into today's reactionary climate. Taking aim at the French Revolution itself, they claim that the failure of women to secure the right to vote for national parliaments and the suppression of the exclusively women's political clubs during the most radical period of the revolution proves that misogyny triumphed. This view is also promoted in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (16 May 1999) called "The Shadow Story of the Millennium: Women." The article states that the French Revolution's "new philosophy of rational natural rights placed all men on an equal footing in regard to citizenship and the law" but adds: "Men of the revolution said that women should stay home and rear their sons to be good citizens."

Let us allow a participant to refute this falsehood. Mère Duchesne was a domestic servant, a cook, who, unlike most domestic servants then, defied her aristocratic masters. She was described in a police report as "the satellite and missionary to all women under Robespierre's orders, a most ferocious woman." The *Mère Duchesne* newspaper wrote in September 1792:

> "In the past, when we wanted to speak, our mouths were shut while we were told very politely, 'You reason like a woman'; almost like a goddamn beast. Oh! Damn! Everything is very different now; we have indeed grown since the Revolution."

"The Columns of French Liberty"

Now I want to go into some detail about the French Revolution itself. A revolution is a monumental military and social battle between *classes*. The dominant class in any society controls the state—the police, courts, army—which protects its class interests. In modern society there are two fundamental classes: the big capitalists who own the means of production (the mines, factories, etc.) and the workers who own absolutely nothing except their personal effects and are compelled to sell their labor power to the capitalists. At the time of the French Revolution, there were essentially four classes. The king and the nobility who owned nearly all of the land, the rising bourgeoisie, the peasants (who constituted over 80 percent of the population) and the urban *sans-culottes*. The latter consisted of artisans, who worked either at home or in very small workshops, shopkeepers, day laborers, the poor and unemployed. Those who did manual labor wore loose trousers and were *sans*—without—the tight silk leggings worn by aristocrats and those imitating them.

A revolution happens when the ruling class can no longer rule as before, and the masses are no longer willing to be ruled in the same way. We're talking about a political crisis in which the rulers falter and which tears the people from the habitual conditions under which they labor and vegetate, awakening even the most backward elements, compelling the people to take stock of themselves and look around. That political crisis was provoked in France by the 1776 American Revolution.

France had taken the side of the American colonies against its perpetual enemy England and so had emerged on the side of the victors, but totally broke. In May 1789, King Louis XVI convened an *Estates General*—a meeting of representatives of the nobility, the clergy and the non-noble property owners and lawyers (the so-called Third Estate)—at Versailles, where his palace was located, about 12 miles from Paris. He hoped to convince some of them to pay more taxes. But they refused, while every village throughout the country wrote up its grievances to be presented at Versailles. The meeting of the three estates transformed itself into a National Assembly.

It was clear that the king was gathering troops to disperse the National Assembly. The negotiations out at Versailles might have gone on forever, except the Parisian masses took things into their own capable hands and organized to arm themselves, seizing 60,000 muskets from armories like the Invalides and the Bastille prison fortress around the city on 14 July 1789. You know of this event as the storming of the Bastille. The freeing of the handful of prisoners was incidental; it was the arms that were the goal. The Paris garrisons had been deeply influenced by revolutionary propaganda following a massacre of rioters in the working-class quarters of Faubourg Saint-Antoine some months earlier. In June, the troops paraded through the streets to shouts of "Long live the Third Estate! We are the soldiers of the nation!"

The king backed down, but the monarchy still had its army and its throne. The bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, mutually hostile classes, were relying on essentially incompatible government institutions, the National Assembly and the royal throne. One or the other would have to go. Either the king (and his many royal cousins and relations by marriage ruling other countries of Europe) would crush the National Assembly or the king would meet up with what came to be known as "Madame la Guillotine."

The weeks following the July 14 events were known as the "Great Fear," the fear that the aristocrats were coming to take the land back and were organizing brigands and robbers and bands of pirates and so forth. So the peasants armed to protect themselves. Then it turned out to be a rumor, but there they were, armed and ready, and being practical sorts, they turned on the landlords' manor houses and made use of the arms that they'd gotten.

The people's representatives, who were deliberating out at Versailles, took note of the insurrection and on August 4 passed laws eliminating feudal privileges, which

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

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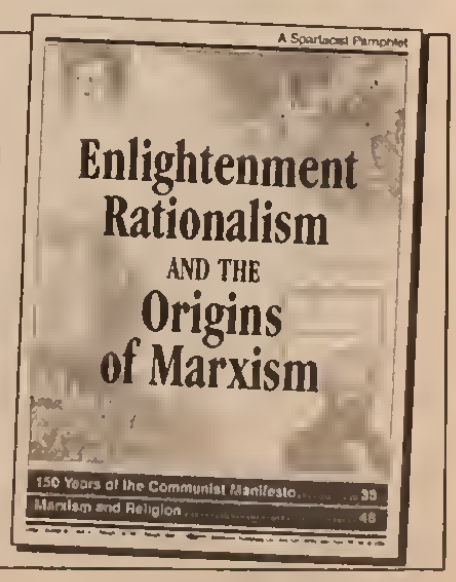


had been the original issue all summer. The problem was that you had to buy your way out of your feudal duties and pay 25 times your feudal taxes in order to free yourself from them. Most peasants simply ignored that and had been seizing the land all over the country since July 14. They also would burn down the lord's manor house, where the records and the deeds were kept. You know, straightforward and practical.

The next major event is crucial to our understanding of the women's role. It was October and the people of Paris were starving again. October is usually a cold and wet month in Paris. It was indeed raining at 8 a.m. on the morning of 5 October 1789. Thousands of women—eventually some 8,000—had already gathered in front of City Hall. They knew where to find the arms because it was they who had helped store them here after July 14.

The king had allowed the symbol of the revolution—the red-white-and-blue cockade (rosette)—to be trampled underfoot by some foreign troops brought in to protect him and his Austrian queen, Marie Antoinette. The women intended to stop this anti-revolutionary activity and they wanted bread. Huge stores of fine white flour waited at Versailles. They began to walk there. They couldn't get anyone to come with them, but later in the afternoon about 20,000 troops of the National Guard—which had been formed by the bourgeoisie—forced the very reluctant General Lafayette, whom you might know as a hero of the American Revolution, to lead them there. One of the women was Pauline Léon, a chocolate maker, who was later to lead the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women. That day she was armed with a pike, which was known as the people's weapon, because it was so easy to make. You could pull something off the top of a railing and attach it to a good hefty stick. It was said that "the pikes of the people are the columns of French liberty."

This was no protest march—it was a sea of muskets and pikes. The women were determined not to come back without the king and his family. There were still plenty of illusions in the king, but they wanted him under their watchful eye, in Paris. At one point the crowd apparently invaded the palace and was wandering through Marie Antoinette's chambers and some things were getting broken and stepped on and stomped and so forth. One very respectable woman in a velvet hat and cloak turned around and said very haughtily, "Don't do that, we're here to make a point, not to break things." And a woman from the artisan class turned around and said, "My husband was drawn and quartered for stealing a piece of meat." Finally the women demanded that the royal family get into their carriage. Lafayette's troops led the way and the women marched in front carrying on their pikes loaves of fresh, very white bread—the kind reserved for the upper classes—and the heads of two of the king's bodyguards.

The Revolutionary Jacobin Dictatorship

While pretending to be happy with the situation, the king was secretly corresponding with the other royal heads of state and nobles began to emigrate en masse, establishing counterrevolutionary centers outside the country. In June 1791, the king and queen disguised themselves and tried to escape, intending to return with the backing of the Austrian army. But an observant revolutionary recognized them in the town of Varennes, and they were brought back to Paris. This destroyed the people's remaining illusions in the monarchy and triggered an upsurge in revolutionary agitation. But the bourgeoisie, fearing things could get out of hand, sought to maintain the monarchy and clamp down on the mass turmoil. A month after the king's arrest, a petition to abolish the monarchy was being circulated among the crowd on the broad expanse of the Champs de Mars. The National Guard fired on the crowd and many were killed. Commanded by the aristocrat Lafayette, the National

Musée Carnavalet

A women's political society meets during the French Revolution.

Guard had been organized as a force not only against the king but also against the threat that the bourgeoisie had already seen coming from the Parisian working people.

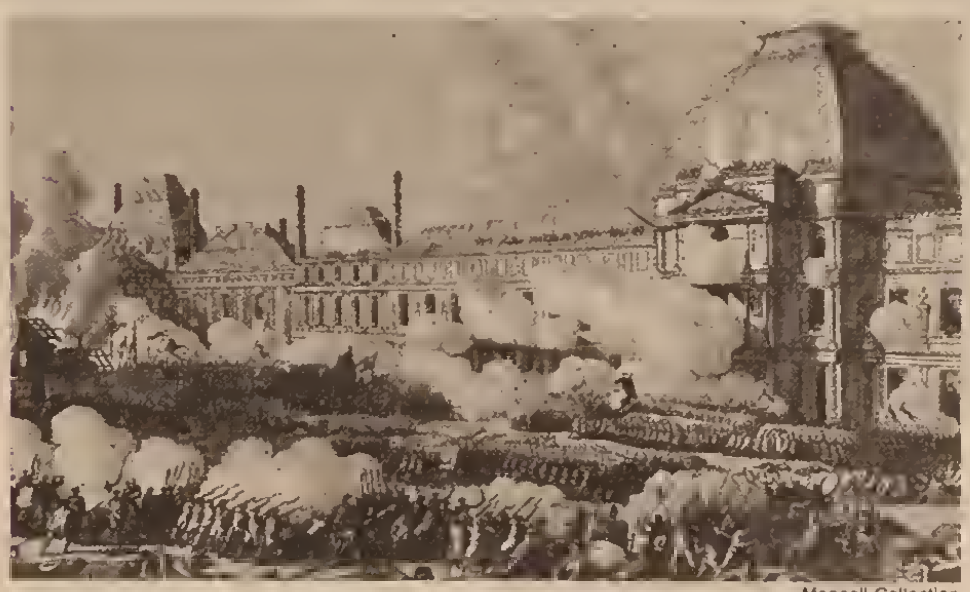
The Champs de Mars massacre marked a split within the bourgeois revolutionary forces. The two main factions that emerged—the Girondins and the Jacobins—represented the same social class, but they were deeply politically divided. The Prussian monarchy and the rest of royal Europe were mobilizing militarily and in April 1792 revolutionary France went to war. The Girondins sought a "negotiated solution" with the reactionary feudal armies combined with concessions to the nobility and the clergy. The Jacobins were ready to make temporary concessions to the hungry urban masses in order to thoroughly vanquish feudal reaction. You could say that the Girondins were the reformist wing and the Jacobins the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie.

In June 1792, thousands of armed marchers, including numerous women armed with sabers, paraded through the Assembly in the first of what became known as *journées*, or days of action. One official observed at the time, "The throne was still standing, but the people were seated on it, took the measure of it." The monarchy was finally overthrown by a second *journée* on 10 August 1792, when the masses invaded the king's residence at the Tuileries Palace in Paris and imprisoned the royal family.

The war was not going well. Most of the former officers, aristocrats, had emigrated. A government representative appealed for recruits by invoking "the heartbreaking thought that, after all the efforts that have already been made, we might be forced to return to the misery of our former slavery." While the best of the revolutionaries volunteered for the front, they were untrained and assumed to be undisciplined. Most of the new recruits were tradespeople, artisans and journeymen, not the sons of the bourgeoisie as before. The road to Paris seemed open to the Prussian royal armies.

The king of Prussia expected the French troops to scatter in disarray when his troops moved to drive them out of a strip of land near Valmy in eastern France. But not a man flinched as the French general waved his hat in the air on the point of his sword, shouting "Long live the nation!" The *sans-culottes* fired straight and repeatedly at the enemy. With a torrential rainstorm some hours later, the armies fell back. The German writer Goethe was present at Valmy, and as he looked out over the battlefield that night he said, "This day and this place open a new era in the history of the world."

He could not have been more prescient. On that day, the Assembly gave way to the Convention, which was elected by universal male suffrage and convoked expressly to give the nation a constitution which codified the overthrow of the king. Also, as we will see, the most progressive marriage and divorce laws until the Bolshevik Revolution were passed on exactly the same day as the victory at Valmy. Five months later, the king was beheaded.



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10 August 1792 *journée*: Assault on Tulleries Palace, king's residence, marked overthrow of monarchy.

In a third uprising in June 1793, the people of Paris and 80,000 National Guard troops surrounded the Convention and demanded the arrest of the Girondins and a comprehensive program of revolutionary defense of the country. This ushered in the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship, which irremediably abolished seigneurial (feudal) rights, instituted the price controls (referred to as the "maximum") demanded by the *sans-culottes* and destroyed the resistance of the feudal order through a reign of revolutionary terror carried out by the Committee of Public Safety.

A month after the foreign troops were driven from France in mid-1794, on July 27 (9 Thermidor in the revolutionary calendar), the conservative wing of the bourgeoisie took the reins of power. The next day Robespierre followed the Girondins to the guillotine. The Thermidorians thought they could do without the alliance with the lower classes. That calculation was proved false, and they were themselves replaced in 1799 in the coup of the 18th Brumaire (November 9) by Napoleon Bonaparte, who subsequently declared himself emperor. But the Jacobin dictatorship had irreversibly consolidated the central achievement of the French Revolution, the rooting out of feudal relations in the countryside.

Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance

As materialists, we understand, as Marx put it, that "Law can never be higher than the economic structure and the cultural development of society conditioned by that structure." The rising capitalist class was firmly committed to the preservation of private property, as indeed it had to be. It was precisely this which staked out the limits of the revolutionary social changes that could be carried out, although the most radical years of the French Revolution went very far indeed.

The family was temporarily undermined in order to serve the needs of the revolution against its enemies, the feudal nobility and Catholic church. This is one demonstration of the fact that social institutions which seem to be immutable, to be "natural" and "eternal," are in fact nothing more than the codification of social relations dictated by the particular economic system that is in place. After the bourgeoisie consolidated its power as the new ruling class, it re-established the constraints of the family. But nothing would ever be the same again. The contradictory reality of the French Revolution—the breathtaking leap in securing individual rights and the strict limits imposed on those rights by the fact that this was a bourgeois and not a socialist revolution—was captured by Karl Marx in *The German Ideology*:

> "The existence of the family is made necessary by its connection with the mode of production, which exists independently of the will of bourgeois society. That it was impossible to do without it was demonstrated in the most striking way during the French Revolution, when for a moment the family was as good as legally abolished."

The feminists who want to dismiss the bourgeois revolution as anti-woman end up echoing those who justify *suttee* (widow-burning) in India and the imposition of the *chador* in Iran and Afghanistan as "cultural differences." Where the bourgeois revolution did not triumph, the status of women is qualitatively inferior. It is enough to contrast the condition of women today in West Europe with Afghanistan, groaning under the rule of the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban.

I'll give you a very small example of what it meant to have a society in which

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French Revolution...

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a rising, vigorous, productive class—the bourgeoisie—was held in check by outmoded institutions. France was a Catholic country. In 1572, tens of thousands of French Protestants were killed in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, and more fled the country. The 1598 Edict of Nantes assured them the free exercise of their religious beliefs, but this was revoked in 1685. Some of the richest merchants were Protestant, but marriages performed by their own pastors were not officially recognized. At the death of a spouse, you would have distant Catholic relatives claiming the inheritance, because legally there was no spouse and the children were illegitimate. Both Protestants and Jews accepted divorce. In 1769, according to James Traer in his *Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (1980), a respected author advocated permitting divorce on the grounds that "the Protestant nations of northern Europe were enjoying both population growth and prosperity while the Catholic states of southern Europe were suffering from declining population and poverty." But the conservatives always managed to get the law postponed.

Under the Old Regime, women had the right to exactly nothing. The monarchy consistently sought to reinforce, supplement and extend the father's control over the marriage of his children. Women found guilty of adultery were sentenced to public whipping or imprisonment. Women were also put into convents for life for adultery. Marriage was indissoluble—a life sentence. If you were a man, you couldn't marry until you were 30 without your parents' permission. If your family had property, your father could get the king to issue a *lettre de cachet*, something like an unlimited arrest warrant, and you could be locked up indefinitely. If you married a minor (under the age of 25 for women) without permission, the penalty was death for rape notwithstanding the woman's consent. By the way, actors and actresses couldn't marry either, because their profession was viewed by the church as immoral.

The aristocracy was hardly committed to the sanctity of marriage. It was said

John Opie

English radical democrat Mary Wollstonecraft with 1792 French translation of her *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.*

DÉFENSE

DES DROITS

DES FEMMES.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

A PARIS,

A LYON,

1792.

at the court of Louis XIV some decades before the revolution that the aristocracy frowned on marital fidelity as being in bad taste, and a German visitor noted, "I know of not a single case of mutual affection and loyalty." I introduce this to make the point that marriage for the upper classes was all about property. Many of the *sans-culottes* did not marry at all. But in the Paris of the French Revolution, women were still largely dependent on men for economic reasons (whether or not they were legally married).

Much debate and several pieces of draft legislation on marriage and divorce had already been considered by the National Assembly before September 1792. All proposed to make marriage a simple civil affair. However, what stood in the way of this was the Catholic church. Those clergy who refused to swear an oath of loyalty were threatened with deportation. But the Pope forbade it, and a lot did refuse. Though some were deists or free thinkers, the bourgeois deputies in the Assembly had no intention of suppressing religion; they nearly all agreed that some kind of religion was necessary to keep the people pacified. But now they had a big problem on their hands as the village priests became organizers for counterrevolution.

The local priests not only carried out marriage ceremonies, baptisms and funerals, but also recorded them. If these records were in the hands of hostile forces, how could you count the population? You wouldn't even know if you had enough draftees for the army. When in June 1792 the Minister of Justice wrote that the civil war launched by the aristocracy and the church in the Vendée region in southwest France had completely disrupted the keeping of records, one delegate rose to propose that the marriage ceremony be abolished with the cry, "Freedom or death!" So in some ways, the progressive marriage and divorce laws enacted in September the same day as the victory at Valmy were war measures.

The age of adulthood was lowered to 21 and marriage without parental consent was legalized. This was followed by a June 1793 decree that proclaimed the right of illegitimate children to inherit from both their mothers and their fathers. At a stroke, the institution of the family lost one of its main functions as the framework for the transfer of property from one generation to the next. While inheritance rights didn't mean much to those without property, the new laws also tended to legitimize "free unions." For example, soldiers' common-law wives could receive government pensions.

Divorce had not been high on the list of grievances before the revolution, but as the pamphlets flowered, so did the notion that divorce was a necessary right in society. Probably rarely in history had a simple law so delighted the female population. When a certain citizen Bellepaume came to the town hall intending to oppose the divorce demanded by his wife, he found that she had organized "a considerable number of citizens of both sexes, but chiefly women" who pursued him in the corridors, abused him and tore his clothes. In the first year after the divorce law was passed, women initiated over 70 percent of all divorces. One woman wrote to the Convention:

> "The female citizen Govot, a free woman, solemnly comes to give homage to this sacred law of divorce. Yesterday, groaning under the control of a despotic husband, ***liberty*** was only an empty word for her. Today, returned to the dignity of an independent woman, she idolizes this beneficial law that breaks ill-matched ties and returns hearts to themselves, to nature, and finally to divine liberty. I offer my country six francs for the expense of war. I add my marriage ring, which was until today the symbol of my slavery."

Planeta

AP

Afghanistan: Women in Kabul under Soviet military presence (left). 1989 Soviet troop withdrawal meant regression to feudalist backwardness under Taliban fundamentalists.

The Society of Revolutionary Republican Women

The question of women's status in society had been a subject of debate throughout the Enlightenment. The Encyclopedia, published just before the revolution and intended as a compendium of all knowledge, contained four contributions under the category "Women": one in favor of equality, one ambiguous and two against. Even in a very radical work like Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), woman's role as subordinate to man inside the family was not seriously called into question. Wollstonecraft was part of a circle of British radical-democratic revolutionaries who supported the French Revolution against English monarchical reaction, even participating in the French government.

Most of the Enlightenment thinkers and writers concentrated on education for women, and that was about it. Now, this is undeniably a very important question, and it refuted the prevalent idea that women were inferior to men and their brains worked in an inferior way. Only about a third of French women at the time were literate. You'd find them during the revolutionary years at the corner café with their glass of red wine, reading or listening to someone else read Robespierre's latest speech. The hunger for knowledge was totally linked to the desire to change society. Before 1777, France had no daily newspaper. Two years later, there were 35 papers and periodicals and by 1789 there were 169. Thousands of political pamphlets rolled off the printing presses.

One of the novels based on the new research published in the last few years has the Enlightenment philosopher Condorcet, who wrote very eloquently about women's rights, and his lovely young wife enjoying long mornings reading a bit of Voltaire or the equivalent of the Sunday *New York Times* in bed with their café au lait, making love, and then getting up in the afternoon to walk in the garden and do their very serious intellectual work. Not a bad life, right? But it wasn't available to most people, of course. Condorcet ended by opposing the execution of Louis XVI, ostensibly on the grounds of opposition to the death penalty.

Bibliothèque Nationale Estampes

Enlightenment philosopher Condorcet, a proponent of women's rights.

The working women of Paris who were a motor force in the revolution lived very different lives. Perhaps 45,000 women in Paris, some 20 percent, were wage earners; a similar percentage of women in cities like Lyon and Rouen worked. Because of the war, women were able to break into traditionally male professions and they were also employed at sewing, as domestic servants. Some were proprietors of shops. Wives, legal or otherwise, of soldiers at the front were given subsidies. The Paris municipal government and the political clubs set up spinning workshops that at a certain point employed several thousand women, though the wages were miserable. They were centralized by the government office responsible for producing clothes for the troops.

It was from among these women of the *sans-culottes* that the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women was formed in the spring of 1793. One of the leaders of the society was the chocolate maker Pauline Léon, whom we last saw with her pike on the October 1789 march to Versailles. Another was the actress Claire Lacombe, who always followed her signature with "A Free Woman." A third was Anne Félicité Colombe, who owned a print shop. Typography was generally a man's job, so she was already exceptional for this. In 1791, she had been one of the four women arrested when the National Guard shot down demonstrators at the Champs de Mars calling for the overthrow of the monarchy. Colombe printed the revolutionary newspapers of Jean-Paul Marat, *L'Ami du Peuple* (The Friend of the People) and *L'Orateur du Peuple* (The Orator of the People). She was dragged into a libel suit, which she eventually won, and distributed the 20,000-*livre* settlement to the poor in her neighborhood.

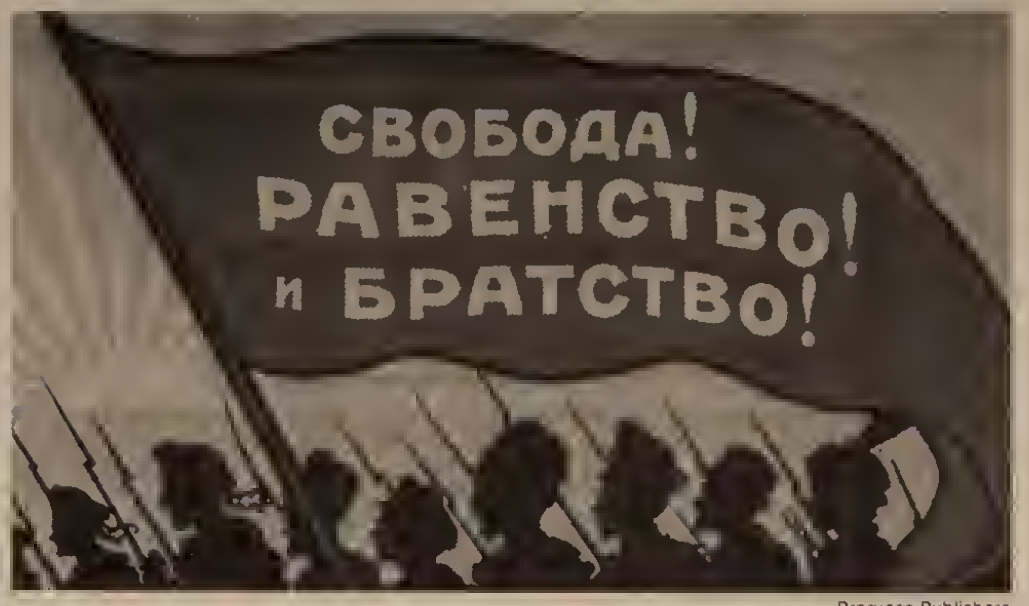
While women did not win the right to vote for delegates to the Convention, especially after the establishment of the Jacobin dictatorship in 1793 they played a full role in the Parisian sectional assemblies, intervening, presenting positions, voting and being elected as delegates. They refused to be "servile women, domestic animals," as one put it in May 1793. Interestingly, the one widespread demand for formal equality was for the right to bear arms. In March 1792, Pauline Léon had led a delegation to present a petition to the Assembly declaring:

> "You cannot refuse us and society cannot remove from us this right which nature gives us, unless it is alleged that the Declaration of Rights is not applicable to women and that they must allow their throats to be slit, like sheep, without having the right to defend themselves."

The women demanded the right to arm themselves with pikes, pistols, sabers and rifles, and to assemble for maneuvers on the Champs de Mars. After much debate, the Assembly moved to put the petition in the minutes with honorable mention. Dozens of women actually went to the front when the war began, a few as officers.

The Society of Revolutionary Republi-

can Women solidly backed the Jacobins as the revolutionary government and politically supported the extreme left Enragés around Jacques Roux, who spoke for the popular masses. Just after the Revolutionary Republican Women was founded, they mobilized the support of the masses in the streets for the Jacobins, whose battle to oust the Girondins was then coming to a head. As the split deepened, there were many more women than men in the street gatherings, according to police reports. The Revolutionary Republican Women dressed in military clothes and carried sabers. One account has them waging a military battle in the Convention to get back the seats which had been taken from them by supporters of the right-wing Gironde.



Progress Publishers

1919 Soviet monument to Jacobin leader Jean-Paul Marat. 1917 postcard with Russian translation of French Revolution slogan: "Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!"

Reversal of Gains Under Thermidor

In October 1793, the society became one of the first organizations to be banned by the Jacobin government. Those feminist historians I mentioned earlier claim that this proves that the French Revolution was essentially hostile to women. That's wrong. The society was banned not because it was composed of women, but because it was one of the most radical expressions of the *sans-culottes*.

Here's what happened. The Enragés and the Revolutionary Republican Women fought for strict price controls, especially on food, and an upper limit on the size of personal fortunes. In October, the Revolutionary Republican Women launched a campaign to force all women to wear the revolutionary cockade. They brought their campaign to Les Halles, the central marketplace in Paris. The market women were of course hostile to the price maximum on food that had just been imposed by the Jacobin government as a concession to the *sans-culottes*. The question of the cockade was just the pretext for the major-league brawl that ensued between the market women and the women revolutionaries. This fight represented an early split in the Jacobins' base, and the Jacobins sided with the market women, banning the Revolutionary Republicans.

The peasants wanted maximum food prices, the artisan-proletariat in the cities wanted minimum ones, pointing to the spectre of a civil war which the *sans-culottes* could not win. The Jacobins could have tried to strike a deal, but ultimately they could not satisfy the conflicting demands of the urban poor and the peasantry. When revolutionary Russia in the early 1920s was confronted with the "scissors crisis," as the price of scarce manufactured goods rose and the price of agricultural products fell and the peasants threatened to withhold their produce, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky proposed a course of planned industrialization to make more manufactured goods available to the peasants and maintain their support for the proletarian dictatorship. Trotsky's proposal was rejected at the time (only to be implemented at forced-march pace a few years later by Stalin). But such an option was objectively unrealizable in the capitalist economic system of pre-industrial France.

By the fall of 1793, the Jacobins and revolutionary France were gasping for air. Mandatory conscription had provoked mass uprisings in the Vendée; there had been treachery at the front; the armies of the European monarchies had re-invaded France; and Girondin provinces were seceding; Marat, the "friend of the people," had been assassinated by the royalist Charlotte Corday. Against this backdrop, the Revolutionary Republican Women, in their revolutionary zeal against the market women, threatened to get in the way of prompt and regular deliveries of food to the city from the countryside, without which the Jacobins would have lost the allegiance of the urban masses.

Many of the revolutionary women continued to be active as individuals. Even after being arrested by the Jacobin government, Claire Lacombe stayed loyal to Robespierre. She never renounced her support, and after Robespierre's execution she always refused to point out that she had been arrested by his revolutionary government because she hated the idea of becoming a hero of the Thermidorians.

***The Woman Worker*, newspaper published by the French Communist Party in the early 1920s.**

Women played a vanguard role in the last uprising of the French Revolution in the spring of 1795, after Thermidor. The rallying cry was "Bread and the Constitution of 1793!"

The modern feminist historians believe that the role of women who rose up from the "cellars and catacombs" has been largely obscured because of prevailing patriarchal attitudes in society. Or they seek to show that women acted only on "women's issues," mainly food shortages. While there's some truth in both these observations, they fundamentally miss the point. The mass of active women in the French Revolution did not fight and organize as women but as *revolutionaries*. And, as the October 1789 march that brought the king back from Versailles showed, it wasn't simply the question of bread that motivated them.

Thermidor marked the end of the radical phase of the revolution, and women were among the first to feel this. This was especially true for divorced women, who would have trouble finding work and maintaining themselves under the conservative Thermidorians. Divorce became identified with the "ruin of society" and the "torrent of corruption that invaded the cities and especially Paris" during the Terror and the months that followed it. Proof of a legitimate marriage became a requirement for soldiers' wives seeking to receive aid. After May 1795, the Convention banned women from "attending political assemblies," urging them to withdraw to their homes and ordering "the arrest of those who would gather together in groups of more than five."

The Napoleonic Code saw a further reversal of the gains of women. It's reported that the only part of the deliberations on the Napoleonic Code that Bonaparte sat in on was the Family Code enacted in 1804. The Family Code again made women minors from the standpoint of the law, mandating that they had to have the approval of their husbands for all contracts and so forth. In 1816, a year after Napoleon was overthrown and the monarchy restored, divorce was abolished.

Musée Carnavalet

Women fighters in 1871 Paris Commune, the first realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

I want to briefly trace the revolutionary continuity extending from the French Revolution through the 19th century. The French Revolution, refracted through Napoleon's armies, brought the first notions of women's equality to hideously backward tsarist Russia. Following Napoleon's defeat, Paris was occupied by Russian troops for a period of time. A number of young officers spent a lot of time in the cafés talking to people about what had been going on, and went back to St. Petersburg and led the Decembrist Uprising against the tsarist autocracy in 1825. They fought, among other things, for women's equality.

The very first communist ideas came out of the analysis developed by some of the radical Jacobins while in prison after the defeat of the Jacobin dictatorship. Revolutionaries like Gracchus Babeuf, who organized the Conspiracy of Equals, and Philippe Buonarroti came to believe that private property itself was the cause of oppression. They provided a living link to Marx and Engels, who issued the *Communist Manifesto* as the next revolutionary wave swept Europe in 1848, declaring: "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital." In France, a program was advanced for women's emancipation that called for replacing domestic slavery with socially organized and financed services. I found this 1848 program reprinted in an early 1920s women's journal published by the French Communist Party, *L'Ouvrière* (The Woman Worker).

In the Paris Commune in 1871, women once again played an extremely important role. Marx described the Commune as the first realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, though it lasted less than three months. The women of the Paris Commune were called the "incendiaries" by the reactionary press, and a correspondent for the London *Times* wrote, "If the French Nation were composed of nothing but women, what a terrible nation it would be." But Marx hailed them: "The women of Paris joyfully give up their lives on the barricades and execution grounds" (quoted in Edith Thomas, *The Women Incendiaries* [1967]). When the French capitalist rulers finally defeated the Commune after heroic resistance, they slaughtered at least 30,000 people in one week, and many thousands more were sent to penal colonies.

Today, bourgeois France is an imperialist power, where the July 14 storming of the Bastille is celebrated as a chauvinist glorification of the "grandeur of France"—much like July 4 here—while French colonial atrocities are carried out to the music of the once-revolutionary hymn, the *Marseillaise*.

We Trotskyists know that it will take world socialist revolution to do away with the institutions which are the root cause of women's oppression. In our fight to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, to lead new October Revolutions around the planet, we are guided by the words of the Fourth International's founding document, the 1938 Transitional Program: "The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class, consequently among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness, and readiness to sacrifice." Join us!■

California...

(continued from page 1)

but on constantly expanding production of the things people need.

The Capitalist Myth of the Free Market

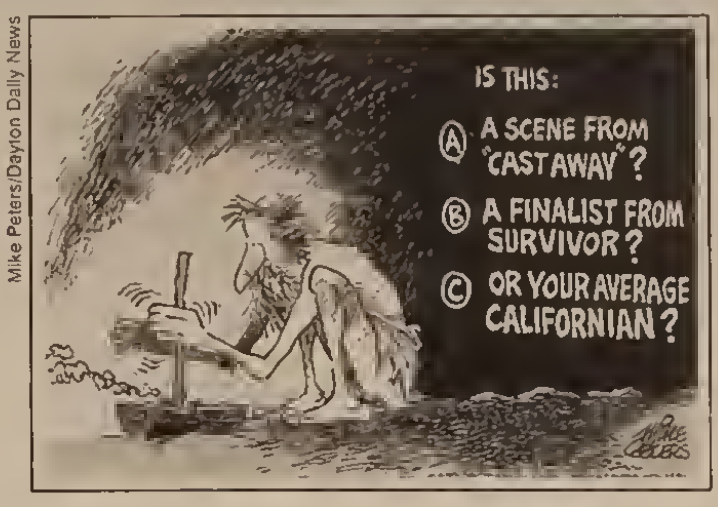
Deregulation of the privately owned monopolies that ran gas and electric production and distribution for half a century on the basis of government-guaranteed profits was launched nationally in 1992 by the U.S. Energy Policy Act. In California, it was promoted as a step toward cleaner, more efficient and cheaper power for all. According to the deregulation evangelists, once the dead hand of the giant utilities was lifted—by "unbundling" their generating, transmission and retailing operations—investors would flock to build new, efficient power plants and compete to provide power at the lowest price in a new marketplace called the California Power Exchange. But, as a 5 February article on the *Fortune* Web site put it, "Instead of offering the output of their plants to the Power Exchange at a little more than the cost of generating it, they offered to sell power only at sky-high prices, or not at all. In other words, instead of thinking like a regulated utility, the private power generators were thinking like—surprise!—sellers looking for the best price."

This organ of finance capital understands that the aim of capitalists is to maximize profits, not efficiency. The workers who collectively create the wealth of society are paid far less than the value their labor creates. That difference, after overhead expenses and upkeep on machinery is subtracted, is what the capitalists pocket as the return on their investments. Under capitalism, investment cannot be planned for the good of society as a whole because ownership of capital is divided up among many capitalists, each of whom tries to maximize the return on his investment relative to all the others, naturally investing where that return is highest. Such transfer of capital does not abate until increased production and competition drive down the rate of profit to the point where it is no longer adequate. At that point, capital flees, many firms go belly up and factories are shut down.

The result is the anarchic veering between boom and bust which is the hallmark of a capitalist economy. Those capitalists who have more financial resources gobble up their smaller competitors, giving rise to the domination of production by a handful of big operations that have the clout to manipulate the market, alternately colluding with each other and trying to cut each other's throat. This monopoly capitalism further retards development of the productive forces, as private ownership of industry increasingly comes into conflict with the centralized, collective process of production which the capitalists themselves brought into being. Thus, to further social and economic progress it is necessary for the capitalists' rule over society to be smashed by the collective producers, the working class, through a workers revolution.

The Populist Myth of the "Public Interest"

That truth is precisely what the reformist left, clinging to the hope of influencing the capitalist state, is devoted to obscuring from the working class. In *Socialist Worker* (19 January), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) lauds calls by Medea Benjamin and fellow Green Matt Gonzalez of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors for public ownership of the utilities. In its 2 February issue, *Socialist Worker* itself demands: "The state of California should take over the entire production, distribution and servicing of the electrical system and run it as a public utility." Then, according to these social democrats, "well-paying union jobs could be guaranteed" and "electricity could be guaranteed to the poor, the sick and the elderly, regardless of their ability to pay."



Mike Peters/Dayton Daily News

According to radical journalist David Bacon, writing in the Northern California Committees of Correspondence *Newsletter* (February-March 2001), "Electricity can be efficiently provided by the public sector, where the pursuit of profit doesn't override national decision-making." Likewise Socialist Alternative, whose faith in the beneficent powers of the local Democratic Party politicians apparently knows no bounds, issued a 22 January leaflet in the name of its Potemkin village Progressive Left coalition which demanded: "The City should take immediate control of the production and distribution of energy in our City and County. We OWN the energy sources and we should recover control of them." "We" own? Flagrantly denying the class divide in this capitalist society, these sewer socialists seem to think that all it takes is a stiff municipal ordinance to make the capitalist bosses sit up and take notice and command those electrons to flow.

Contrary to the liberal consumer activists and fake lefts, neither regulation nor public ownership of utilities ever had anything to do with the interests of the population, but rather served the interests *of the capitalists as a whole*. Electric power is the heart and blood of the interdependent industrial infrastructure. In the early years of the 20th century, it became clear how unviable it was for many companies to run competing electrical networks. But early attempts by city and state governments to regulate utilities were quickly bypassed by giant holding companies, which bought up local utilities, sucked huge profits from them and then put the money into high-risk ventures.

It was only when a number of these collapsed as the Great Depression hit that the system of regulated utilities was set up. The aim was not primarily to forge a more rational economic policy. Rather, these "New Deal" Democratic Party measures were largely a byproduct of attempts by the ruling class—including public works projects as a sop to the masses of unemployed workers—to forestall the threat of revolution as an upsurge in class struggle loomed. Rural electrification came even as an entire class of poor small farmers was uprooted in epic migrations. Meanwhile, the capitalists were effectively subsidized with cheap hydroelectric power.

This worked well—for the capitalists—as long as the stockholders of giant utilities were guaranteed a good, stable return on their investment. For decades, the utilities were regarded as rock-solid investments. But they were shaken when fuel costs spiked in the "oil shocks" of 1973-74 and 1979, as the big oil companies connived to drive up profits and the ensuing economic downturns reduced demand. In 1974, utility stocks lost 38 percent of their value in less than six months. With cities like Los Angeles choking on air pollution, leading to increasingly restrictive air quality requirements, building more coal-fired generators was not a profitable option. Nuclear reactors cost a lot more after the meltdown at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in 1979, though this did not stop PG&E from building its Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant directly on top of an earthquake fault!

With an acceptable rate of profit no longer guaranteed, utilities lost interest in further capital investment. In California, electric generating capacity *decreased* by 1.7 percent from 1990 to 1999, while overall demand jumped by more than 11 percent. Moves to increase the rate of profit through layoffs and wage cuts ran into resistance from their unionized workforces. Utilities saw deregulation as an opportunity to break their capital out of state limitations and seek higher profits elsewhere. Independent, unregulated companies now account for more than 20 percent of domestic electricity generation and the percentage is rising fast. Adding to the anarchy of the situation is America's federal system of government. While California shares an electric grid with a dozen other western states, each state has its own regulatory system. As reflected in the *New York Times* (23 January), sections of the bourgeoisie are worried that the California crisis "could expose other parts of the country to significant market disruptions."

Both the unregulated outfits and the utilities were up to their necks in writing the California deregulation law (along with Goldman Sachs and Credit Suisse). The utilities' perceived stake in it was based on a fundamental misreading of the (inherently unpredictable) future market. Coming just after a recession in which retail prices were already high by national standards and demand was low, there was a regional surplus of generating capacity. The retail rate freeze was written into the law not to protect consumers but to lock in a rate substantially above then current and projected wholesale prices until March 2002. For the same reason the utilities hoped to benefit from the law's requirement that they buy power from the unregulated short-term "spot" exchange—which has now become what one state power official called a "Turkish bazaar"—betting the price would if anything be bid down.

Finally, the law's requirement that the utilities sell off their plants was intended to work to the advantage of both the utilities and the big unregulated players. Instead of many independent firms entering the industry, five big concerns snapped up most of the plants, sometimes paying twice market value. They could now sell that power to the unregulated wholesale market. PG&E and Edison split the remaining distribution business off into subsidiaries, took the proceeds and bought dozens of power plants elsewhere run by other subsidiaries. For example, the non-union operations of PG&E's U.S. Generating Co. and Edison's Mission Energy outside of California now sell unregulated power at the same astronomical prices the Texans get.

It does not take a conspiracy to manipulate the market. The monopolies influence the market by their very existence, which is not to say there hasn't been endless scheming, no doubt much more than we will ever know. One example has come to light in an antitrust suit against gas companies operating in Southern California reported in the *Los Angeles Times* (4 February).

According to the suit, in September 1996 executives of El Paso Natural Gas Co., Southern California Gas and San Diego Gas & Electric met in a Phoenix hotel to divide up business and squelch the construction of a new gas pipeline which would have brought gas into California from Canada's vast reserves. It is the lack of adequate pipeline capacity which has now driven the price of natural gas through the roof compared to other states. Similar machinations undoubtedly happen every day on the wholesale electricity market. As the London *Economist* (23 December 2000) reported, "Kaiser Aluminum in Washington state has laid off 400 workers, after concluding that the profit it would make from using electricity to smelt aluminium would be far outweighed by the profit it could make reselling the power." Those workers had just come back from a 20-month strike and lockout.

The Need for a Revolutionary Workers Party

The most verbally left-wing version of the reformist "public ownership" cry has come from the idiosyncratically reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The *Militant*'s 22 January editorial calls on the labor movement to demand "government expropriation of the power and energy companies." It then explains that these nationalized monopolies must be "run as public utilities for the benefit of the majority rather than the interests of a handful of super-wealthy capitalists, bankers and bondholders." This boils down to the long-familiar type of utility run, in the *Militant*'s words, by "public, elected boards, independent of the government," albeit with a tacked-on call for "workers exerting control of job conditions and production."

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Berkeley...

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"anti-prison labor" movement, in positing that the increase in incarceration is due to corporations' lust for cheap labor, is a liberal facade to reform capitalism. Prisons are an integral part of the bourgeois state, which exists precisely to defend capitalism against workers and the oppressed by means of organized violence. PL helps to obscure this by appealing simply to opposition to "corporate greed" as a basis for organizing. And PL brands prison labor as "fascist," whereas in fact the exploitation of prisoners is part of the normal functioning of bourgeois democracy. Unable to apply a class analysis of society, PL dismisses diverse organizations as "fascist" so they will have something to unite with liberals *against*.

In the U.S., the segregation of black people at the bottom of society is a cornerstone of capitalist exploitation and oppression. But while PL talks a lot about "fighting racism," they treat it as a mere idea, divorced from material reality. Thus, they claim that simply by proposing a forum on prison labor, they "turned any racist tone at the meeting into its opposite" (*Challenge*, 15 November 2000). Meanwhile, PL's opportunism means that they will not challenge the current consciousness of the working class, leading them to abandon the actual defense of black rights—witness PL's refusal to defend affirmative action against the drive to eliminate minority students from the universities. This failure to challenge existing consciousness also explains why PL refuses to fight against anti-gay repression and tolerates members who think gays are sick.

Clearly, PL's program has never been about revolutionary politics, instead swinging between sectarian withdrawal and opportunist toadying, alternately denouncing or capitulating to existing consciousness, but never trying to change it. A shift in class consciousness can only be achieved through direct and clarifying political struggle. For this reason we went to the recent PSA meeting, called "Progressive Community Forum," where we devoted our speaking time to combatting illusions that left-leaning students have in the Democratic Party, and exposing the roles of the ISO and Solidarity in providing left cover. The SYC seeks to win students to the side of the working class, understanding that the working class must throw off its current pro-Democratic Party leadership and build a workers party to take state power as part of the fight for social justice and against racial and sexual oppression.

Maybe the PSA's lust for unity overwhelmed their senses, or maybe their political compass had been distorted by their truly weird experience with PL, but they e-mailed us soon after asking if, as we attended the forum, we wished to be listed as members of the PSA. The resounding "no" of our reply is reprinted, slightly edited, below. We received a response from a PSA member, who denied that the coalition is politically dominated by the Democrats and said that their main goal is "communication." But there can be no neutral political alliance. The pro-Democratic Party politics of the PSA are not only transparent, but the logical extension of its origins as backers of Nader's candidacy.

* * *

The Spartacus Youth Club does not want to be listed as part of the PSA. When we went to the first meeting of your lash-up last semester, it was to convince students of the need for socialist revolution and to make sure that unknowing students were not sucked into support for the thoroughly bourgeois Nader candidacy by the presence of some groups that claimed to be "socialist." We made it clear that Nader's only purpose was to refurbish the tarnished image of the capitalist electoral system; in his own words Nader wanted to pull the Democrats in the "right direction." The "progressive" coalition served exactly the function we warned it would: the PSA is now centered around the Cal chapter of the Democrats, partner party of U.S. imperialism responsible for mass slaughter from Iraq to Serbia and gutting "welfare as we know it."

By the time of the initial introductions last week, it was clear that even on the reformist terms of the fake left, this "unity" with the capitalist party of war and racism can be in no way "progressive"—the International "Socialist" Organization listed its work in Students for Justice in Palestine and against the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas; the Democratic Party backs the murderous Zionist regime and enacted NAFTA, the FTAA's predecessor, as part of its program for the free-trade rape of Mexico. The ISO's "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" in fact is a campaign for a temporary moratorium, which would only serve to give the capitalists breathing room to rehabilitate it; besides which, as Nader supporters were so fond of pointing out, Al Gore and Bill Clinton are no less ardent supporters of the death penalty than Bush is, and Clinton himself was behind the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act which speeds up death row lynchings. Solidarity talks about "trade-union democracy" by which they mean bringing the capitalist state into the unions, doing yeoman's work for the Democratic Party, which consistently intervenes to derail strikes and smash unions—as Jesse Jackson did against the pending transit strike in Los Angeles last semester, or as Willie Brown and progressive sweetheart Tom Ammiano did in ramming through the anti-worker "Rescue MUNI" plan last year.

The main obstacle to a socialist revolution in this country is the illusions that workers have in the Democratic Party. We of the Spartacus Youth Club seek to mobilize workers independently of the capitalist class, and in direct opposition to it. A perfect example of this is our successful labor/black mobilization in Gary, Indiana on January 20, which stopped the KKK. That mobilization, which found a deep resonance in the working class of nearby Chicago as well as the Gary steel mills, achieved victory only by the sharpest political struggle against Gary's Democratic administration, which threatened mass arrests of any anti-Klan protesters. The ACLU, another player in the PSA, did its own part for capitalism by lawyering for the Klan, reducing the struggle for self-defense against racist terror to simply questions of "free speech" and "ideas." The ISO, whose national headquarters are only 40 miles away, could not even bring itself to give a paper endorsement, much less mobilize for the anti-Klan mobilization. Instead, along with the rest of the fake left they threw their resources into the anti-inauguration rallies, solidarizing with disheartened Democrats.

Because the liberalism of the PSA's former incarnation in Students for Nader embodied no break from capitalist politics, it was relatively easy for your alliance to wake up the day after the elections and discover that from your own petty-bourgeois standpoint the Republicans can "spoil a system that's already spoiled." Now you're right back in bed with the "progressive" wing of the ruling class, the Democrats, to "fight the right." The presence of ostensible "socialist" organizations in the PSA only serves to fool any students who are looking for a real answer to the ills of today's society. We in the SYC have no wish to provide further left cover by lending the weight of actual revolutionary politics to such an anti-revolutionary endeavor.■

Just such an operation—minus the workers' participation in their own exploitation—is the quasi-independent Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP), which has become the model of the reformist left. To be sure, the DWP has kept rates down and made money, since it owns enough capacity to supply its local customers and sells the excess at wholesale prices. But like all such utilities, the DWP serves only the capitalist class, which entrusts it with keeping overhead costs down in the interest of higher profits.

This was starkly demonstrated in 1993 when DWP demands for cutbacks sparked a militant nine-day strike by 10,000 unionized employees (see *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). This largely successful strike, in the face of a torrent of opposition from union-busting Mayor Riordan on down, was almost immediately followed by a drumbeat of demands for 2,000 layoffs to "prepare for deregulation." In 1998, as deregulation was rolled out, union tops signed on to a deal to cut one out of every five jobs. PG&E similarly prepared for deregulation by cutting thousands of jobs, leaving maintenance decimated and workers furious. Then in 1994 PG&E executives cut a sweetheart deal with the heads of IBEW Local 1245 for labor peace in exchange for nixing 800 additional job cuts. Edison chose instead to hardline it against its unionized workers.

Even from the standpoint of major sectors of the bourgeoisie, some form of regulation or public ownership of utilities and other essential services would serve their interests better. The recent deregulation mania, like the massive privatizations of formerly nationalized industries in West Europe, is in part ideologically driven. The American capitalist state exists primarily to suppress the enemies of Wall Street, internally and externally. In the post-Soviet "one superpower" world, the U.S. rulers see no big external threat, while the working class, saddled with a brittle but treacherous labor bureaucracy, has been relatively quiescent. In an excess of ideological zeal extolling the virtues of the market, the capitalists have lopped off some of the things—such as regulated utilities—they actually need the government for. In Britain, the privatization of the railway system, which has led to widespread inefficiency and a series of deadly collisions, has generated such a huge backlash that the major bourgeois daily, the London *Independent* (4 December 2000) carried an article headlined, "The Capitalist Case for Renationalising the Railways."

The "energy crisis" has generated intense and widespread popular hostility to "deregulation" and to the monopolies which control electric power and fuel supplies. The demand for the government to expropriate these monopolies nationwide—not just the bankrupt shells of the California utilities but also the power plants, transmission lines, natural gas stocks and pipelines, etc.—would find broad and even enthusiastic support among working people in California and throughout the country. But this would obviously not be carried out by George W. Bush, Gray Davis or any other capitalist politician, Democrat or Republican. The "energy crisis" is a powerful argument for a workers party that would fight for expropriation of the energy industry as part of a broader struggle to overthrow the entire system of capitalist exploitation, establishing a workers government and a planned socialist economy.

It is not rocket science to project increased need for power, build the needed capacity, plan the corresponding increase in fuel production and distribution, etc. But it is absolutely impossible to do so when independent gangs of robber barons decide what gets done based on maximizing their own profits. Among other things, it will *never* be profitable for capitalists to invest in technology to clean up generator pollution. But for a planned economy in which social need and not profit is the determining factor, this would not be a problem.

When the working class seized power in backward Russia in 1917, it created a workers state based on the rule of soviets, workers councils. Addressing the situation of the workers state's isolation from the proletariat of industrialized Europe where the capitalists still reigned, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin raised the slogan, "Communism equals Soviet power plus electrification." The tremendous capacity of economic planning enabled the Soviet Union to industrialize a vast peasant country in decades, despite all the distortions imposed by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power in 1924. How much vaster will be the power of the industrial powerhouse of North America, once the workers take it in their hands.

The pathetic quality of the reformist schemes for regulation or nationalization was captured by Leon Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program:

> "Liberal capitalism, based upon competition and free trade, has completely receded into the past. Its successor, monopolistic capitalism, not only does not mitigate the anarchy of the market but on the contrary imparts to it a particularly convulsive character.... The Social Democrats prepare to drain the ocean of anarchy with spoonfuls of bureaucratic 'planning.' Engineers and professors write articles about 'technocracy.' In their cowardly experiments in 'regulation,' democratic governments run head-on into the invincible sabotage of big capital."

That this statement written 63 years ago rings so true underlines just how rotten-ripe for socialist revolution the world is. The fundamental needs of society require a planned economy, as the current debacle so painfully illustrates. The only force which can bring it into being is the multiracial working class, and for this purpose it needs a revolutionary workers party forged in political struggle against all those who cling to the decaying capitalist order.■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"New Directions" TWU Tops Scramble to Avert Strike

NYC: Defeat Union-Busting Against Bus Workers!

Over 4,000 bus drivers and maintenance workers at seven privately owned bus companies in the New York City area are gearing up for a possible strike in the face of a union-busting offensive by management and the Giuliani administration. The city has hatched plans to shred union contracts at the publicly subsidized private lines by shifting route franchises at year's end to the lowest bidders, meaning the worst anti-union wage-gougers. Negotiations over a new contract broke down late last month as the companies offered no more than a 2.5 percent raise to these workers, whose wages and benefits are already considerably worse than those of bus workers at New York City Transit (NYCT).

A strike of the private lines could have a significant impact on this center of international finance. It would also reinvigorate the public transit unions in the wake of the union-busting assault on the eve of a threatened walkout in December 1999. The private lines drivers get hundreds of thousands of people from Queens and other areas to work every day. Most are members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, whose 36,000 members also include NYCT bus and subway workers. The rest are in Locals 1179 and 1181 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), which also represents some city bus workers.

Unlike the NYCT, the private lines are not covered by the state Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees. But the city is already threatening to break a strike by mobilizing hundreds of the non-union "dollar vans" which supplement scheduled services in heavily immigrant areas in Queens and Brooklyn and by re-routing up to six buses from each of 18 public transport depots. TWU members told *Workers Vanguard* that at least one subway division meeting in January passed a motion insisting that the union officially announce that no member will do the work of strikers.

It is crucial that TWU and ATU members in public transit mobilize to stop any scabbing against their union brothers and sisters. An injury to one is an injury to all! Moreover, NYCT workers are themselves under attack. Immediately after union elections in December, NYCT head Larry Reuter announced that 237 token booth clerk jobs would be axed, foremen and supervisors were given a provocative "strike contingency plan," and the transit bosses began massively underfunding the union's Health Benefits Trust.

Posturing as a militant alternative to the discredited "old guard" around outgoing president Willie James, Roger Toussaint was elected president and his New Directions (ND) wing of the bureaucracy captured the other two top spots, five of seven VP positions and a clear majority on the executive board. Tabloids like the *Daily News* and *Newsday* have painted Toussaint as another Mike Quill, the Local 100 leader who defiantly ripped up anti-strike injunctions to lead the 1966 transit strike. But during the elections Toussaint and other ND candidates stressed that they had *opposed* a strike in '99 and were not "strike-happy."

The new ND leadership is now straining every muscle to prevent a strike against the private lines. Contracts at six of the companies expired on New Year's Day (the seventh ends on February 28) and workers at four companies voted unanimously in December to authorize a strike. But the union tops have kept workers on the job. "I'm not looking forward to a confrontation in that area," Toussaint told the civil service newspaper, the *Chief-Leader* (2 February), which reports that he is "trying to dispel any notion of a job action." It's about time union members reasserted the old TWU slogan: No contract, no work!

Hart/NY Times

TWU private lines workers confront cops during 1992 strike.

The *TWU Express* (31 December 2000) vows that "our members will not scab in the event of a strike." But the TWU and ATU tops have posted flyers on private bus lines promising that "any actions we may take to protect ourselves and to achieve a fair contract will adhere strictly to the law." This means bowing to strike-breaking injunctions under the Taylor Law, which would certainly be wielded against transit workers who refuse to scab. When Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer used the Taylor Law to criminalize not only a strike but even use of the word "strike" in December 1999, New Directions *joined* with the James bureaucracy in enforcing the court injunctions, instructing transit workers at an ND protest march at the time to abide by them.

As we wrote then, ND's capitulation to the court injunctions was no surprise. From its inception, ND's stock in trade has been to use the courts as a club against its rivals within the union bureaucracy, serving to further shackle the power of the union and place it under the thumb of the capitalist state. "Such appeals to the agencies of the capitalist class enemy are proof enough why ND, despite its occasional 'militant' posture and talk of 'democracy,' offers no alternative to James and Melendez," we warned in our article "Sellouts, Traitors, Finks: No Choice in TWU Local 100 Elections" (*WV* No. 746, 17 November 2000).

ND is braintrusted by the sinister Association for Union Democracy (AUD), which specializes in bringing the unions under state control (see "Lawyers for Government Union-Busting," *WV* No. 738, 30 June 2000). ND lawyer Arthur Schwartz, a longtime AUD operative, has now literally ensconced himself in the TWU union hall. On February 1, the AUD sponsored a public meeting to celebrate its clients' victory, featuring AUD executive director Carl Biers as well as Toussaint and other Local 100 officials. The speakers cynically refrained from talking about their "struggles" in the chambers of the bosses' "justice" system—until a Spartacist League supporter spoke from the floor to expose ND/AUD's sordid history of anti-union lawsuits.

ND's reliance on the bosses' courts goes hand in hand with its support to the capitalist Democratic Party. In his interview with the *Chief-Leader*, Toussaint said, "We intend to use this year to go as far as possible in establishing Local 100's political machine," pointing as a model to Local 1199 hospital workers under Dennis Rivera. Rivera is a leading figure in, and former state co-chairman of, the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party, which mobilized alongside Giuliani in December 1999 to smash a potential transit strike. That is the "political machine" ND is trying to build. A Martin Luther King Day event at Local 100 headquarters featured a parade of prominent Democrats, including Senator Charles Schumer, former mayor David Dinkins and city comptroller Alan Hevesi.

Now the TWU leadership has called a mass meeting of private lines workers on February 13 to discuss "Unity in Our Fight Back to Win a Just Contract!" But with Democratic City Council Speaker and mayoral hopeful Peter Vallone as a keynote speaker, it is clear that Toussaint & Co. are talking about unity with the class enemy, not unity of the ranks in struggle against the bosses. ND's program is to police the ranks and smother class struggle while working to get another Democrat into City Hall and another installed in Albany.

It is this program of class collaboration that has shackled labor's power, encouraging management attacks and undermining the union in the face of schemes by the bosses to keep transit workers divided: between skilled and unskilled workers, between different job categories and divisions on the subways, between NYCT and MaBSTOA public bus lines workers, between public and private bus lines, between TWU and ATU members. What's needed is ***one industrial union*** of all NYC transit workers, ***one expiration date*** for all contracts and ***full parity in wages and benefits*** at the highest levels!

The "dollar vans," largely driven by low-paid Caribbean immigrants, fulfill a real transportation need in minority neighborhoods, especially following public transit cuts in the 1990s. Instead of allowing the racist bosses to pit non-union van drivers against unionized bus workers, the unions should immediately launch a drive to organize them. To succeed, such an organizing drive must wage a fight against racist and anti-immigrant bigotry and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. A struggle spearheaded by the unions for ***free, quality mass transit*** would win wide support among the city's poor and working people.

The numerous self-proclaimed socialist groups that support the pro-court, pro-Democratic Party ND demonstrate their hostility to a class-struggle perspective. *Socialist Action* (January 2001) and the International Socialist Organization's *Socialist Worker* (5 January) both effusively hailed ND's election. Progressive Labor lauded ND as a "reform caucus with a mass following" whose election could be one of the "early signs of a new upsurge in the labor movement" (*Challenge*, 3 January). In a November 15 leaflet, a TWU supporter of the League for the Revolutionary Party criticized ND for being "not very militant" and even mentioned its anti-union suits, but called for support nonetheless, proclaiming: "Put New Directions to the Test."

What is posed is the fight to forge a class-struggle union leadership against all wings of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. This is integrally linked to the fight for ***class independence***, breaking with the Democratic Party and building a workers party committed to ripping transport and industry away from the capitalists under a workers government. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 753 | 2 March 2001

Protest U.S. Terror Bombing of Iraq!

FEBRUARY 26—On February 16, a week before U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell kicked off a mission to the Near East, more than two dozen U.S. and British jets slammed 36 missiles into the southern outskirts of Baghdad, killing two civilians and wounding dozens. This was the first air strike targeting the Iraqi capital in over two years, a deliberate and planned provocation by the incoming administration of George W. Bush. At a press conference in Mexico City, Bush said that he had personally ordered the attack allegedly to destroy improved Iraqi radar facilities used for tracking U.S. warplanes. In London, Labour prime minister Tony Blair dutifully echoed: "Operations such as the one last night would not be needed if Saddam stopped attacking us."

What gall! U.S. and British jets have been attacking Iraq twice a week or more since a massive bombing raid against Baghdad and other areas in December 1998, wreaking devastation and murdering hundreds of people. Whole areas of Baghdad and other cities have been razed to the ground, while United Nations economic sanctions have claimed well over a million more lives. But in the eyes of the imperialist mass murderers, Iraq has no right to defend itself.

The recent attack (followed by a February 22 missile strike on Mosul) was to be expected from the moment Bush took office. In our article "U.S. Hands Off Iraq!" (*WV* No. 751, 2 February) we noted that the gang that carried out the 1991 war in which tens of thousands of Iraqis were murdered is back in the White House, with Bush Sr.'s defense secretary, Richard Cheney, serving as

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Free Abortion on Demand! Defend Separation of Church and State!

AP

Bush's Holy War

Feanny/SABA

If George W. Bush has his way, a recitation from the New Testament will become part of the application process for federally funded social services. Following the appointment of his attorney general, John Ashcroft—whose admiration for the Confederacy is in direct relationship to his contempt for blacks, women and gays—Bush named John J. DiIulio to head the newly formed White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. A few days earlier, as anti-abortion bigots gathered in the nation's capital to proclaim their "love" for "our pro-life president" on the anniversary of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion, Bush decreed an end to U.S. aid for family planning groups overseas, intoning "Taxpayer funds should not be used to pay for abortions." They are not currently used for that purpose in any case, but they will soon pay for spreading the gospel.

In Bush's home state, such "faith-based initiatives" are already well under way. One church-based "welfare-to-work" program in Texas offers a course titled, "Who's the Boss? All Authority Comes from God." An evangelical detox center in Los Angeles lauded by Bush boasts of "born again and delivered disciples." In announcing his new scheme, Bush surrounded himself with a number of black preachers. But in this racist country, the vision of a white Christian America is symbolized by the burning cross of nativist Protestant racist terror which dominated the anti-union Jim Crow South, enforced by KKK Dixiecrats.

After two straight months of record-setting layoffs and with the economy well on the road to recession, it is the hell fires of grinding poverty, unemployment and malnutrition that face America's working people. Whether the Democratic plan to pay off the bankers with current tax surpluses or the Republican plan to provide a massive tax cut for the rich is enacted, or some hybrid of the two, it is clear that both ruling-class parties are determined to cycle even more money into the hands of the bourgeoisie and leave the hundreds of thousands soon to be added to the unemployment rolls to the tender mercies of god.

The growing involvement of the church in state affairs which Bush seeks to expand was prepared by the 1996 Clinton-inspired "Welfare Reform Act" gutting welfare, which made it easier for religious groups to get state funding. During the election campaign, Democratic candidate Al Gore, who professes that Jesus is his chief political adviser, supported "charitable choice" legislation similar in intent and substance to Bush's new program. Bush's proposal has also drawn admiring interest from Democrat Richard Gephardt, the House minority leader, as well as from AFL-CIO president John Sweeney. We Marxists stand as intransigent opponents of this direct assault on the First Amendment ban against state establishment of religion. Defend the separation of church and state!

It was, in fact, Democratic president Jimmy Carter who first packaged "born again" Christianity in the late 1970s with "life is unfair" austerity for working people. In the more than two decades since, there has been a massive transfer of the national income to the very rich, enforced by the union-busting spearheaded by Ronald Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, based on a plan drafted by the Carter administration. This defeat was abetted by the craven union tops, notable among them social-democratic Machinists head William Winpisinger, who refused to mobilize their membership to honor PATCO's picket lines.

With plummeting union membership and the accompanying erosion of wages and benefits, the few gains won during the social struggles of the 1960s came under attack. Even the sop of "affirmative action" access to decent education for black people has been largely withdrawn. And while the Democrats are chiefly distinguishable from the Republicans in defending the right to abortion, women's access to abortion became increasingly nonexistent in many areas of the country during the Clinton administration.

Although the religious right provided the ground troops for these attacks, this program of social reaction was backed by the mainstream of both bourgeois parties, as America's rulers attempted to regain the authority and world dominance that had been set back with their defeat on

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Mexico City: No Reprisals Against UNAM Student Protesters!

Demonstration in Mexico City on first anniversary of cop assault which ended UNAM strike, February 6. Now student protesters face victimization.

AP

The Mexican ruling class is still seething a year after the ten-month-long student strike at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM), which sparked social struggle throughout the country and was quelled only through a massive crackdown by the Federal Preventive Police (PFP). The bourgeois press and politicians erupted in a witch-hunting frenzy when student activists marking the first anniversary of the government crackdown again occupied UNAM buildings and courageously defended themselves against strikebreaking thugs (see "Mexico City: Student Activists Occupy UNAM Campus," *WV* No. 752, 16 February).

Eight of these students, including strike leader Alejandro Echevarria ("El Mosh"), who was imprisoned last year, now face reprisals from the administration amid howls over their supposed violation of the "rights" of the 35 anti-strike thugs they disarmed and disrobed. The students' action recalled the "battle of El Mexe" last February, in which 60 riot police were disarmed by villagers defending striking students at the local teachers college and then humiliated by being forced to strip in the public square.

On February 22, the day before an UNAM administration tribunal was to meet, over 200 students demonstrated in defense of the eight activists. Outside the tribunal itself, which only one of the targeted students attended, another protest was held. After several hours, the tribunal announced it would render a decision within five days. We reprint below a February 24 protest statement by the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of the UNAM activists.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee energetically protests the threat of sanctions and expulsions against eight student activists from the School of Political Sciences (Argel Pineda, Jorge Martínez Valero, Alejandro Echevarria, Aldo Reyes, David Jaramillo, Jaime Vázquez Martínez, Roberto José Bermúdez and Victor Alejo) who on February 6 were commemorating the one-year anniversary of the brutal police occupation of the university which broke the student strike, with more than 700 strikers incarcerated. The activists guarding the facilities the night of the occupation did nothing more than defend themselves against a potential violent attack by anti-strike thugs, some of whom hold the post of professor while also holding metal pipes to "persuade" student activists of the benefits of "peaceful dialogue." The university authorities cynically accuse the students of violently disrupting the "normal" academic life of UNAM. For them, "normality" would have prevailed if on the night of February 5-6 the gardens of the School of Political Sciences had been covered with the bloodied bodies of students beaten up by the administration's hired thugs.

The Mexican ruling class's methods in repressing leftist and worker protest and dissent are well-known worldwide. From the [1968] Tlatelolco massacre to the kidnappings and beatings of leftists and union organizers, to the murderous military siege in Chiapas and the occupation of UNAM by the PFP last year, these are the "normal" workings of the capitalist rulers who now scream about "undemocratic excesses" at UNAM because students didn't play by the administration's rules...and won a battle. This threat of sanctions is nothing more than political vengeance for the ten-month-long strike that students maintained last year, and for the fact that the latest provocation orchestrated by the university authorities was *defeated* by the students. In fact, four of the nearly 1,000 students arrested by the PFP last year still face criminal charges, including "rioting," in the bourgeois courts.

The students' elementary defense action is labeled by the pro-PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] bourgeois newspaper *La Jornada* as "barbarism," a "cowardly attack against tens of teachers and officials" of UNAM, while PAN Congressman Fernández de Cevallos [from the ruling National Action Party] calls for state repression against the students and the bosses' association COPARMEX has "confidence that they will be expelled" (*La Jornada*, 7 February). The purpose of the witchhunt unleashed by the press, the bosses' associations, the state, the UNAM administration and the bourgeois parties is to criminalize political protest and send a threatening message to all those who dare to fight, like the population around El Mexe school last year and the UNAM students, against the government's privatization schemes and in defense of public education. The attack against the student activists is an attack against the workers movement and all the exploited and oppressed, who have a deep interest in defending public education. An injury to one is an injury to all! We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of *all* charges against the student activists.

We salute the successful action of these students in defense of their protest, and expose the hypocritical "commitment" of groups and individuals that call themselves "leftist," such as En Lucha and El Mosh, who rapidly moved to label the defeat of a provocation a "mistake, because [the student activists] fell into a provocation" (*La Jornada*, 14 February), grossly capitulating to the bourgeoisie's witchhunt campaign. In counterposition to these groups' tailing of their own bourgeoisie, the Grupo Espartaquista de México and its youth section, the Juventud Espartaquista, fight to link the student struggle with the social power of the working class in our fight to build an egalitarian socialist society through proletarian revolution. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

International Women's Day, March 8, originated with a 1908 demonstration in New York City of women garment workers, mainly immigrants, demanding an eight-hour day and women's suffrage. In 1917, an International Women's Day march in Petrograd, Russia sparked the revolutionary upheaval that culminated in the Bolshevik workers revolution. In an article on the second anniversary of the October Revolution, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin addressed the status of women in refuting bourgeois slanders that soviet (workers council) power was anti-democratic. While women in most capitalist countries subsequently won the right to vote and other measures of legal equality, social inequality is rooted in capitalist property relations and will only be eliminated through socialist revolution.

The status of women makes clear in the most striking fashion the difference between bourgeois and socialist democracy and furnishes a most effective reply to the question posed.

In a bourgeois republic (i.e., where there is private ownership of land, factories, shares, etc.), be it the most democratic republic, women have never had rights fully equal to those of men, *anywhere in the world, in any one of the more advanced countries*. And this despite the fact that more than 125 years have passed since the great French (bourgeois-democratic) Revolution.

In words bourgeois democracy promises equality and freedom, but in practice *not a single* bourgeois republic, even the more advanced, has granted women (half the human race) and men complete equality in the eyes of the law, or delivered women from dependence on and the oppression of the male.

Bourgeois democracy is the democracy of pompous phrases, solemn words, lavish promises and high-sounding slogans about *freedom and equality*, but in practice all this cloaks the lack of freedom and the inequality of women, the lack of freedom and the inequality for the working and exploited people.

Soviet or socialist democracy sweeps away these pompous but false words and declares ruthless war on the hypocrisy of "democrats," landowners, capitalists and farmers with bursting bins who are piling up wealth by selling surplus grain to the starving workers at profiteering prices.

Down with this foul lie! There is no "equality," nor can there be, of oppressed and oppressor, exploited and exploiter. There is no real "freedom," nor can there be, so long as women are handicapped by men's legal privileges, so long as there is no freedom for the worker from the yoke of capital, no freedom for the labouring peasant from the yoke of the capitalist, landowner and merchant.

—V.I. Lenin, "Soviet Power and the Status of Women" (November 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 753 **2 March 2001**

AFP

Student strike leader Alejandro Echevarria (El Mosh) and over 700 others were arrested in cop crackdown at UNAM last year.

Defend Dr. James Pendergraft, Michael Spielvogel!

Racist Anti-Abortion Vendetta

Dr. James Scott Pendergraft, a black doctor who operates five abortion clinics in Florida, and his associate, Michael Spielvogel, were found guilty of frame-up charges of conspiracy, extortion and mail fraud in U.S. District Court in Ocala on February 1. Dr. Pendergraft, whose services include late-term abortions, now faces 30 years in prison, $750,000 in fines and the loss of his medical license, while his co-defendant faces a 40-year sentence and a $1.25 million penalty. The prosecution of Dr. Pendergraft caps a years-long vendetta against this courageous defender of abortion rights aimed at intimidating all abortion providers.

Dr. Pendergraft opened the Ocala Women's Center in 1998, nine years after the previous abortion clinic was burned to the ground. He then sued a dozen anti-abortion terrorists, Marion County, the city of Ocala, the police chief and the sheriff, charging the authorities with failing to protect his clinic from harassment. This region of the South has been especially hard hit hy anti-abortion terror. In 1993 and 1994, two abortion doctors and an escort were shot dead in Pensacola. In 1998, "right to life" killers bombed a Birmingham, Alabama clinic, killing a security guard.

In retaliation for his suit, Dr. Pendergraft was indicted on extortion—for his comment during negotiations with city officials that he would bankrupt the county!—and other bogus charges. Under the watch of Clinton's Justice Department, Pendergraft and Spielvogel were caught in the web of a racist, anti-abortion conspiracy involving collusion between an FBI agent, the Marion County attorney and its Board of Commissioners chairman, all of whom are members of churches that have organized a concerted campaign of intimidation to shut down the clinic. The prosecutor, U.S. attorney Mark Devereaux, is an all-purpose bigot who used foul racist caricatures in his closing arguments against Dr. Pendergraft.

Counterposed to the liberals who preach reliance on the capitalist state and the Democrats to protect abortion rights, the Spartacist League calls for free abortion on demand and for mass mobilizations backed by the social power of labor to defend abortion clinics. We reprint below a February 21 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Devereaux protesting the frame-up.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that the outrageous charges of "extortion" against Dr. James Pendergraft be dropped immediately. This courageous doctor, who has put his life on the line to give women access to medically safe abortions, now stands convicted of the "crime" of suing the town of Ocala for failing to protect his clinic from anti-abortion harassment. This is a transparent attempt to persecute an abortion provider, wholly in the service of racist and religious reaction.

Your malicious attack on Dr. Pendergraft is part and parcel of a growing campaign of government restriction of abortion rights and state intimidation which has shut down abortion clinics around the country. It is an adjunct to and an incitement for the ongoing terror campaign against abortion clinics. This campaign subjects doctors, nurses and patients to threats, assaults and murder. It also increases the already high cost of abortion to prohibitive levels for poor, black and Hispanic women.

We note that this prosecution of a courageous black doctor comes in the same city where a black trade unionist, Rexford Weng, faced racist prosecution for removing the Confederate flag of slavery from the Marion County government office complex. We demand you stop immediately your persecution and prosecution of Dr. Pendergraft. Drop all the charges immediately.■

Facing Five Years for Defending Their Union

Defend Charleston ILA Five!

Five members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) face felony charges with five-year prison terms for defending their union against a massive union-busting assault in Charleston, South Carolina on 20 January 2000. On that day some 600 cops assaulted hundreds of picketing members of the overwhelmingly black ILA Local 1422. The union successfully beat back a five-month attempt by the Nordana shipping line and the Charleston Port Authority to use a non-union outfit to unload their ships. The bosses and their state are now vindictively trying to railroad these militants. On the West Coast, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) is taking up the defense of the Charleston Five—four members of Local 1422 and one member of ILA Local 1771—with port shutdowns projected for the first day of the trial.

Local 1422 president Ken Riley spoke at two San Francisco Bay Area events last week co-sponsored by the Northern California Labor Committee in Defense of the Charleston Longshore Workers and the Bay Area Local Organizing Committee for the Black Radical Congress (BRC). At the meeting held at the ILWU Local 10 hall on February 23, Riley's remarks underlined the gut hatred of the capitalists in the Deep South for blacks and unions. Riley also made clear the close ties of the union bureaucracy with the capitalist Democratic Party, which meets in the Local 1422 union hall in Charleston. The other scheduled speakers—Jack Heyman of the ILWU Local 10 executive board and Karega Hart of the BRC—said nothing about the Democratic Party.

A representative of the Partisan Defense Committee was invited to briefly address the crowd of some 150, overwhelmingly longshoremen, before the floor discussion began. After her remarks, which we reprint below, underlining the need to break from the Democrats and forge a workers party, spokesmen for various refomist left-wing outfits and even the NAACP made a point of criticizing the Democrats—but only in order to pressure them.

Illusions that this racist, capitalist party can be pressured into serving the workers are deadly dangerous. For example, on 14 April 1999, trade-union misleaders and fake "leftists"—including in the ILWU—were willing to sacrifice the freedom of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on the altar of collaboration with the Democrats, by endorsing a demonstration that explicitly counterposed the call to re-try Jamal to the demand for his immediate freedom. This stance undermined a potentially powerful ILWU work stoppage on behalf of Jamal which took place on that day.

* * *

Hello brothers and sisters, my name is Kathy Ikegami and I'm speaking on behalf of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, legal and social defense organization allied with the Marxist Spartacist League, who many of you know for its newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*.

We continue to support the Charleston ILA in its struggle against the vicious union-busting by the bosses and their government. The ILA's victory against Nordana stands as a beacon of hope to working people and blacks in the non-union South. All of labor must demand: Drop all the charges against the Charleston Five!

Local 1422's victory in the face of massive cop terror shows the potential for the kind of unionization drive needed across the "open shop" South as mentioned by other speakers. But understand—such a unionization drive will necessarily come up against not only the race-terrorists of the KKK, but also the whole system of entrenched racism and capitalist exploitation: the cops, the courts, the capitalist state, and the Democratic Party.

Mic Smith/Post and Courier

Hundreds of cops assaulted ILA mass picket on Charleston waterfront, January 2000. Union prevailed against company scabherding, but five members now face imprisonment.

Local 1422 was part of the huge protest against the Confederate flag of slavery and racism which flew atop the state capital in Columbia, South Carolina. That flag was put up there by a Democratic state administration in the '60s and it has been kept flying by the Democrats.

We found the same kind of thing in Gary, Indiana on January 20, where the PDC organized a labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK: it was the Democratic Party mayor who directed the city government to deny us a permit, hoping to keep us from demonstrating against the Klan. It didn't work: despite the threat of mass arrests, we marched and the Klan didn't! [applause]. The statements of protest to the mayor of Gary—including those from Local 10 and Local 1422—were *crucial* in staying the hand of those that wished to conciliate the Klan. They put the city of Gary on notice that the labor movement, nationally and internationally, had their eye on them. We want to express here our thanks for those letters.

The independence of the working class from the capitalist parties—both the Democrats who prefer to use lies against the workers and the Republicans who use force—is necessary in order to fight against the one-sided class war that the capitalists have waged for the past 50 years. It is the current leadership of the unions that has tied the workers to the class enemy through its support of the Democratic Party.

It is for that reason that we believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a party of class struggle. Such a party would understand that union rights and black rights are inseparable. It is our contention that such a party can only defend the working class and fight for the cause of black freedom through social revolutionary means and not through collaboration with the bosses and their government.■

International Women's Day Forum

Taliban: Bitter Fruit of U.S. Imperialism's Anti-Soviet War

Women in Afghanistan

Saturday, March 10, 4 p.m.

Women's Building, Audre Lorde Room, 3543 18th St.
(BART: 16th St. & Mission)

SAN FRANCISCO

For more information call:
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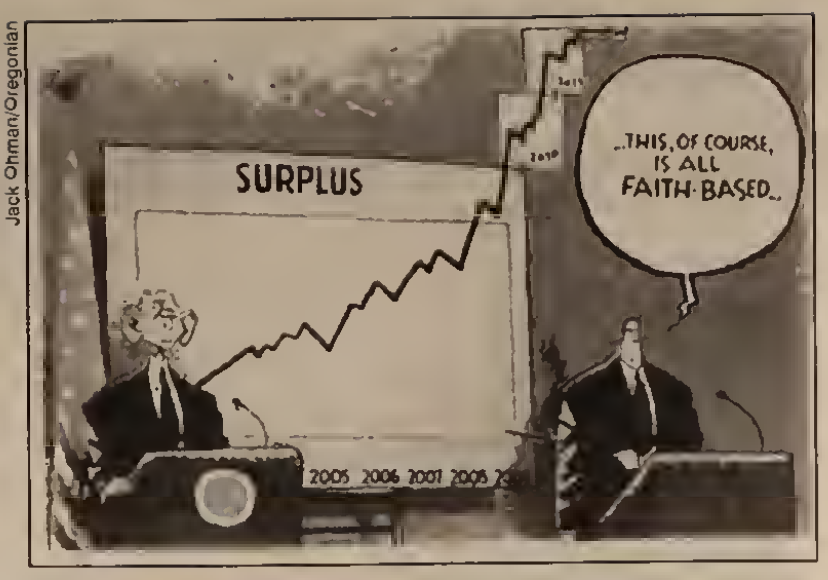
Perkins/Washington Post

Religious bigotry is a battering ram for the racist death penalty, anti-abortion terror. Capitalist parties slash funding for social welfare, public education while cycling billions more to the rich.



Jack Ohman/Oregonian

Holy War...

(continued from page 1)

the battlefields of Indochina. The Spartacist League unconditionally supported the military victory of the Vietnamese and hailed the successful, if bureaucratically deformed, social revolution that drove the imperialists and their domestic parasitic lackeys out of South Vietnam, calling for "two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" The rest of the left channeled militant antiwar youth into the arms of the Democratic Party with chauvinist/pacifist appeals to "bring our boys home," and then joined with Richard Nixon in pleading for "no more Vietnams."

Only a few short years after the last of U.S. imperialism's hitmen scurried out of Vietnam, these reformist leftists—tailing behind the pro-imperialist "AFL-CIA" tops—clambered onto Carter/Reagan's Cold War II drive aimed at the destruction of the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in the USSR. The capitalist counterrevolution there in 1991-92 was a historic defeat for the world working class that had as its domestic counterpart a reinvigoration of the U.S. bourgeoisie and an escalation of its assault on the living standards of working people and on the hopes of women, blacks and all the oppressed for a modicum of justice.

Bourgeois Rule and Religious Reaction, Then and Now

The one true religion of the ruling class is profits. The bourgeois revolutions in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries had to wrest social and political power from the feudal aristocratic and clerical estates under an absolute monarch. The newly ascendant bourgeoisie jealously guarded its power against the forces of feudal reaction. In the American colonies of Britain, the heirs of the various religious sects that had fled persecution agreed upon the need to prevent the dominance of any one religion and enshrined separation of church and state in the Constitution after the revolutionary war of 1776-83. The most far-sighted representatives of the young bourgeoisie subscribed to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, which held that earthly phenomena could be explained in earthly terms without reference to the machinations of angels and incubi.

However, as a ruling class, the capitalists found one element of "the old-time religion" indispensable, the "holy" family. The family is the historic instrument for the subjugation of women. It is the institution that assures that private property is passed on from one generation of the possessors to another, while guaranteeing that women of the exploited classes, chained to hearth and home, are responsible for the reproduction and succor of the next brood of laborers. Thus, faced with a declining birthrate, Emperor Napoleon III saw the need to increase the population to provide manpower for the French Army. In exchange for the Pope declaring abortion an excommunicable offense, in 1869 the emperor publicly recognized the Pope's infallibility on religious matters, greatly assisting the consolidation of papal authority, but not doing much for the French birthrate.

AP

Family planning clinic in Guyana. Bush's ban on U.S. funds to international agencies providing abortion advice is a death sentence for many women in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Religious obscurantism has always been a handmaiden of social reaction and counterrevolution. At the height of the first Cold War against the Soviet Union and the McCarthyite witchhunt against reds and labor radicals in the 1950s, the words "under god" were added to the Pledge of Allegiance and "In God We Trust" was declared the national motto, while highway billboards proclaimed: "Communists Hate God. Send Your Child to Sunday School.—J. Edgar Hoover." In the post-Vietnam War period, the American ruling class launched a crusade to restore "family values." No charge was too grotesque, no practice too outrageous in this pursuit. Across the country, day-care workers and preschool teachers were dragged through the mud and thrown into prison hells at the hands of Inquisitorial "therapists" who implanted hallucinatory "testimony" in children detailing nonexistent Satanic abuses.

In growing numbers, women are imprisoned for child neglect if they rely on imperfect babysitting resources in order to make a living or simply go to the store for a carton of milk. Parents are arrested for petty crimes committed by their incorrigible adolescents and, in one notorious case, literally chained to their acting-out delinquent. The "statutory rape" laws that have landed thousands of men in prison for consensual sex with those younger than an arbitrarily determined "age of consent" have been expanded into a hideous "anti-pedophile" crusade that brands people criminals for life simply for viewing a "suggestive" picture of a child in the privacy of their homes. Millions of black youth and others who have done nothing except engage in recreational chemical use have become long-term residents of the nation's prisons as part of the "war on drugs." The ideological cover for this racist war on black people, pushed as ardently by black Democrats as by right-wing bigots, is a hysterical campaign to "save our children." We oppose all laws against "crimes without victims" and call for the decriminalization of drugs.

"Compassionate Conservatism," Racism and Anti-Semitism

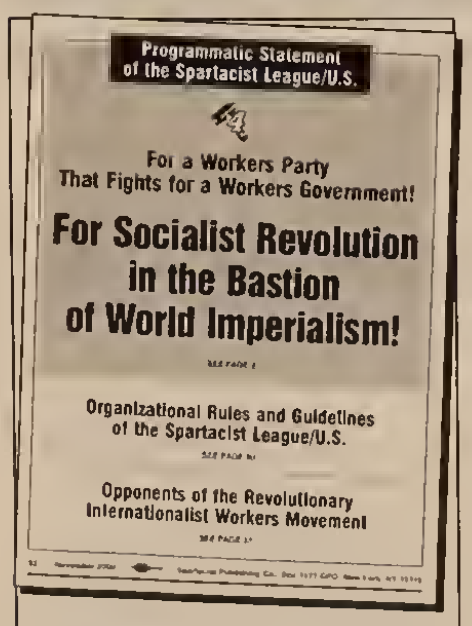
Spurred by decades of government assaults on abortion rights, the religious right mobilizes to terrorize and, at times, kill abortion providers. The result is that 86 percent of U.S. counties lack any access to such services. Now Bush's newly appointed head of the Department of Health and Human Services, former Wisconsin governor and "right-to-lifer" Tommy Thompson, has threatened to review FDA approval of the RU 486 abortion drug, which was finally granted after years of procrastination. We fight for free abortion on demand as part of a program of free, quality health care for all.

Bush's "educational reform" plan is a thinly disguised ploy to dispense tax breaks and vouchers to "private" providers of education while public schools continue to go to hell. This will encourage "home-based Christian" education to indoctrinate the next generation of religious bigots, who will be carefully schooled in the seating arrangements on Noah's ark as well as in the horrors of "Onanism" (masturbation). Those with sufficient means to afford private schools will be rewarded with state subsidies. At the same time, even fewer funds will find their way to school systems which often lack even the money for books, while parents and teachers will be excoriated for their failing public school students. Meanwhile, public school districts in 29 states already mandate "elective" Bible classes.

Bush's frontal assault on separation of church and state is carried out under the rubric of "compassionate conservatism." In an article titled "God's Country" in the *New York Review of Books* (2 November 2000), liberal writer Joan Didion pointed out that Bush adviser Marvin Olasky, who authored the book *Compassionate Conservatism*, has links to the president of South Carolina's segregationist evangelical college, Bob Jones University, and to Charles Murray, co-author of the racist tract *The Bell Curve*.

Bush and DiIulio claim that religious organizations will be funded in a non-discriminatory way. But Bush admits to a "problem with the teachings of Scientology being viewed on the same par as Judaism or Christianity." When it comes to Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, Bush declaimed during his campaign, "I don't see how we can allow public dollars to fund programs where spite and hate is the core of the message." Bush's inauguration ceremony was marked by an explicit invocation "in the name that's above all other names, Jesus, the Christ." And in a 1993 interview with the *Austin American-Statesman*, Bush proclaimed that those who do not believe in Christ will go to hell.

These are the types Connecticut Senator and Democratic vice presidential candidate Joseph Lieberman promotes when he demands a more central role for religion in American public life. Lieberman, a longtime advocate of school vouchers, was selected as Gore's running mate both for his opposition to affirmative action and as "a man of morals" who attacked Bill Clinton for his complete-



Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
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Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

$2 (48 pages)

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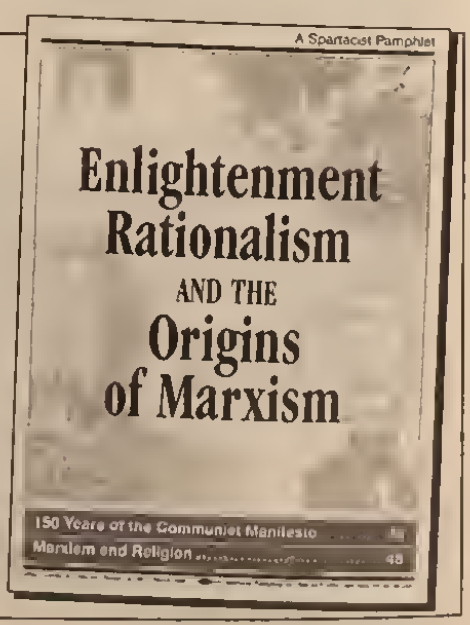


Florida: 13-Year-Old Gets Life

Lionel Tate spent his fourteenth birthday in a Fort Lauderdale cell this winter, facing a lifetime in prison without parole, short of an unlikely commutation from Florida governor Jeb Bush. One of the youngest people ever convicted of murder in the U.S., the black youth cried as bailiffs led him away in handcuffs following his trial for the accidental death of six-year-old Tiffany Eunick, the daughter of his mother's friend.

Twelve years old at the time of Tiffany's death, Lionel said that he had been imitating TV wrestling moves when he accidentally dropped the girl onto a table. But the prosecutor went for blood; even the jury foreman later said that she was uncomfortable with the harsh sentence. If Lionel had been 16, the legal age for execution in Florida, he would likely have ended up on the state's death row. But he probably would not have been charged at all if he had come from a well-to-do white family instead of being the son of a single mother from Jamaica.

In 1996, Florida Republican William McCollum sponsored the "Violent Youth Predator Act," raving on the floor of the House: "They're not children anymore. They're the most violent criminals on the face of the earth." The most violent criminals are the American capitalist rulers, who ride roughshod over the world's poor and working people and unleash all-sided cop terror against the ghettos and barrios under the guise of the "war on drugs" and the "war on crime." Three-quarters of imprisoned youth are black or Hispanic; a black teenager is *48 times* more likely to do time for a drug offense than a white teenager. In California, even before last year's passage of the draconian "juvenile crime initiative," Proposition 21, non-white children were 6.2 times more likely to be charged as adults, and seven times more likely to be sentenced to prison when tried as adults ("The Color of Justice," Justice Policy Institute, March 2000).

The ruling class deems 13 too young to vote, drink or have sex, but not too young to be thrown behind bars for life. Last year, Oklahoma enacted a law that children as young as ten could be jailed, while under Proposition 21 many youth will spend their entire lives in prison. In all matters sexual, from music videos to abortion, the banner of "impressionable youth" is raised to bring on the censor: gay teachers are witchhunted and fired, pregnant teenage girls are compelled by the state to tell their parents if they need an abortion, reactionary "age of consent" laws and "anti-pedophile" witchhunts criminalize youth sexuality.

The purpose of this reactionary agenda is not to protect children. It is to strengthen the hands of the state: the cops, courts and executioners. As the tragic accident that led to the death of Tiffany Eunick shows, children are more likely to act on impulse than adults. They are also more likely to change their values and behavior than adults. But for "their own good," they are thrown into adult prisons where they are far more likely to be brutalized and raped than rehabilitated.

The ultimate weapon in the U.S. capitalists' arsenal of repression is the death penalty. In a world that often seems to be united only by its torture chambers, the U.S. leads in the execution of children. And Florida is second only to Texas in the rate of legal lynching in the U.S. Abolish the racist death penalty!

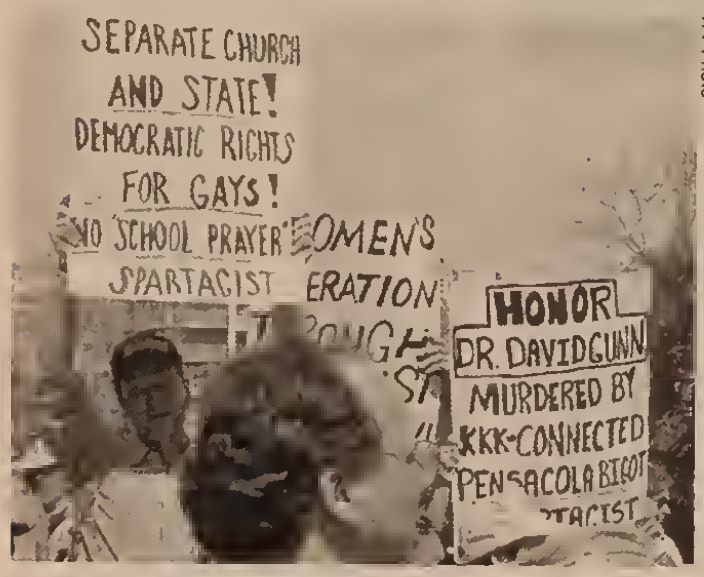
AP

Lionel Tate

The reformist left has seized on the death penalty in Texas and Florida to focus on the Bush brothers as the country's biggest executioners. But while the Republicans may be more blatant in their promotion of racist terror, these attacks on the black population and the entire working class are a bipartisan affair. It was, after all, Democrat Bill Clinton who pledged to "end welfare as we know it"—i.e., throw women and children onto the street to starve. Under Clinton, more Americans were imprisoned than under any previous administration, and the rate of incarceration for blacks escalated. In 1997, Clinton declared that his "top law-enforcement priority" was the passage of a bill to "toughen the treatment of youthful offenders." The Democrats view working-class and minority youth in the U.S. not much differently than they do the Iraqi children who have been killed by their starvation sanctions and terror bombing.

Combined with the intensification of racist repression is an attack on education, since the capitalists see no reason to cut into profits in order to pay to educate working-class and minority youth for whom they can't provide jobs. As the minimal gains made in the struggle against school segregation continue to be eroded, what passes for education is more segregated than at any time since the civil rights movement. Black students in the inner cities attend schools with overcrowded classrooms, outdated textbooks, antiquated lab facilities and often even lacking paper. These "schools" are little more than holding pens—complete with armed guards and metal detectors—for youth who are offered little future outside of unemployment, prison or early death in this decaying capitalist society.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs struggle to win youth to the understanding that there *is* a future—in helping to forge a revolutionary party of the working class to fight for a communist society that is organized for the benefit of those who labor, not for the profit of a handful of owners. The capitalist state, the bourgeoisie's apparatus of terror and repression, must be smashed and replaced with a workers state that defends the interests of the working class and all those oppressed under capitalism.■



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent joins in defense of Birmingham, Alabama abortion clinic against religious bigots, 1994.

ly consensual sexual involvement with Monica Lewinsky. Zionists like Lieberman may feel they are just as secure in racist America as in semi-theocratic Israel. But the ruling circles in this country are predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, and government funding and support of religion will serve to whip up an evangelical fervor that will be dangerous to all—not least Jews.

A number of black preachers, most of whom undoubtedly steered their flocks to vote for Southern Democrat Al Gore, have also embraced Bush's "faith-based initiative" in hopes of getting some government money. This is playing with fire. To get some sense of the racist underpinnings of the Republican right's social programs, one need only look at Bush's choice to head up the Office of Faith-Based Initiatives (eerily recalling the "Association of Defenders of the Faith" that carried out the Inquisition in northern Italy against Jews and other "heretics"). John DiIulio is a devout Catholic and Clintonite "new Democrat" who endeared himself to the Bush crowd as the academic advocate for imprisoning ever greater numbers of ghetto youth. In his 1996 book *Body Count*, written with John Walters and Reaganite William Bennett, DiIulio ranted against "thickening ranks of juvenile 'superpredators'...who murder, assault, rape, rob, burglarize, deal deadly drugs, join gun-toting gangs and create serious communal disorders." Making clear that they were targeting the ghetto population as a whole, DiIulio & Co. added, "At core, the problem is that most inner-city children grow up surrounded by teenagers and adults who are themselves deviant, delinquent or criminal." What followed was the "Violent Youth Predator Act of 1996," under which juveniles are jailed alongside adults.

Workers Revolution Will Liberate Humanity

While religiosity permeates the American population more than that of any other industrialized country, people are also deeply distrustful of government meddling in their private affairs. Notably all three voucher initiatives on state ballots in November were resoundingly defeated. And Kansas recently reinstated the teaching of evolution, overturning a decision two years ago by a previous school board dominated by Christian fundamentalists. The American bourgeoisie is not about to turn the country's schools over to a bunch of ignorant bible-thumpers (unless they have to). The largest industrial economy in the world—and a military dependent on nuclear submarines and missiles—cannot be run without skilled, educated workers and competent scientists, engineers and technicians.

But the imperialists are interested in providing the working masses only with such necessities as are required to keep the wheels of industry in motion and with the wherewithal to raise the next generation of toilers. Indeed, in the epoch of imperialist decay, they have displayed a willingness to forfeit human existence itself—a very palpable possibility in the event of a thermonuclear interimperialist war—in the quest for the dominance of their particular nationally based class rule. It is only the proletariat which by its nature and role in capitalist society has the objective interest of ending for all time class exploitation and thus establishing the basis for the free and complete development of all mankind.

Bourgeois rule employs religious reaction to substitute the kingdom and glories of heaven for man's freedom on earth. As Marxist materialists, we understand that religious belief and superstition will not disappear until the forces that perpetuate hunger and poverty have been smashed through socialist revolution. We stand, therefore, against all persecution of religious belief and for the full freedom of religious expression. But religious reaction, like fascism, when vested with bourgeois state power aims at destroying the ability of the working class to organize. It must be fought tooth and nail.

For that reason, we miss Madalyn Murray O'Hair, a principled atheist whose 1950s Supreme Court suit successfully challenged prayer in public schools, and who fought each and every attempt by the forces of "righteousness" to legislate religious practice and belief. Continuously hounded by the bible-thumping bigots, O'Hair was forced into an isolation that set the stage for her murder a few years ago. But it is no more possible to uproot the forces of religious reaction in bourgeois society than to rid such society of the threat of fascism. Each has its place in assuring the dominance of the bosses' rule when the normal mechanisms of bourgeois democracy prove insufficient. It is critically necessary to forge a multiracial revolutionary party of the working class to smash this rotting imperialist order and proceed to the liberation of all humanity from the chains of ignorance, exploitation and oppression.■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
March 13: ***Cuba: The Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution!***
UC Berkeley, 179 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.
March 5: ***Workers of the World Unite—The Power of the Proletariat***
Harvard University, Loker Commons
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
March 6: ***The Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution***
Columbia Univ., Hamilton Hall, Rm. 609
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

TORONTO
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
March 14: ***The Family and Women's Oppression***
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (just north of College St.)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
March 14: ***Building a Party of the Bolshevik Type***
UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Visit the ICL Web Site!
www.icl-fi.org

French Trotskyists Say:

Asylum for Kurdish Refugees!

We publish below a leaflet issued by the Ligue Trotskyste de France on February 21 in response to the imprisonment of Kurdish asylum-seekers by the popular-front government, which includes the Socialist Party (PS), Communist Party (PCF) and Greens. After the leaflet was issued, on February 21 French police also arrested an alleged leader of the Basque separatist ETA, Francisco Xabier Garcia Gaztelu, who faces trial in France and extradition to the torture chambers of Spain. We demand freedom for Gaztelu and other Basque nationalists imprisoned in France and Spain.

LE BOLCHEVIK

On the morning of February 17, a cargo ship, the *East Sea*, ran aground on the Côte d'Azur with more than 900 people aboard, nearly 500 of them children, nearly all Kurds from Iraq. They were fleeing terrible oppression in Iraq, which has moreover been under incessant imperialist bombings and a murderous embargo. They have all requested political asylum. We say: Right of asylum for all the Kurdish refugees! Full citizenship rights for all those who have managed to reach this country!

The reaction of the PS-PCF-Green capitalist government was immediate: the survivors of the *East Sea* were surrounded by the CRS [riot police] and imprisoned in an unused barracks near Fréjus. The residents of the region who were looking to make donations of clothing and toys and to express their solidarity could not come near this veritable concentration camp guarded by the army. Vaillant, PS member and minister of cops, denounced the "inappropriate presence on our territory" of Kurdish refugees (AP dispatch, 18 February), and declared on television that "Europe and notably France is not ready to welcome all those who want to immigrate." PS spokesman Vincent Peillon even polemicized against the Gaullists—who largely destroyed the right of asylum in 1993—because they called for welcoming the Kurds!

As for the PCF, Robert Hue declared, "In this precise case, I consider that it is necessary to examine with care, and in detail, the situation of hundreds of refugees. Those who qualify, under law, for the right of asylum, must be granted it." As for the others, "the authorities of our country should take the appropriate measures of humanity and solidarity," presumably while deporting them (*L'Humanité*, 19 February). Finally sensing the high degree of popular sympathy for the plight of the Kurdish refugees (and besieged with legal technicalities), the government has backed off momentarily and is allowing the refugees to file applications for asylum.

Lionel Cironneau

Kurdish refugees imprisoned in France after their ship ran aground in February.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

This iron policy against the Kurdish refugees on the part of the French popular-front government is registered in the framework of a reinforcement of the racist fortress against immigrant workers which is the capitalist European Union. The Jospin government, for example, has joined forces with the Labourite Blair to reinforce police controls in the trains between Paris and London. The French and Spanish governments work hand in hand in the violent repression of the Basque people, with France regularly arresting and deporting Basque militants to Spain.

At the domestic level, a war is being waged by this capitalist government against *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] and the rest of the population of immigrant origin. The occupation of the St. Bernard church on February 4 in a commemoration of the anniversary of the 1996 occupation was immediately met with the brutal forces of the state: one protester suffered a broken arm and fractured ribs, eleven *sans-papiers* were put into detention camps and two Moroccans were quickly deported. Last autumn, in the PCF-controlled Paris suburb of Aubervilliers, some 50 African families occupied, in the utmost misery and without any shelter, the small park in front of the mayor's office after they were brutally expelled from their housing by the cops at the behest of the PCF administration.

But the French government doesn't just target immigrant workers here. It dreams equally of moving back into Iraq to exploit the workers there. The Kurdish region of Iraq contains enormous oil reserves. Health minister Bernard Kouchner, fresh from his mission as proconsul leading the imperialist occupation force in Kosovo, declared in *Libération* (19 February):

> "When I see President Bush bomb Iraq again, I don't think that this serves much purpose. The Kurdish people have been forgotten. Their exodus cannot be stopped unless a solution is found for this people of 25 million. I know, it is a political problem which has dragged on for a long time."

We defend Iraq against the American and British imperialist bombing, and denounce as well the UN economic embargo which has killed more than a million and a half Iraqis over more than ten years. But when people like Kouchner—and the rest of the fake "left" in this country—shed crocodile tears over the state of the Iraqis or the Kurdish refugees, it is to better emphasize their own rapacious French imperialist interests (notably against their American rivals) hypocritically cloaked as "humanitarian" intervention. But this is the same French "human rights imperialism" which practiced systematic torture during the Algerian War and which has pillaged and plundered much of the African continent. In the last decade, since the counter-revolutionary destruction of East Europe and the Soviet Union, imperialist rivalries to redivide the world have been enormously sharpened. And remember that France took part not only in the imperialist bombing of Serbia in 1999 but also of Iraq in 1990-1991.

Within France, the municipal election campaign is centered on the question of "security," a racist code word which at bottom means an increase in daily racist terror primarily targeting youth of immigrant origin. As soon as he was elected in 1997, Jospin declared that "security" would be a major priority of his government; today, France is second only to Northern Ireland in all of Europe in its ratio of police per resident. The government fuels a fear of "insecurity" among the population precisely to better justify the reinforcement of its bands of armed men especially in the ghettos, just as during the Gulf War it pushed a similar "fight against terrorism" and more recently a grotesquely hypocritical "fight against anti-Semitism." Down with the detention camps! No to the expulsions! Cops out of the ghettos!

In private industry in this country, the workers of immigrant origin, coming mostly from the Maghreb [North Africa] and sub-Saharan Africa, form a strategic component of the proletariat. The recent period has been marked by a strong increase in social struggles, with more and more frequent combative strikes, including with picket lines: the working class is fed up with austerity and the "flexibility" of the Aubry laws. This is why the government resorts to the arm of racism to divide the working class and demoralize it. A working class suffering from deteriorating conditions, immigrants being thrown out of jobs and out of the country and youth with no jobs and no futures are all feared by the ruling class as socially explosive, and so it resorts to repression. This is also why it is crucial that the working class be mobilized in defense of its more vulnerable immigrant class brothers. A union leadership worth its name would organize the power of labor to block the government's deportation trains and planes. This points to the necessity to forge a multiethnic proletarian vanguard party which fights in the interests of all the oppressed. The Ligue Trotskyste de France fights for this.

This popular-front government, an alliance of reformist workers parties with bourgeois parties, was put in place after the December 1995 strikes to contain these social struggles and demobilize the working class. We refused and we refuse to vote for this capitalist alliance of racist class collaboration, contrary to the swamp of the "extreme left" in the style of [French United Secretariat leader Alain] Krivine.

Lutte Ouvrière (LO), in spite of all its current criticisms of the now unpopular government (after having supported its election in 1997, in calling for votes to PS and PCF candidates against the [fascist National Front] FN) capitulates to the racist campaign of the government which criminalizes youth of immigrant origin. They have just published on their Internet site the speech of [LO spokesman] Arlette Laguiller in Chalons-sur-Saône on 16 February, where she joins in the disgusting outcry engineered by the government, which portrays youth as "violent," "delinquents" and "drug dealers":

> "And above all, how is it that it is the gang leaders, who have always existed in the suburbs, or the dealers who impose their law, their customs, their violence in a lot of the public housing projects? Why hasn't this little minority who prefers to deal, to traffic—that is, to live as little

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AFP

Cop terror against immigrants has escalated under Socialist-led government.

Class Struggle Rocks France

In recent months, France has seen a wave of working-class struggle against the bourgeois coalition government of Socialist Party (PS) prime minister Lionel Jospin, which includes as transportation minister Communist Party (PCF) member Jean-Claude Gayssot and the bourgeois Greens' Dominique Voynet as environment minister. The following article is translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 155 (Winter 2000-2001), publication of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.*

LE BOLCHEVIK

JANUARY 29—The working class in France is fed up with the constant barrage of attacks leveled against it by the capitalist government of Jospin/Gayssot/Voynet. In recent months the country has seen a multitude of strike actions, mainly focused on the effects of the Aubry "35 hours" law [a scheme making working hours "flexible" in response to shifts in demand, eliminating overtime pay], and particularly against the freezing of wages. Importantly, in a number of these strikes, workers have set up picket lines with the goal of shutting down production—something that is crucial to winning a strike—only to have the capitalist state, along with the union bureaucracy which is loyal to maintaining it, intervene to remove the pickets, weakening and undermining the strikes.

The latest wave of strikes comes at a time when French capitalism is gloating over its economic boom and recent drops in the official unemployment rate. But what the bourgeoisie (and its press and its government) do not say is that the "boom" has meant savage plant closings that have thrown thousands of workers out on the street or forced them into "early retirement"—from the largely female workforces at Lacoste, Epéda, Moulinex, Cellatex and countless others to the current threats against Danone-LU workers. Nor do they say that the decrease in the official unemployment rate —which is still very high, at just under 10 percent—has come about through a huge increase in the number of part-time and temporary jobs and increased insecurity for most of the workforce. The Aubry Law has effectively frozen wages and the government has largely emptied the unemployment insurance system with the PARE plan. Many people recognize that if the MEDEF [the bosses' association] can get away with having workers work for 45 years before they can get a full pension, public service workers are the next in line for the pension cut that they defeated in December 1995. Indeed, the private sector bosses took their inspiration from the government's Charpin report published last year, a report which proposed sharply increasing the number of conditions required to get a full retirement pension in the public sector.

The working class of this country is showing that it is willing to fight. The fact that the union bureaucrats have felt compelled to call mass demonstrations to blow off steam, disrupting "social peace" during the lead-up to the municipal elections—the public sector demo on January 18, the mainly private sector demo on January 25, and the public sector strike on January 30—is very unusual and testifies to the deep anger at the base. But the union bureaucrats' posture is to zero in on the justified indignation against the arrogant MEDEF while begging the bourgeois popular-front government to take a stronger stand against the bosses. In 1995 the unions' slogans targeted the rightist Juppé government and called for struggle against it, but today they meekly plead with the Jospin-headed government to grant concessions.

AP

January 30: Union protest in Marseille as public sector workers staged one-day strike throughout France.

For a Proletarian Vanguard Party!

The lie that this is a "workers government" means that when the popular front attacks the workers' gains, it triggers less resistance than governments of the right. Jospin boasts, justly, that his government has privatized far more than did that of his predecessor. And the so-called "far left" is deeply complicit. Having called for votes for candidates of the present government in the 1997 elections, the "far left" got what it wanted and has spent the last three years trying to pressure Jospin & Co. to act on behalf of the workers and oppressed.

Many of the strike actions that have taken place have been very isolated. To cite just one example, there have been *over 1,000* strikes in the postal sector in the last months, each in individual post offices or sorting centers. In keeping with the government's implementation of the Aubry Law site by site in the postal service, the union tops, instead of uniting the workers in different locations in one powerful strike action, manipulate the anger of the workers into isolated and atomized actions.

The slogan "*tous ensemble*" [everyone together] is popular because the workers feel the need for a common fightback against attacks. But "*tous ensemble*" with whom? For what purpose? For these treacherous misleaders, the felt need for unity of the working class becomes an obscene "unity" with the very forces that are launching anti-working-class attacks. At the same time, they divide the working class every way they can.

Socialist prime minister Jospin and Communist transportation minister Gayssot sent cops against striking truckers, November 1997.

Reuters photos

The division of unions according to the political parties they support divides and weakens the working class. As defensive organizations, the unions must be built on the broadest possible basis to maximize the *unity* of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. That is why we fight for one *industrial union* in each industry. This cannot be achieved by an amalgamation of the existing sellout union bureaucracies at the top, but must be forged in the course of class struggle. We stand for class struggle, not class collaboration, and stand for the complete independence of the working class from the bourgeois state. This includes opposition to the common practice in France of allowing cops, the enforcers of the racist capitalist order, to be "union" members. *Cops out of the unions!*

The splitting up of the working class is exacerbated by the artificial division into "public" sector and "private" sector. This is just another means to divide the working class in this country and thus weaken their struggles. During the massive strikes in the public sector in December 1995, we fought against the clause prohibiting non-French citizens from being civil servants and for the extension of the strike to the private sector, particularly the automobile industry with its powerful workforce composed heavily of workers of immigrant origin. This of course meant taking an unambiguous stand against Vigipirate, the racist military campaign targeting youth of Maghrebin origin, many of whom are the sons and daughters of private sector workers like the Renault Flins auto workers. Such a stand includes the call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. For communists, immigrant workers are not just "victims"; they are a strategic component of the proletariat and a bridge to the working class in their countries of origin. But the chauvinist misleadership of the working class, who supported this racist dragnet, and the fake left, were obstacles to the potentially powerful unity in action of all the oppressed: they knew well that such united struggle could lead to the fight getting out of their hands.

Down With the PS/PCF/Green Bourgeois Popular-Front Government!

The "Plural Left" that governs capitalism in France today is this country's usual mechanism for class collaboration. It is a popular front—an electoral alliance between bourgeois workers parties like the Socialist Party and Communist Party, and bourgeois parties like the Greens, the Left Radicals, or the MDC [Citizens' Movement] of Chevènement. "Plural Left," "Union of the Left," "sacred union" or "popular front": different names, same game! Faced with a sharp upsurge in working-class struggle, the bourgeoisie lets the reformist workers parties into the government in exchange for guarantees that they will protect capitalist order. This is what happened with the popular fronts of 1936 and 1944-47 which smothered pre-revolutionary situations: with the 1972 "Union of the Left" of [PS president] Mitterrand which was the result of the betrayal of the powerful workers general strike of May 1968 and the convulsive social struggles which followed it; and today with the Jospin/Gayssot/Voynet popular front which came out of the Decemher 1995 strikes. Such a popular front is by definition bourgeois. The reformists use the pretext of "unity" with their bourgeois partners as the excuse for

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France...

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every betrayal.

Behind the mask of a "people's" government, the popular front manages the bourgeois state and enforces French capitalism's attacks against the working class and oppressed. At home, this means vicious austerity programs, racist war against youth largely of immigrant descent in the ghettos and deportations of *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants]. It means institutionalizing the superexploitation of youth through temporary jobs and "contracts of limited duration" which pay starvation wages and prohibit unionization, all in the name of "creating jobs." It means accepting all kinds of restrictions on women's right to abortion, capitulating to the reactionary, woman-hating "morality" of the Catholic church (see "For Free Abortion for All!" *Le Bolchévik* No. 154, Autumn 2000).

Abroad, the popular front supports bloody French imperialism. France has a long, dirty history of colonial repression in Africa led by popular-front and "right-wing" governments alike. The Algerian War was waged under several governments including the "socialist" government of Guy Mollet; the PCF voted full powers to the latter to carry out the bloody repression there. It was the current popular-front government's troops that participated in the bloody imperialist bombings during the 1999 war in the Balkans and which still are part of the occupation force today. And more recently, it was the colonial troops of the same Jospin/Gayssot/Voynet government which brutally attacked pro-independence protesters, including unionists, in French Guiana in late November 2000. French/UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans! Down with colonial repression in French Guiana!—French troops out! For the right of independence for French Guiana and all the other remaining French colonies! Smash imperialist exploitation through international workers revolution!

Down With Repression against Picket Lines!

The recent strike by the public transportation (TCAR) workers in Rouen is an example of an originally militant strike sabotaged by the treacherous misleadership of the unions, who are all too willing to abide by the "rules" that the bourgeois state has set. When the workers began their strike on 19 December 2000, it was with massive and effective picket lines, blocking the bus depot of the Deux Rivières zone and the Métro depot of Petit Quevilly, bringing transportation in Rouen to a halt and virtually paralyzing the city. Faced with this militant class action, the Rouen bourgeoisie and its PS-led local government quickly retaliated and engaged in a wrestling match with this historically combative sector of the proletariat. They called on their court bailiff to demand the removal of the picket lines. Following suit, the CGT union bureaucrats immediately acquiesced and called on the workers to remove the pickets. A few days after reaching a wage agreement with the strikers, the bosses fired five TCAR workers and suspended another two for "impeding the right to work." The bourgeoisie and its government wanted to use the TCAR strike to "teach a lesson" to the working class throughout France. They were saying: Do not even try to wage a militant strike that fights to shut down production. We said: On strike means shut it down! Picket lines mean don't cross! Down with the firings and sanctions! Victory to the TCAR strikers!

While the strike continued in defense of the victimized workers, the union bureaucracy, with the support of the so-called left in Rouen, continued to accede to the bosses' demands that scab buses and trams be allowed to run; strike "actions" became geared toward demonstrations, appeals to the PS mayor to intercede, and even a hunger strike against the firings. Beginning on January 5, six CGT activists went on a hunger strike in defense of their union brothers who were being fired, camping out inside the Rouen town hall, in an attempt to pressure the PS mayor to intercede in the fight of the transportation workers against their bosses. While this hunger strike was an act of solidarity with the victimized workers, it was nonetheless fundamentally an act of desperation. It was precisely the PS-led capitalist local government that handed over the Rouen transit system to the private company Vivendi in 1994. In the end, Vivendi agreed for the time being to reinstate the fired workers, though not at their previous work locations.

Jean-Marie Thullier

As militant strike pickets brought Rouen public transit to a halt in December, bosses responded with court injunctions against picket lines.

The so-called left in Rouen, by imploring the PS mayor to act against Vivendi, couching this in empty demands in "defense of the right to strike," was reinforcing the illusion that the PS-led government is "pro-worker." The reformist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) writes: "How are we supposed to believe that the CAR [transit authority] and the mayor don't have enough weight to make the TCAR management listen to reason? Who is calling the shots in this business?" (*Rouge*, 11 January). As far as Lutte Ouvrière (LO) is concerned, they also whine that "After the thirteenth day of fasting, the PS mayor did not deign to visit" the workers (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19 January)! And they complain: "The left's elected officials in the greater Rouen area, who hold a majority in the greater Rouen community council (which gave a concession of the transit system to Vivendi), contented themselves with timid and very belated interventions" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 January). Thus, for LO, the "left" government is on the right side but they just ought to be bolder about it.

The PCF, which is an integral part of the Jospin-Gayssot government, went so far as to applaud the "UDF [right-wing bourgeois party] deputy mayor of Mont-Saint-Aignan, who thinks that 'if the strikers' attitude is unacceptable, it remains understandable in a difficult situation'" (*L'Humanité*, 10 January). The Lambertist Parti des Travailleurs (PT) does sound radical when they say: "It is the Jospin-Gayssot government which has been the great organizer of privatization" (leaflet of 17 January). But their real policy is a petition, at the bottom of the same leaflet, appealing to Robert, Granpierre, Bourguignon and Massion—the local PS and PCF politicians who were against the strike from the very beginning: "It is you who pay TCAR; you have all power to decide that this repression should stop immediately." The Gauche Révolutionnaire tries to sound more "left," but they have the same strategy of appealing to the PS mayor: "Those in charge of the Communauté d'Agglomération Rouennaise (CAR) could take a very simple decision. Yvon Robert, mayor of Rouen and chairman of the CAR, could take away from Vivendi the transit concession and thus reintegrate the five strikers."

In their leaflets and articles, all the local groups of the "far left" entirely disappear the important question of picket lines, accepting the bosses' rules that the workers have the "right to strike" but picket lines—impeding scabs' "right to work"—are not allowed. In 1986, the local leader of the current LO minority in the area actually crossed a picket line at Renault-CKD in Grand-Couronne near Rouen on 18 September, as we exposed in *Le Bolchévik* No. 67 (October 1986); LO justified its strikebreaking by denouncing the CGT picket line: "The CGT's action last week wasn't taken either to convince or to draw in and unite the other workers in the zone. Rather, it had the effect of dividing them" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 27 September 1986).

A strike is not a protest demonstration, as the labor bureaucracy would have workers believe. Rather, as Leon Trotsky, Bolshevik leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote in the midst of the tumultuous class battles in France in the mid-1930s: "The strike is the most elementary form of the class struggle that always combines, in varying proportions, 'ideological' methods with physical methods.... Basically, the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia. He who thinks of renouncing 'physical' struggle must renounce all struggle, for the spirit does not live without flesh" (*Whither France?*, October 1934).

While the "right to strike" is guaranteed under the French constitution, pickets and other militant actions are, under the law, considered means of "impeding the right to work" and are illegal. ***But picket lines, plant occupations, sit-down strikes are the very methods that make a strike effective!*** As any worker who has been in a militant strike knows, and as the history of the French working class attests, the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. Real pickets that shut down production are precisely the means to consolidate and extend a strike, to win over those workers who are hesitant about joining a strike, to organize the workers in action and above all, to protect the strike against scabs and cops. This is exactly how the Air France strike was won in 1993: the strikers blocked the airport runways, shut down the airports and stood their ground in resisting the attacks by the CRS [riot cops].

But this is the last thing the current leaderships of the various unions want. From the CGT, CFDT and FO [union federations] to the generally smaller unions like SUD, which is sometimes seen as being more "radical" than the "traditional" unions, the unions, like the "left" parties which lead them, are led by "leaders" who reject the perspective for the working class to seize state power and implement fundamental social change. With a perspective of working within the status quo, they become guardians of the capitalist system (this is why the bosses and the bosses' state have an interest in giving them big financial subsidies and privileges). Thus they are unwilling to fight to defend the broader social interests as well as the economic interests of the proletariat. For example, instead of fighting for the right of workers, male and female, to choose their shifts and to receive extra compensation and full transport subsidies for night work, they campaigned against the lifting of the discriminatory ban on night work for women, effectively accepting the morals of the Catholic church that women should take care of their families at night.

With such leadership, it is no wonder that only around 9 percent of the proletariat in France are union members (as opposed to 22 percent in 1970) and the CGT, which remains the most influential union in private industry, has less than one-fourth the membership it had after World War II. Historically, it's notable that union membership in France has grown during times of sharp social battles and then, after betrayal by the leaderships, union cards are torn up in droves. But it is wrong to throw the baby out with the bathwater, to reject unions because of their treacherous leaders. What is needed is a new leadership in the unions, a class-struggle leadership. But the fight to build a class-struggle leadership in the working class must link the fight to oust the treacherous union bureaucrats to the building of a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism, to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the lifeblood of the working class into misery and poverty.

LO and the Popular Front

Of all the fake-Trotskyist organizations that supported the electoral victory of Jospin's popular front, Lutte Ouvrière is the one that is now most seriously trying to posture as distancing itself from the government. But this is not surprising, since LO is practiced at tailing the mood of the working class, which right now is enraged at the government. While they criticize the PCF, what they do in fact is beg the PCF—which is part of the

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Pour un parti ouvrier révolutionnaire multiethnique !

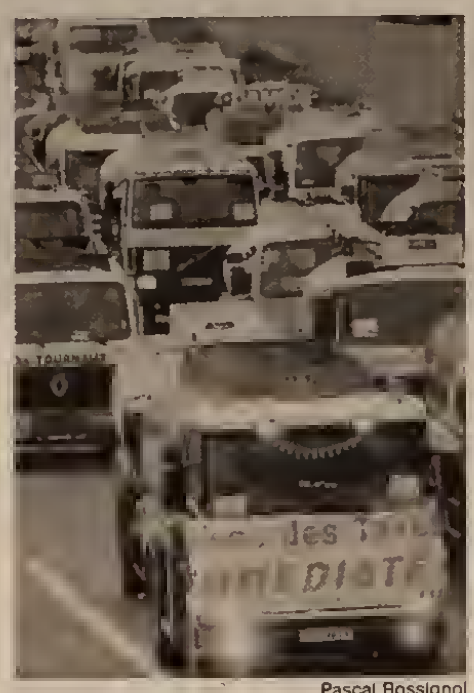
popular-front government—to fight for the workers.

LO is very good at talking out of both sides of their mouth; they can look very left-wing at times, while at other moments looking indistinguishable from the rest of the popular-front swamp. For example, last Christmas, LO was in its left mode: LO's front page headlined, "Communism Is the Fight to Overthrow Capitalism!" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 22 December 2000). Barely a month later, the front page headlined, "Stand Up to Danone—and the Attacks of the Big Bosses!" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19 January), a headline which the PCF or even the PS could have written.

Despite its current posturing, LO's main methodology is still to call on the state to take positive action on behalf of the workers, thus reinforcing illusions in the government. The bourgeois state is not a neutral body above social classes but the executive committee of the capitalists, with its army to defend French imperialism and its police and courts to enforce racist bourgeois order and defend private property. Common LO banners at demonstrations include calls on the popular-front government to "take over businesses that lay off" and to "prohibit layoffs in companies that make a profit," thereby building illusions in the popular-front government. While noting in an editorial (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19 January) that "this so-called left government serves the big bourgeoisie just as much as the right-wing government it took over from," they argue just before: "But it is not true that this government is impotent. It could take measures of retaliation against Danone, to threaten to take over the company if this plan was maintained or at least to threaten to stop all state aid to Danone."

But a capitalist government—whether led by the "left" or the "right"—cannot be "pressured" into risking capitalist profit in order to provide for the needs of the population. It makes concessions only when it is made to fear the power of the working class—a power that is held in check by the loyalty of the workers' leaders to the popular front. What is needed is the expropriation of industry by the working class through workers revolution.

LO suddenly rediscovers the class character of the state when it comes to denouncing their union bureaucrat competitors in the workers movement, in their own search for grabbing union "responsibilities." They write: "The tendency for the unions to be integrated into the bourgeois state, seeking collaboration with the bosses, which is one of the characteristics of the imperialist era, obviously has not attenuated in recent years, quite the contrary" (*Lutte de Classe*, December 2000). This denunciation is choice coming from an organization which itself receives significant subsidies from the capitalist state! For the year 1999, LO's public financing was more than 7 ***million*** francs (*Journal Officiel*, 9 November 2000). As they say, he who pays the piper calls the tune! It is clear that you cannot promote the overthrow of the bourgeoisie while getting money from its state. For Marxists, the independence of workers organizations from the bourgeois state is a question of principle.



Pascal Rossignol

Protests by truckers against high fuel prices last fall paralyzed France and other European countries. Capitulating to popular-front government, fake lefts denounced blockade as "bosses' strike."

LO's bottom-line support to the government was demonstrated clearly during the truckers' blockades in protest of extortionate fuel prices. These militant actions were broadly popular among the working people. Not only in France but equally in Britain, Germany and elsewhere, social-democratic regimes were quaking in their boots at the prospect that these extraparliamentary protests could be a lightning rod sparking actions by the proletariat. The "far left"—those who falsely posture as Trotskyists—rushed to write off the truckers' protests as "bosses' strikes" (see *Le Bolchévik* No. 154, Autumn 2000). At bottom, these groups despite their "left" verbiage respond with fear and loathing to any threat to the stability of "their" capitalist popular-front government.

While LO denounced the high fuel prices for weeks, when the truckers set up their blockades, LO's front page headlined: "Trucking: A Government Which Shows More Understanding for the Bosses than for Wage-Earners" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 8 September 2000). In article after article, they called the truckers "bosses" as the excuse to keep the workers away from these militant actions. So their calls for the workers to "pound on the table with their fists" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 15 September 2000) amounted to empty rhetoric, failing the fact that this struggle was so broadly popular. Later, when the blockades had been lifted, and hence the threat to the government had been averted, and following the lead of the PCF, LO toned down their position. Their call for "taxing the profits of the big oil companies and also those of the other big industrial and financial corporations" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 22 September 2000), which was slightly to the left of the PCF which targeted only the oil companies, was nonetheless a way to go back into the framework of parliamentarism and begging the government.

In terms of electoral policy, seeing which way the wind is blowing, LO argues in the December 2000 *Lutte de Classe*, "It is out of the question for us to fuse our slates in the second round with those of the governmental left, or to call for a vote for them. Neither is it a question of forming slates with movements or militants who do not situate themselves clearly on the terrain of the working class and who, by the way, have no interest in associating themselves with the LCR, and even less with Lutte Ouvrière." But during their discussions just last spring with the LCR on the possibility of a joint slate, they wrote: "The call to vote for the left in the second round would seem unacceptable in the current political and social situation, except obviously for some rare exceptions where it could be a duel between the left and the National Front" (*Lutte de Classe*, May-June 2000). These "exceptions" were the pretext LO used to support the PS and PCF against the National Front during the 1997 legislative elections. "Fight the right" and "anti-fascism" are in fact the classic "left" arguments for supporting popular fronts.

Right now the capitalists hold the fascists in reserve; they don't need them now, when they have the popular front to rein in workers' militancy, but the fascists remain a deadly potential danger to the unions and all the oppressed. Far from being an obstacle to fascism, the popular front paves the way for fascism, by demobilizing the working class—the only force that can stop the fascists—and by discrediting socialism by claiming to be "socialist" as it imposes brutal capitalist austerity. The mass base for fascism is the ruined petty bourgeoisie. A bold revolutionary proletarian leadership can win petty-bourgeois layers over to the side of the working class by posing a clear socialist solution to the capitalist crisis; in the absence of such a leadership, the desperate petty bourgeoisie is driven into the fascists' arms. In any case, the fascists are not parliamentarians: they don't grow through elections, but through extraparliamentary actions of racist mobs in the streets against immigrants and the working class. We fight for militant mass labor/immigrant mobilizations based on the strength of the organized working class to send the fascists crawling back into their holes. But we know that racism and fascism are inherent in capitalism, and to finish them off once and for all it is necessary to overthrow the whole capitalist system.

LO is seen by sections of the working class as being more "left" or more "radical" than the PCF (recent polls have LO's Arlette Laguiller beating out [PCF head] Robert Hue if the two were to be among the candidates for president in the 2002 elections). If LO were to campaign forthrightly against the popular front's candidates, including when they are pitted against candidates of the FN/MNR [two main fascist organizations in France], revolutionaries could consider calling for a vote, albeit very critical, to the LO candidates in the upcoming municipal elections. To date, LO has avoided making a clear statement that it will campaign against all the candidates of the popular front, and in the 26 January issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, the editorial by Arlette Laguiller, which is critical of the "hypocritical" government, implicitly holds out the possibility of voting for left-talking PCFers on the sole question of the pensions: "As we are asked to take a stand within the next two months on the selection of the municipal teams, let's take advantage of the opportunity to demand from the candidates who are asking for our votes that they take a clear stand on this problem of pensions."

For Revolutionary Leadership! For Workers Revolution!

The so-called "far left," who when push comes to shove support the capitalist popular front, are ***obstacles*** to building the revolutionary party that is necessary to lead the proletarian conquest of state power. These "leftists" claim to stand for socialism but accept the limits of what is "possible" under capitalism. Their perspective of tinkering with the system and fighting for crumbs from the bosses' table builds illusions that under "mass pressure," capitalism can be made to "serve the people." We need a revolutionary party to deepen and weld together the struggles of the workers and all the specially oppressed strata—women, youth, immigrants, ethnic minorities—into a class war against capitalism.■

Asylum...

(continued from page 6)

> parasites off of those poorer than themselves—been isolated from the majority of youth?"

LO has long been a supporter of "community police"; for example, Laguiller added that "in many cases, the presence of beat cops, close to the population, can discourage petty delinquency," while noting that "just a handful of racist or anti-youth policemen is enough to make any police presence, even by community police, be taken as a provocation by all the youth in a neighborhood." In spite of its occasional lip service to a fight for communism through the overthrow of capitalism, LO obscenely buys into the campaign to criminalize youth and tries to make people believe that the racist French police force can be a deterrent to crime. LO fosters the dangerous illusion that the cops, and the racist state they represent, can be reformed. In the same February 16 speech, Laguiller adds that "it is also necessary at the same time for the population in the poor neighborhoods to oversee and control the police in order to react against those who allow themselves to make racist comments and engage in racist behavior."

But the problem is not, as LO would have us believe, one of "violent" youth or "a handful of [bad] cops." The reality is that violence comes from the capitalist state and its cops, whose job is by definition to break up picket lines, to beat up and kill youth of immigrant origin, to deport *sans-papiers*, etc.: in a word, to preserve and defend by armed force the racist bourgeois order, the private ownership of the means of production by a handful of capitalists. This is why, to put an end to capitalist exploitation and racist terror, nothing less than a workers revolution is necessary.

This must be part of an international struggle. Kurds are under terrible oppression at the hands of the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein. We support the right of self-determination for the oppressed Kurdish nation, but the national emancipation of Kurdistan requires the revolutionary overthrow of four capitalist regimes—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria—among which the 25 million Kurds in the Near East are partitioned, and the throwing off of the yoke of imperialist domination. The allies and motor force for Kurdish emancipation are to be found in the workers of those countries, who have their own scores to settle with their exploiters. It is vital in those countries to forge revolutionary multinational workers parties committed to the national liberation of Kurdistan through socialist revolution. The Kurdish proletariat in diaspora—in the major industrial centers not only of the Near East but (together with Turks) of West Europe—represents the living bridge between the struggle for the emancipation of the Kurdish nation and proletarian revolution in imperialist West Europe. For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan in a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

This is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution for countries whose capitalist development has been retarded by imperialism: the tasks of political democracy and national emancipation can only be achieved through the seizure of power by the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. This perspective requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties that combat every form of social and national oppression as an integral part of the struggle for working-class political power.

Right of asylum for all the Kurdish refugees! Defeat imperialism through workers revolution—Defend Iraq! NATO/UN/French imperialists hands off the Near East! French and all imperialist troops out of the Balkans! Down with imperialist "Fortress Europe"! For a Socialist United States of Europe! For the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International to fight for new October Revolutions worldwide!■

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

vice president and General Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, running the State Department. This gang positively reveled in the wholesale slaughter of retreating Iraqi conscripts on what became known as the "highway of death." While visiting the Gulf in 1991, Cheney autographed the same kind of 2,000-pound "bunker-buster" bombs—grotesquely writing "To Saddam, with affection"—which were then used to kill over 300 people, mainly women and children, huddled in a Baghdad air raid shelter.

Protests against the recent bombing were called by sections of the International Communist League in Britain and Italy and in the U.S., with the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs organizing campus speakouts to demand: *U.S. imperialist butchers hands aff Iraq! Down with the U.S./UN starvation blockade of Iraq!*

In the Near East, thousands demonstrated in cities throughout the region, including in the Occupied Territories. One Arab official told Egypt's *Al-Ahram Weekly* (22 February): "There is growing

Reuters

U.S. fighter jets enforcing imperialist-imposed "no-fly" zone.

AP

Demonstrators at February 19 protest in Gaza against imperialist bombing of Iraq carry picture of 12-year-old boy murdered by Zionist troops.

pressure on Arab governments from the street, even in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, to move towards alleviating the misery of the Iraqi people." The bombing brought to a white heat the anger of the Arab masses against the U.S., already hated for its sponsorship of the Zionist terror machine which has gunned down over 300 Palestinians in the last few months and is methodically assassinating leading members of Yasir Arafat's Fatah and other organizations. Resorting to ever more lethal means of repression in a desperate attempt to quell the five-month-long uprising—even before newly elected prime minister Ariel Sharon, the notorious architect of the 1983 Sabra and Shatila refugee massacre, has assumed office—Israeli troops are now gassing Palestinians. After one recent gas attack, over 150 people in Gaza's Khan Yunis refugee camp developed muscle spasms and skin rashes.

Meanwhile, Israel is carrying out its own starvation blockade against the Palestinians. More than one million residents of the Gaza Strip are locked in behind an electrified fence built in the wake of the 1993 "peace" accord. Now the main road within Gaza itself has been shut down. Not only has the population been deprived of income from jobs in Israel, but those who work for Arafat's Palestinian Authority are not being paid because Israel is withholding Palestinian tax monies. In the West Bank, Zionist settlers are free to travel on "strategic highways" to which Palestinians are denied access while Arab villages are sealed off. Roads into Jericho have been blocked with huge cement slabs, and the town is now surrounded by a six-mile-long, ten-foot-deep trench to prevent anything from going in or out, even through the fields. While crops rot on the ground, Palestinians are going without food.

It is perhaps not surprising that many Palestinian protesters, with the view that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," carry portraits of Saddam Hussein. But solidarity with the Iraqi people against the imperialists must not be confused with support for the bourgeois-nationalist regime in Baghdad. Saddam Hussein is a butcher of Iraqi leftists, workers and Kurds, who was himself sponsored by the U.S. imperialists when it suited their aims. The only road to Palestinian liberation—and the liberation of all the oppressed in the region—lies in internationalist unity of Hebrew-speaking, Arab, Kurdish and Persian workers and in socialist revolution to sweep away all the murderous capitalist regimes in the region. *Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

In their ongoing murder of Arab men, women and children, the American imperialists are signaling their assertion of global hegemony not only to "Third World" countries like Iraq. Days after the bombing of Baghdad, the Bush administration launched a broadside against China for supposedly supplying Iraq with fiber-optics radar equipment. An editorial in the *Washington Post* (22 February) bellowed about a "deeper Chinese purpose: to thwart U.S. global leadership, seen in Beijing as 'hegemony,' by encouraging those who oppose it." The same day, Bush warned, "We are going to send a message to the Chinese."

In the years since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, Washington has sharply ratcheted up economic and military pressure against China, the largest remaining deformed workers state. China is the principal target of "Star Wars II," the so-called national missile defense, whose purpose would be to facilitate an unchallenged nuclear first strike. Intent on escalating the drive for bloody counterrevolution in China, the new Republican administration appears to be moving away from a 30-year-old policy initiated by the Nixon administration aimed at encouraging capitalist restoration primarily from within through "constructive engagement" with the Beijing bureaucracy. *Defend China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!*

It is not lost on Washington's imperialist "allies" that its "message" in bombing and starving Iraq is aimed at them as well. In the face of growing competition from its imperialist rivals, the U.S. bourgeoisie wields its arsenal of terror, including the most massive stockpiles of nuclear and biological and chemical weapons, to guard its position as the planet's preeminent power. Tensions between the U.S. and the European Union, expressed over European opposition to Star Wars and U.S. opposition to a European "rapid reaction force" outside NATO control, have come ever more to the fore. France now challenges the legality of the U.S.-dictated "no-fly" zones over Iraq and openly condemned the U.S./British attack as a violation of international law, as did Russia. Germany issued a harsh criticism, and even Turkey, whose air bases are used by the U.S. to patrol the northern "no-fly" zone of Iraq, formally rebuked Washington.

The blood of Iraqis is being spilled to cement U.S. control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to Germany and Japan. An op-ed piece by academic Robert Pape in the *New York Times* (24 February) headlined "Our Iraq Policy Is Not Working" observed, "The sanctions began to unravel in the late 1990's as Western demand for oil rose." Earlier this year, Syria opened a 552-mile oil pipeline with Iraq. Russia, Italy, Turkey and Egypt have openly flouted the UN ban on commercial flights to Baghdad, while French foreign minister Hubert Védrine recently declared that the embargo is "not working well...and we are calling for it to end." In the face of this growing international opposition, the U.S. is now mooting "smart" sanctions restricted to an embargo on arms.

With supreme imperial arrogance, the rapacious U.S. military behemoth asserts its right to decide who supplies arms to whom! Ten years ago, the U.S. destroyed a baby formula factory in Baghdad with the claim that it produced biological weapons, and in 1998, Clinton described a Sudanese pharmaceuticals plant hit by U.S. missiles as a nerve gas factory. Most recently, Washington charged that a castor oil factory in Iraq is a chemical weapons plant!

The death and destruction being wreaked upon the people of Iraq show what imperialism is all about, a rapacious system based on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of the workers and semicolonial masses in order to expand the profits of a handful of filthy rich capitalists. Imperialism is, as Russian Bolshevik V.I. Lenin said, the highest stage of capitalism, marked by the domination of monopolies and finance capital and a struggle for redivision of markets and spheres of influence by the major capitalist countries that ultimately leads to world war. And as Lenin's Bolsheviks showed in leading the October Revolution of 1917, imperialism can and must be defeated through workers revolution.

Against this, the reformist left fosters the illusion that the imperialist rulers can be pressured to adopt a more humane and peaceful policy. In Italy, the protest against the Iraq bombing by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista was in sharp contrast to the silence of reformist organizations such as Rifondazione Comunista (RC), which are firmly in the thrall of the popular-front government. Even RC's own supporters were disgusted,

WV Photo

February 19: Spartacist contingent at NYC protest against bombing of Iraq.

with one letter to *Liberazione* (22 February) asking whether its refusal to protest the imperialist attack was the price paid "to not disturb electoral alchemies and calculations."

In the U.S., after eight years of bombing and blockade under the Clinton administration, the reformists' congenital appeals to the Democrats as a "lesser evil" are patently bankrupt. Seeking to hide this fact, the International Socialist Organization carried an article on the tenth anniversary of the Gulf War which uttered not a word about the Democrats (*Socialist Worker*, 19 January). Nor did a leaflet (undated) protesting the bombing issued by Workers World Party's International Action Center (IAC). IAC-initiated demonstrations in New York City and the Bay Area aimed their fire exclusively at Bush. With the reformists now all appealing to "fight the right" (i.e., the Republicans), it is small wonder that the IAC drew so few people to protests against the bombing of Iraq, scarcely 100 in NYC and 30 in the Bay Area. Given their own not-so-implicit support to the Democrats, it would be difficult to mobilize against the *bipartisan* efforts to strangle Iraq. As the SL contingent at the NYC protest chanted: "Democrats, Republicans—parties of war! A workers party is what we're for!" *Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!*■

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Lockerbie: Imperialist Show Trial

In 1986, U.S. warplanes bombed the Libyan capital of Tripoli in a deliberate attempt to assassinate nationalist leader Muammar Qaddafi. They succeeded in killing his adopted baby daughter and wounding over a hundred other people. Two years later, the U.S. missile destroyer *Vincennes* shot down Iran Air Flight 655, sending 290 men, women and children to a fiery death. No one has ever been held accountable for this racist, imperialist mass murder. A few months later, allegedly in retaliation, a terrorist bomb brought down Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

On January 31, a panel of three Scottish judges presiding over a trial in the Netherlands sentenced Abdelbaset Ali Mohmed al-Megrahi to life imprisonment for the bombing deaths of the 270 passengers aboard the Pan Am flight. Based upon the exact same evidence, his co-defendant, Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah, was acquitted of all charges. This was a chemically pure imperialist show trial. The sole reason Megrahi has been condemned to a life of prison hell is that he is a citizen of Libya, declared a "rogue state" by the biggest terrorists in the world, U.S. imperialism. For Washington, the only "rogue state" is one without nuclear weapons, i.e., easy to push around. One thing Megrahi can be thankful for—he was not tried in an American court. In the U.S., dozens of people are sent to death each year on such flimsy evidence.

As the Lockerbie trial drew to a close, another show trial got under way in a federal courtroom in Manhattan, where four alleged associates of Saudi fundamentalist Osama bin Laden face the death penalty or life imprisonment for an alleged terrorist conspiracy over the last ten years, including the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Washington responded to these acts by carrying out missile strikes against Afghanistan, where bin Laden is staying, and devastating a pharmaceuticals factory in Sudan. It is notable that the terrorism charges against bin Laden go back only ten years. Before that the American imperialists were working hand in glove with him and other *mujahedin* cutthroats in waging a bloody, reactionary war against the modernizing nationalist Afghan government and the Soviet troops that backed it. Trained, armed and funded by Washington, the *mujahedin* perpetrated mass terror against Soviet soldiers and against women and schoolteachers who attempted to teach women to read.

Philippot/Sygma

Young Spartacus

SL contingent at March 1986 Berkeley protest against U.S. bombing of Tripoli which killed baby daughter of Libyan leader Qaddafi, wounded over 100 others.

Customarily such "terrorism" trials serve as vehicles to attack the democratic rights of us all, and this one is true to form. In a chilling decision, the federal judge has ruled that "confessions" coerced by U.S. agents abroad in violation of the *Miranda* rule are admissible in an American court. This will only encourage the cops and Feds to extract even more "confessions" through torture and beating.

In an article on the Lockerbie conviction, the *New York Times* (2 February) reported that the defense counsel's closing arguments described the prosecution's case as "a cable made of frayed fibers, each a line of circumstantial evidence that could not support the conclusions suspended from it." By the kangaroo court's own admission, the prosecution's case was filled with "uncertainties and qualifications." The prosecution theory boiled down to accusations that Megrahi was a Libyan agent. They cited Megrahi's presence at the Malta airport at a time when the Pan Am flight was there, though they have no idea how the bomb got on the aircraft or who put it there. Mainly, Megrahi was convicted because he was supposedly seen with a Swiss dealer in bomb timers by the key prosecution witness, a former Libyan agent of whom the judges said, "We are unable to accept Abdul Majid as a credible and reliable witness." Yet the judges concluded that "there is nothing in the evidence which leaves us with any reasonable doubt as to the guilt" of Megrahi!

Behind the frame-up is the U.S. imperialists' arrogant crusade against nationalist strongman Qaddafi who, before being supplanted by Saddam Hussein, was vilified as Public Enemy No. 1. The 1986 air strike against Libya—followed by another three years later—was alibied as retaliation for a terrorist attack on a West Berlin disco frequented by U.S. servicemen, with which the Libyans had nothing to do, as later came out. In 1992, the U.S. pushed through crippling international economic sanctions against Libya. The United Nations suspended the sanctions when Qaddafi agreed to a trial of the two accused Libyans three years ago. But Washington still refuses to call off its embargo even after the conviction.

Right after the U.S. bombing in 1986, we sent an international journalistic team to Tripoli in solidarity with the neocolonial victims of U.S. imperialism. Our comrades were preceded by a telegram declaring: "We deeply respect and support just cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assault by U.S. imperialist aggression" (see "Under Reagan's Guns in Libya," *WV* No. 401, 11 April 1986). We fight to mobilize the working people of America to sweep away U.S. imperialism's Murder Inc. by smashing capitalist rule and establishing working-class power. Hands off Libya! Free Abdelbaset Ali Mohmed al-Megrahi!■

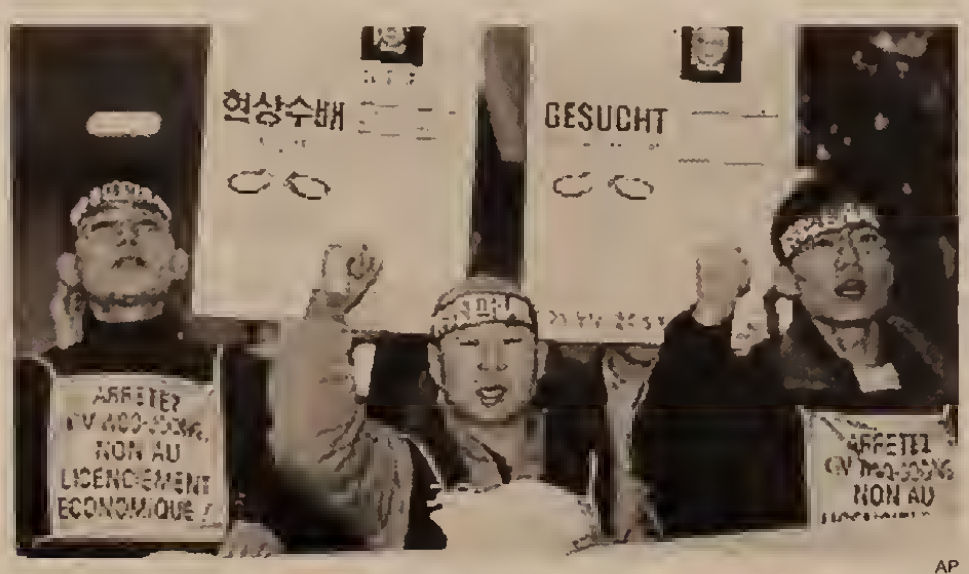
Korea...

(continued from page 12)

Federation of Korean Trade Unions sponsored by the police-state regime and set up under the tutelage of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Speaking of the ongoing protests in Pupyong, KCTU head Dan Byong Ho said, "The workers are the only victims of the government's wrong economic policy. We have no choice but to fight to survive." But the nationalist-populist outlook of the KCTU leadership led it to embrace Kim Dae Jung, who postured as an opponent of the police-state regime before coming to power and enforcing brutal IMF dictates. Despite his nationalist and democratic pretensions, Kim has long been a loyal lackey of U.S. imperialism and a fierce enemy of the North Korean deformed workers state.

The denunciations by Daewoo union leaders of plans to sell the company to *foreign* owners echo the KCTU's nationalist opposition to "foreign interference" by the IMF when the labor federation ran a class-collaborationist "People's Victory 21" campaign in the 1997 presidential elections. As we wrote in "IMF 'Bailout' Means Misery for South Korean Workers" (*WV* No. 681, 2 January 1998), "The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie. This is all the more urgent today, as the South Korean ruling class seeks to line the workers up to sacrifice their livelihoods and struggles in order to appease imperialist dictates."

South Korean workers have demonstrated unparalleled courage and determination over the years. Their combativity must be directed into a fight for socialist revolution to sweep away the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and its police state. Combined with proletarian political revolution against the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy in the North, this would lead to the revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula. It would also act as a powerful impetus to the fight against capitalist restoration in China and to the struggle for proletarian revolution to overthrow the imperialist exploiters in Japan as well as in the U.S. and Europe.■



AP

South Korean union "arrest squad" arrives in France with "Wanted" poster of former Daewoo CEO Kim Woo Choong.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Protests Continue After Cops Crush Plant Occupation

Solidarity with Korea Daewoo Auto Workers!

FEBRUARY 25—Six days ago, an army of 4,000 riot cops attacked workers occupying Daewoo Motor Company's main plant in Pupyong, a section of the South Korean port city of Inchon 19 miles from the capital of Seoul. Deploying excavators as battering rams, cops stormed through plant gates and dragged out 500 workers and family members who had joined them. Workers had seized the plant on February 16 after Daewoo announced 1,750 layoffs, part of a restructuring scheme demanded by General Motors as a condition for buying out the company.

Throughout the occupation, other workers and strike supporters battled riot cops outside the plant. Protesting the crackdown, workers and students continue to engage in running battles with the cops. On February 20, cops in riot gear tried to block a march by 1,000 protesters on the plant. In one instance, a mob of police surrounded a union van, smashing the windshield with their clubs and pummeling the driver. Ten people were injured as workers and students fought back with steel pipes and firebombs. The same day, workers at two other Daewoo factories walked off the job.

AP

Workers defend themselves as cops move in to crush Daewoo plant occupation.

The brutal attack on the Daewoo plant touched off an explosion of anger at the regime of former "dissident" Kim Dae Jung, who was elected president in late 1997 with broad support among workers. As workers marched in protest on the Inchon-Seoul highway, they carried a banner reading "Down With South Korean President Kim Dae Jung Who Is Suppressing Workers!"

A government minister told the *New York Times* (21 February) that the crushing of the occupation meant that "the obstacles have been removed" to pushing through a deal with GM. The *Times* noted, "The primary obstacle, in his view, had been the resistance of workers to layoffs." Daewoo's creditors have now started to pump more funds into the firm, which collapsed under massive debts two years ago, in preparation for the GM buyout. Despite the fabulous growth of the *chaebol* conglomerates—of which Daewoo was the second largest—in the 1970s and '80s, the collapse of the South Korean economy three years ago and the humiliating terms of the "rescue package" dictated by international capital underscore the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie.

Several strike leaders have been able thus far to elude the police, but 84 workers have been arrested. Trade unionists internationally must demand immediate freedom for all the arrested strikers! Protest strikes and other actions in solidarity with the embattled Daewoo workers are vitally necessary. And with layoffs hitting the auto industry around the world—including 26,000 job cuts at DaimlerChrysler—coordinated class struggle against the car manufacturers is in the direct interest of all auto workers. This is particularly clear in the U.S., home of the far-flung GM empire, which has just announced that workers in 14 North American plants will be hit with rolling layoffs through the month of June. On January 25, GM workers throughout Europe walked off the job to protest layoffs, pointing to the necessity of joint class struggle across national borders. But this requires combatting the national chauvinism of the social-democratic trade-union tops, who call on their respective capitalist governments to "save" jobs at the expense of workers elsewhere.

Chauvinist protectionism is part of the labor bureaucracy's all-sided program of class collaboration, based on the embrace of the global interests of their "own" capitalist exploiters. In the U.S., this is very much linked to the anti-Communism of the AFL-CIO labor tops. The American imperialists maintain a 40,000-strong occupation force in South Korea, aimed at the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states as well as at the militant South Korean proletariat. The "AFL-CIA" was instrumental in building anti-Communist company unions in South Korea and is currently a leading force in the drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China. The Spartacist League demands: All U.S. troops and bases out of Korea! For unconditional military defense of North Korea and China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

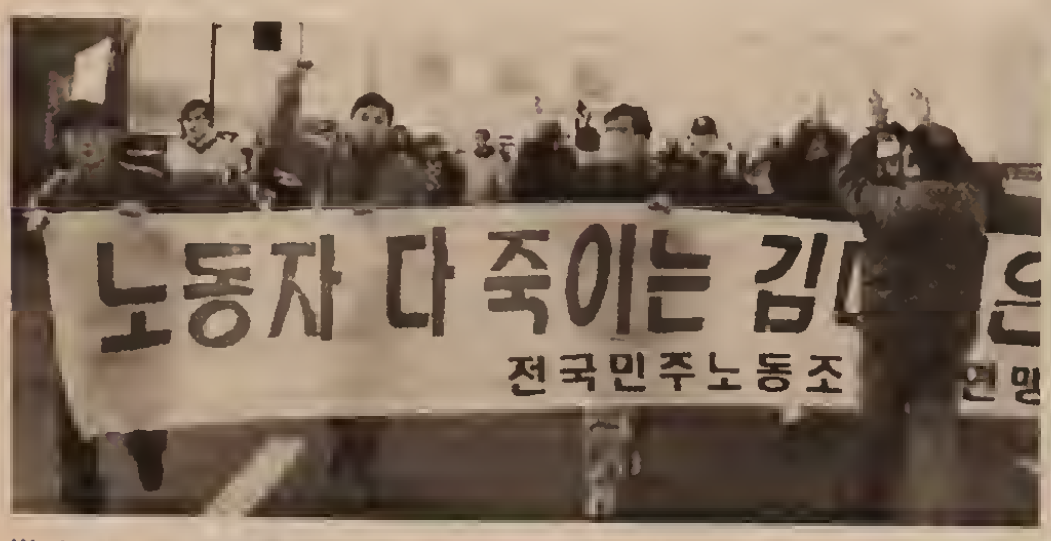
The struggle at Daewoo is the latest sign of a resurgence of the South Korean proletariat, which has been ground under by the economic crisis that broke out in 1997 and by the austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In late December, 18,000 telecommunications workers conducted the first strike in their union's history, while 6,000 riot cops were called out to break a six-day protest by striking workers at the country's two largest banks. Reporting on Daewoo, the *New York Times* (20 February) wrote, "The response of the workers underlined the view among many Koreans that workers are being asked to make sacrifices while owners and senior executives survive on renewed loans and bond issues."

Daewoo chairman Kim Woo Choong, a crony of the old military dictatorship, fled to Europe months ago to escape prosecution on charges of embezzlement and fraud amounting to ***$33 billion***. Last week, the Daewoo Motors Struggle Headquarters dispatched a three-man union "arrest squad" to Europe to find and seize Kim. "Kim Woo Choong has been stealing money from the company, and we should not be punished for the mess he created," said one union leader. As the three South Korean unionists arrived in Paris, they were greeted by a crowd of French trade unionists.

In occupying the Pupyong plant, Daewoo workers employed a crucial weapon in the fight against mass layoffs, going "beyond the limits of 'normal' capitalist procedure," as revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in the 1938 Transitional Program. Writing amid the sit-down strikes that hit American industry in that period, Trotsky explained, "Independently of the demands of the strikers, the temporary seizure of factories deals a blow to the idol, capitalist property. Every sit-down strike poses in a practical manner the question of who is the boss of the factory: the capitalist or the worker?" Plant occupations point to the need to fight for the ***expropriation of the capitalist exploiters*** through the proletarian seizure of state power.

To mobilize the South Korean working class behind this revolutionary perspective requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party forged in opposition to the nationalism which binds the proletariat to the *chaebol* bourgeoisie. The Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), which has backed the Daewoo workers, emerged from militant workers' struggles in the late 1980s that broke the stranglehold of the corporatist

continued on page 11



AP photos

Workers protesting attack on Daewoo strikers carry banner reading: "Down With South Korean President Kim Dae Jung Who Is Suppressing Workers." Kim (at right) following his election in 1997.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 754 16 March 2001

Pink Slips for Workers, Tax Breaks for Millionaires

Boom Economy Going Bust

MARCH 13—The party's over. The massive drop in the stock market yesterday is only the latest sign pointing to an economic recession or worse. Capital spending in the U.S. declined in the last quarter of 2000 for the first time since the early 1990s. Major layoffs are being announced across the entire spectrum of corporate America, from old-line industrial giants to the new superstars of the Internet. The big automaker Daimler-Chrysler is planning to cut its employment in North and South America by 26,000, equal to 20 percent of its entire workforce. *Business Week* (12 February) reports that General Electric will likely slash at least 75,000 jobs in its merger with Honeywell. Lucent, one of the world's largest manufacturers of communications equipment, is eliminating 10,000 jobs; Dell Computer is axing 1,700 employees; Amazon.com, the largest retail seller on the Web, is slashing its payroll by 1,300.

The speculative bubble in the stock markets already popped last year. The Standard & Poor's index of 500 blue-chip corporations is now down 22 percent from its peak in early 2000. And the NASDAQ index, where the new high-tech firms are concentrated, has plummeted *over 60 percent* to date, with many of the Internet and telecommunications stocks losing 90 percent of their value. "Forget Amazon," one securities analyst exclaimed. "And anyone who owns AT&T or Lucent thinks 7% on a certificate of deposit is an attractive investment now."

Counting yesterday's market tumble, some $4.5 trillion has been wiped off the value of American stocks since last year's peak—equivalent to *45 percent* of the U.S. Gross Domestic Product and more than the economic output of Britain, France, Australia and Belgium combined. Even so, stocks as a whole are still ridiculously overpriced in relation to profits by all historical standards, including those of the 1920s, pointing to the likelihood of a further steep drop in stock prices.

Some capitalist media pundits point to a slowing of layoffs last month to say that the downturn is not so serious after all. But that drop came after huge surges the previous two months that cost more than 120,000 jobs in manufacturing alone. The downturn in the industrial heart of the economy has hit particularly hard at black workers, historically the "last hired and first fired," as well as immigrants and youth. The official jobless rate for black workers is 8.4 percent, double that of the overall national figure. Coupled with the racist shredding of welfare under the Democratic Clinton administration, this threatens devastation particularly for workers in low-paying service industries and non-union manufacturing jobs. Workers who labor 20 hours a week at the minimum wage—a typical schedule for those thrown off the welfare rolls—would be ineligible for unemployment benefits.

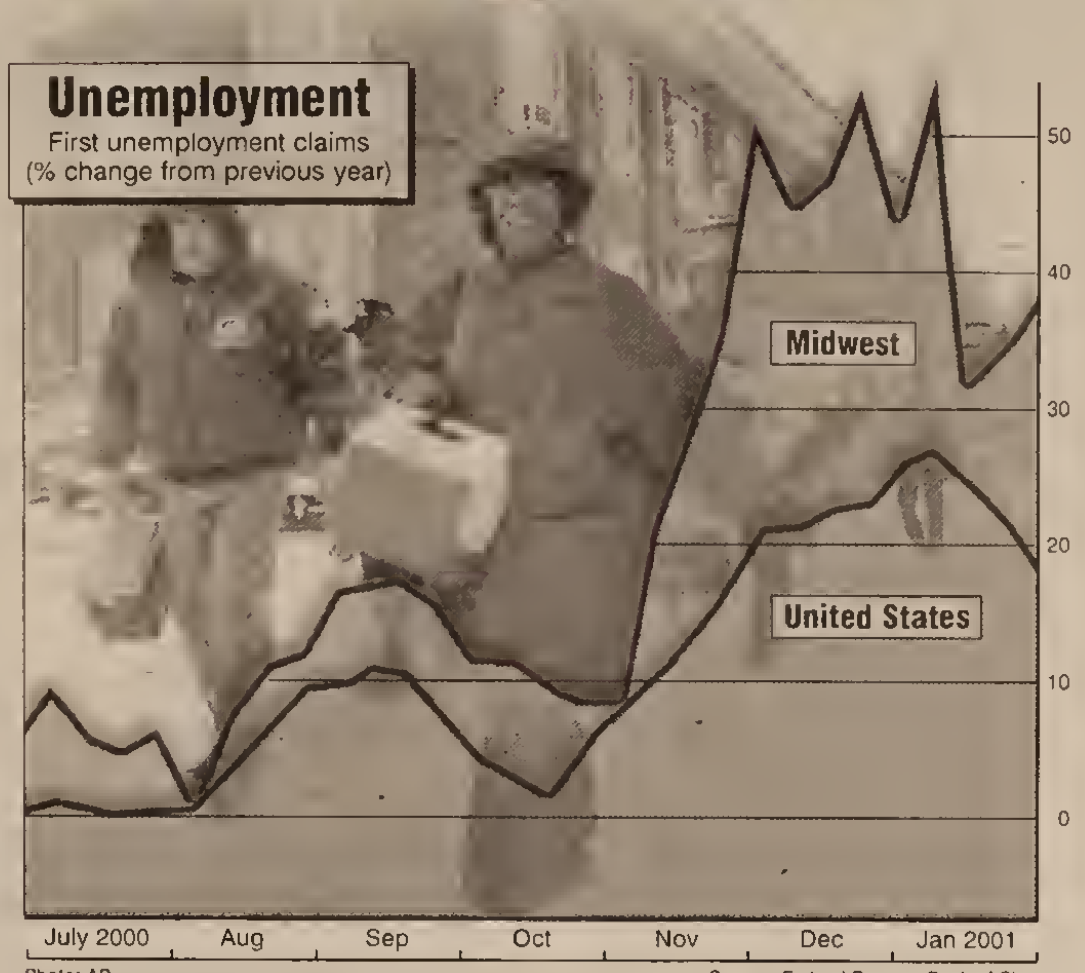


Photo: AP Source: Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

Workers leave Wisconsin Textron plant, January 31, after company announces mass layoffs. Over 100,000 U.S. manufacturing workers have been thrown onto the streets since November.

Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!
Those Who Labor Must Rule!

In this context, any recession of scale will result in levels of human misery among working-class and poor people not seen in this country since the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the vaunted "surpluses" in government revenues, most of which come from the Social Security and Medicare funds, will quickly disappear. The current "debate" in Washington between the Democrats, who want to use the surplus to pay off the debt (i.e., the bankers) with some modest upward adjustment in certain social programs, and the Republicans, who seek a substantial tax cut grotesquely to the favor of the wealthy, indicates the contempt that both these representatives of the ruling class have for the plight of the hundreds of thousands of working people who will soon be jobless and on the streets. Both parties of capital are resolved to assure that current surpluses are quickly dispersed to one or another sector of the obscenely wealthy ruling class.

The economic boom of the 1990s did not bring prosperity to the American working class. Quite the contrary. The boom was in large measure driven forward by an *increase in the rate of exploitation*—the imposition of multi-tier wage schemes and massive speedup, a proliferation of non-union runaway shops, the slashing of medical and other benefits—and a resulting enormous widening of class inequality. In 1965, a typical corporate CEO made 20 times what an average production worker earned. By 1989, relative CEO compensation had tripled and by 1997 had doubled again to *116 times* the earnings of the average worker! The assault on the living standards of working people was greatly facilitated by the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Since then, a barrage of bourgeois ideological triumphalism, especially in the United States, has proclaimed the "death of communism" and the supposedly never-ending expansion of capitalist markets. The ruling class, abetted by a craven, pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, has felt that it can get away with just about anything in its pursuit of profit, both domestically and internationally.

For most of the "booming" '90s, real hourly wages either stagnated or declined for the bottom 60 percent of the workforce. In 1997, the earnings of the median worker in the U.S. were actually 3 percent lower than in 1989. Since then, as a result of the tighter labor market, there have been modest gains in wages and benefits for most workers. But the lion's share of the additional economic output and then some has gone to the capitalists. In the final years of the 1990s, corporate profits increased at a rate of 10 percent per year, twice as fast as overall national output. J.P. Morgan securities analyst Douglas Cliggott recently cautioned investors that this magnitude of rip-off cannot long continue: "I'm not sure you can assume that profit margins go up forever, because the flip side of that is that working people have to accept a smaller share of the pie year in and year out" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 6 November 2000).

Many working people responded to this situation by going ever further into debt to maintain their consumption levels, send their children to college, take care of their aging parents, etc. Both mortgage and credit card debt are now at historic highs. Personal bankruptcies are running more than three times what they were in the mid-1980s. And this has taken place in a period of exceptionally low unemployment. Many working-class families are just a couple of paychecks away from having their mortgages foreclosed or being evicted from their rented homes, of having their cars repossessed and their children forced to leave college.

The boom-bust cycle inherent in capitalism not only causes hardship for large sections of the working class faced with joblessness and wage-slashing. It also demonstrates the fundamental irrationality of capitalism as a system of production. In all likelihood, less will be produced in the U.S. this year than last although the resources and technology exist to produce far more.

This points to the need for a workers revolution to create a workers government which expropriates the productive resources owned by the capitalists and establishes a planned socialist economy based on the full and rational utilization of the latest scientific and technological advances. Only on this basis will working people attain an enormous and all-round improvement in their living conditions along with a vast expansion of free time in which to enjoy the material, cultural and educational resources of society, which would itself change to meet conditions of growing freedom.

"New Economy" on the Skids

The economic expansion and stock market boom were declared proof positive of a "new economy" of unprecedented

continued on page 8

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Cyber Nuts and Democrats

8 December 2000

Dear ICL,

While reading the articles posted on David North's "World Socialist Web Site," one can't help but detect a change in position before and after the U.S. presidential election. Before the election their position seemed to be that both major parties were equally reactionary. Now with all of what's been happening since, they have stated that the extreme right wing which controls George W. Bush would implement the most sweeping attacks on the working class in history should Bush ultimately prevail. If this is the case why did they not take this position before the election? They seem to think that because the vote was so close, the reactionaries are now seizing the opportunity to steal the election and create a free market police state. If Bush had won decisively I guess he would still be a "compassionate conservative."

There is no doubt in my mind that the Republicans used intimidation and fraud to assure a Bush victory in Florida. And the articles on the WSWS have been illuminating in exposing this fact. But consistency in positions seems to be lacking.

I would be interested to know what [you] think, not so much about the Northites but about the whole election circus.

In Struggle,
Timothy L.

***WV* Replies:**

Timothy L. might have missed it, but we dealt with the election circus in our article "White House Scramble" (*WV* No. 746, 17 November 2000). As for David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP) and World Socialist Web Site, this gang will say anything one day and the opposite the next if it appears to suit their immediate opportunist appetites. The one consistent feature of their pronouncements is that they reflect, albeit often in quite weird ways, mainstream liberal public opinion.

When U.S. imperialism launched a wave of terror bombing against Iraq in December 1998, North echoed the patriotism being whipped up by invoking films like *Patton* and *Saving Private Ryan* in order to salute the military commanders of U.S. imperialism in World War II because "they, at least, led their armies against an enemy fully capable of fighting back" (19 December 1998). Respectfully debating professional anti-Communist Ronald Radosh, who had published an article praising McCarthyism, North sent a letter to the *New York Times* (22 October 1998) obscenely claiming that the Trotskyists had been there first, writing: "Before the cold war, anti-Stalinism was associated principally with the Socialist left—above all with Trotskyists."

Before last year's presidential elections, the SEP bizarrely claimed that both capitalist parties had displayed "populist trappings" (3 October 2000) and wrote that Al Gore had adopted the "posture of a populist opponent of powerful corporate interests." But their subsequent material is positively surreal, arguing that the Florida ballot flap showed "that the attack on the principle of popular sovereignty raised the specter of authoritarian and dictatorial forms of rule" (8 December 2000). In a speech posted a few days later, North talked of "a political crisis so immense, so fundamental" as to "call into question the whole governmental structure." North took us to task for stating the obvious: "The Gore-Bush feud is at this point more like a tempest in a teapot than a political crisis for the bourgeoisie." He continued, in truly demented fashion (his italics): "*The beginning of a revolutionary crisis in the very bastion of world capitalism—and that is the essential significance of the present developments—has introduced into the world situation a factor of extraordinary and almost incalculable magnitude.*"

Cynical crisis-mongering has long been the stock in trade of these political bandits. Like the rest of the fake left, albeit with their own outlandish twist, the Northites used the turmoil around the elections to give backhanded support to the Democrats. The SEP's Web postings are filled with paeans to the supposed "traditions of American democracy" being trampled underfoot by Bush, the Supreme Court et al. In his speech, North even makes an explicit analogy to the "irrepressible conflict" with the Southern slaveholders on the eve of the Civil War—ironic indeed coming from an outfit which has echoed the racists in opposing defense of affirmative action, among other things.

When North was labor editor of the now-departed and unlamented *Bulletin* in 1972, he enthused over a "developing break between the labor movement and the Democratic Party" based on his "exclusive interview" with anti-Communist Steelworkers bureaucrat I. W. Abel (*Bulletin*, 24 July 1972). This was at a time when the Cold War AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy under George Meany stood to the right of significant sections of the ruling class on the burning question of the Vietnam War. North reprinted excerpts from a speech to the AFL-CIO convention in which Abel "broke" with Democratic "peace" candidate George McGovern, meticulously editing out Abel's endorsement of McGovern's right-wing Democratic Party rival. North & Co. advanced a "labor party" platform in that period even Meany might have embraced, saying nothing about either the war or the struggle for black rights!

In 1993, the Northites cynically pointed to the pro-capitalist policies of the labor tops in order to write off the trade unions entirely as workers organizations. Today, they chastise the labor tops for not fighting hard enough against the "extreme right-wing elements that control the Republican Party" ("AFL-CIO Rally in Tallahassee: Unions Offer No Strategy to Fight Denial of Voting Rights," 8 December 2000).

Bush & Co. are plenty right-wing, but stealing an election is as American as apple pie—hardly a sign that this imperialist ruling class is about to dispense with the stability of bourgeois-democratic rule. As we wrote in response to the bleating of the reformists for "real democracy": "This *is* capitalist democracy, which is nothing but a screen *for the iron dictatorship of capital*." ■

TROTSKY

Capitalism and Economic Crises

Over a century ago, Friedrich Engels, lifelong comrade of Karl Marx, explained that capitalism generates mass unemployment, plant closures and the immiseration of broad masses of the working people. The full and rational utilization of the productive resources of society requires the overthrow of the capitalist system through proletarian revolution and the establishment of a planned socialist economy.

LENIN

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realisation were there.... This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products, which it cannot use, and stands helpless face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself.... The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialised production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but it *is here*.

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones.

—Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is March 13.

No. 754 — 16 March 2001

Women's History Month Events

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Spartacus Youth Club Class

Tuesday, March 20, 7:30 p.m.

Hamilton Hall, Room 609, Columbia University

NEW YORK

For readings and information call: (212) 267-1025

Taliban: Bitter Fruit of Imperialists' Anti-Soviet War

Women in Afghanistan

Friday, March 30, 7 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier St.

VANCOUVER

For more information call: (604) 687-0353

Defend Separation of Church and State!

Down With Bush's Holy War! Free Abortion on Demand!

Saturday, April 7, 3 p.m.

Harvard University at the Science Center

BOSTON

For more information call: (617) 666-9453

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 175 (Winter 2000-2001), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

WORKERS HAMMER

Burke/Life

Chinese People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, 1949, heralding overthrow of capitalist class rule.

Workers Power Centrists Write Off Gains of Chinese Revolution

New "Theories," Old Renegacy

The League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) has come up with yet another new "theory" on the class nature of the state and the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. An article titled "Capitalist Restoration and the State" (*Workers Power*, November 2000) announces that "after a sharp debate" a clear majority of the delegates at the LRCI's Fifth Congress concluded that their characterisation of the states issuing from "the collapse of Stalinism in the period 1989-91" as "moribund workers' states" was "radically false and misleading."

Indeed that is something of a benign description of the LRCI's previous "theory" which posited, in their own words, "that despite capitalist restorationist governments the state apparatus has a proletarian class character in countries where capitalist property relations have not been successfully restored." Cutting through this gobbledegook of a capitalist government ruling a proletarian state, one finds an unadulterated echo of the "old" Labour position which equated "socialism" with the nationalisation of the "commanding heights of the economy" under a *capitalist* parliamentary democracy. But even while it peddled the myth that following capitalist counterrevolution the former USSR and Eastern European countries continued to be workers states, the LRCI did not call for their defence against imperialist attack.

Now the LRCI opines, with heads seemingly held in shame:

> "If we stick with the moribund workers' state theory, we are left with a workers' state—an institution of our class—that we do not defend against the class enemy. This means one of two things: either that we are cowards and class traitors, or, as we should now openly admit, that we have introduced into the lexicon of Marxism a category that is devoid of meaning and without programmatic consequences."

To be sure, the various "theories" that the LRCI and Workers Power (WP) have cooked up on the class nature of the state and capitalist restoration are more than crackpot. But they are hardly "devoid of meaning and without programmatic consequences." Quite the contrary.

The LRCI and Workers Power *are* "cowards and traitors" who made common cause with imperialism against the defence of the interests of the proletariat, championing the forces of capitalist counterrevolution from Poland to East Germany to the Soviet Union. In the aftermath they tried to cover their tracks with the theory that these states remained workers states, albeit "moribund" (whatever that is supposed to mean). One hardly has to be an Einstein to recognise that this ignorant "theory" flies in the face of all empirical indices of the devastation that has been wrought by the restoration of capitalism in these countries—mass unemployment, desperate poverty, the resurgence of curable diseases and plummeting life expectancy.

Certainly some of the new recruits that the LRCI has made in Eastern Europe would hardly believe that they continue to live in any kind of workers state, being daily confronted with the constant and brutal depredations of capitalist counterrevolution. During the protests against the IMF and World Bank in Prague last September, a group of LRCI youth in the Czech Republic were frankly stunned when our comrades informed them of the LRCI's support to the forces of capitalist restoration.

By its own admission the LRCI's latest theoretical foray, which comes up with the equally ignorant and anti-Marxist category of a "bourgeois restorationist state" (a capitalist state in the process of becoming?) is a response to internal turmoil and disagreement. Thus, *Workers Power* notes that a "large minority of delegates" to the previous LRCI Congress had some trouble swallowing "the idea that there can be any proletarian institution that should not be defended from the bourgeoisie." Indeed! The punch line to the LRCI's laconic statement that its new theory "can render this non-defencist position coherent" can be found by simply turning the page of that issue of *Workers Power* to an article headlined "Capitalist Restoration Triumphs in China." Workers Power's new "theory" is to the purpose of writing off the defence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Such a position is indeed convenient and necessary if, as Workers Power does, you want to swim in the stream of the "anti-globalisation movement." While many youth are attracted to these protests out of opposition to the plunder of capitalist imperialism around the globe, the political shots are called by the social democrats and labour bureaucrats whose anti-Communist, protectionist tirades against the Chinese deformed workers state echo the interests of the imperialist rulers who have their sights set on reconquering China for capitalist exploitation. Workers Power calls on workers to implement such protectionist campaigns, demanding "Regimes which ban trade unions, or have fraudulent 'state unions' like China or repress workers in struggle should have workers' sanctions applied against them" (*Workers Power*, September 2000).

Our article "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999) explained that the various "theories" that renegades from Trotskyism have concocted to justify turning their backs on the defence of the deformed workers states against world imperialism are designed "to conceal their real program of capitulation to anti-communist bourgeois public opinion and the renunciation of a proletarian revolutionary perspective." This is precisely what motivates WP's "theoretical" contortions. Trotsky warned that "Every political tendency that waves its hand hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its 'nonproletarian' character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism" ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State," October 1933). In Workers Power's case—as we have documented in our press, including our bulletin *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists* No. 1, "Workers Power and the Irish Workers Group" (November 1990) and as we will show here—it hasn't been that passive.

Centrist Confusion, Conciliating Imperialism

Workers Power began as a left split from Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) whose cowardly renunciation of Soviet defensism during the Korean War came wrapped in the "theory" that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist." Following the December 1979 Red Army intervention into Afghanistan, WP made a step further to the left, dumping Cliff's state capitalism and, at least formally, declaring that they had adopted a Trotskyist understanding of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state. But, in practice, they never applied the key *programmatic conclusion* of this position: unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and internal attempts at capitalist restoration. On the contrary, Workers Power went through massive contortions to avoid this conclusion, in the process giving a whole new meaning to Trotsky's description of centrism as "crystallised confusion."

Thus, while arguing that it would be "tactically wrong" to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan where they were fighting against CIA-funded and -armed Islamic reaction, WP denounced the Red Army intervention as "counterrevolutionary." A decade later they would also denounce the withdrawal of Soviet troops as "counterrevolutionary." In 1981 they acknowledged that Solidarność in Poland was an openly counterrevolutionary movement backed by the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers. But they supported it anyway, arguing it was necessary to be "with" the workers who had been driven into the arms of counterrevolution by decades of Stalinist betrayal...against the proletarian gains embodied in the Polish deformed workers state.

The centrist arguments that Workers Power came up with to try to dodge the bullet of Soviet defensism found a new, and virtually unfathomable, expression in its 1982 pamphlet *The Degenerated Revolution*. Here, while attempting to explain how they had putatively come over to a Trotskyist understanding of the proletarian class character of the Stalinist-ruled workers states, WP argued that the destruction of capitalism in Eastern European countries under the post-World War II Soviet occupation was accomplished through "counterrevolutionary social overturns." (Some fifteen years later they would declare that workers states had been established in Eastern Europe without smashing the capitalist state!)

As the winds of Cold War II blew hotter and the question of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution was starkly posed, WP's positions

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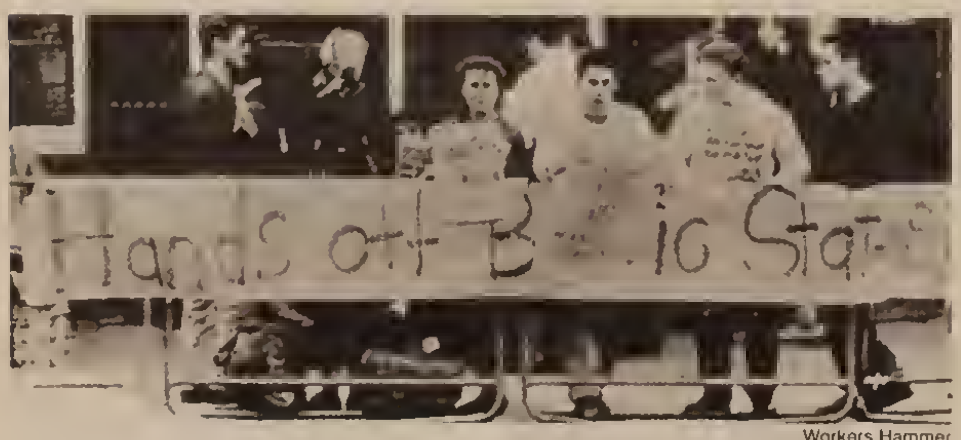

Workers Hammer

British Workers Power at 1990 London demonstration in support of anti-Soviet Baltic counterrevolutionaries.

No. 55, Autumn 1999
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Make checks payable/mail to:
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New York, NY 10116

Young Spartacus

Down With the Racist Purge of Higher Education!

For Open Admissions and No Tuition!

On the afternoon of March 8, the storefronts surrounding the UC Berkeley campus were barricaded with steel grates while riot-ready cops shut down the streets and police helicopters droned ominously overhead. The occasion for this virtually military situation? The very rare appearance of some 2,000 largely black and Latino Bay Area high school students, who were gathered to demonstrate for a repeal of the UC Regents' ban on affirmative action. The ban was spearheaded several years ago by black UC Regent Ward Connerly. A contingent of high school and college SYC supporters, mobilized around the demand "For Open Admissions and No Tuition" participated and marched in the demonstration, chanting "Equality yes! Racism no! Capitalism has got to go!" and "Education for all! Education for free! Labor/Black power is the key!" We reprint below the joint leaflet issued by the Bay Area and Los Angeles SYCs that will be distributed at the upcoming rally in Los Angeles on March 14, which is being called to pressure the UC Regents to put affirmative action on the agenda of their meeting and repeal SP-1 and 2.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club supporters at March 8 Bay Area protest raise demands to defend affirmative action and for free, quality education for all.

* * *

In 1995, the UC Regents passed SP-1 and 2, eliminating affirmative action in the UC system—one of the first major salvos in the national crusade against affirmative action. The next year, the passage of Prop. 209 finished the job. Now, five years later, UC Regent William Bagley wants to cover the regents' racist tracks and repeal SP-1 and 2, long after they've served their purpose. Liberal groups like the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) and the California Statewide Affirmative Action Coalition (AAC) have now devoted themselves to dragging well-intentioned anti-racist students into this scheme to prettify the brutal reality of America with a token teaspoon of "diversity" rhetoric. Don't be pacified by symbolic gestures! Fight for free, quality, integrated education for *all*!

The gutting of affirmative action cannot be separated from the over two decades of bipartisan attacks on the working class, in the interests of higher profits and greater U.S. competitiveness against its imperialist rivals. Having eliminated millions of manufacturing jobs, effected genocidal cuts in welfare and gutted the public health care system, massively expanded prisons and terrorized immigrants, the ruling class now wants to declare that they never have to hire a black person again. And they want to turn the public universities into bastions of race and class privilege.

We need to fight for education to be the *right* of everyone—not a privilege for the wealthy and chosen few. The only way to cut through the savage inequalities of education in racist America is to fight for *open admissions*—college attendance should be free and open to all just like high school. And to make it real for poor and minority youth, we fight for a full state-paid living stipend. But students alone have little social power. To realize meaningful gains, we need the mobilization of the multiracial working class against capitalism. Nationalize the private universities! Massively expand remedial programs so that students condemned to inner-city "schools" can catch up with those who had the advantage of well-funded suburban and private schooling. Abolish the board of regents and the administration!. For worker/teacher/student control of the universities!

These demands are directly counterposed to the interests of America's ruling class, who will only expend on education what they can win back in profits. As jobs are cut and real wages continue to decline, the elementary demand for free, quality, integrated education runs up against the entire system of racist, capitalist exploitation. New black student enrollment in many UC campuses is in the low hundreds, with Chicano enrollment only marginally higher. The few minority students that remain are subjected to increasing racist abuse. It's par for the course for campuses to be blanketed with UCPD racist "wanted" posters with descriptions vague enough to make every young black male a walking target. At UCLA last year, dozens of cops were sent to harass an African Student Union-sponsored concert, and the ASU was then charged thousands of dollars in "security fees." Cops off campus!

Meanwhile, inner-city schools are increasingly becoming holding pens for minority youth, preparing them to be shipped off to more permanent holding pens in California's ever-expanding prison system. Especially since the current economic downturn, there are few jobs left for working-class and poor children. And if educating the sons and daughters of white workers has increasingly become an expendable overhead for decaying American capitalism, black and poor children are deemed an expendable population. Today the racist rulers view the black ghetto poor, once a reserve army of labor to be minimally maintained, as not worth "wasting" money on even to keep alive, much less educate.

These attacks are waged by both capitalist parties, the Democrats no less than the Republicans. The UC Regents are composed of millionaire entrepreneurs, who govern the universities in the interest of capitalist profits. The latest few were appointed by Democratic California governor Gray Davis. No matter which party administers it, the capitalist state is fundamentally the courts, cops, and army, all working solely to enforce capitalist rule. Every four years, we get the chance (sometimes, at least) to choose which class enemy will tell us to sit down and shut up. Under Clinton's Democrats, the U.S. stormed all over the world—outright starving and bombing Iraqis and Serbs, and ensuring the exploitation and oppression of peoples from Mexico to South Africa. And the financing for this imperialist plunder comes from turning the screws tighter on working and oppressed people here at home.

Break with the Democrats! Mobilize the Working Class to Defend *All* the Oppressed! For a Socialist Future!

While BAMN and the AAC call to "stop resegregation," the truth is that even at the height of affirmative action, higher education was always the preserve of a small elite, and over the past 20 years, black admissions consistently declined.

The liberals of BAMN and the AAC focus on SP-1 and 2, whose existence is irrelevant as long as Prop. 209 exists. The regents are only considering repeal in order to prettify the deeply racist nature of education in this society. BAMN and the AAC fundamentally accept the framework of racist capitalism, making the return of affirmative action their maximum program and pleading for "diversity" to supposedly contribute something to the university atmosphere. Poor and working-class minority students shouldn't have to "contribute" anything—they should be able to claim what is theirs, the fundamental right to quality, integrated education!

Liberal pressure politics have already proven themselves bankrupt—the strategies of petitions which go from the governor's, regents' and administration's mailboxes to their wastebaskets, or mass rallies to beg the same capitalist politicians, or legalistic maneuvering whose details tend to put the most radical students to sleep—all have failed. And the result has been ever-declining numbers of students mobilized to beg for ever smaller concessions. Now we see students mobilized to beg—for nothing at all! The UC Berkeley branch of the AAC has taken their "politics of the possible" to their logical conclusion. In a gesture of utter despair, they intend to use recruitment and retention centers to actively discourage students from attending the UC system. The UCLA AAC, while not explicitly discouraging enrollment, is nonetheless carrying out the same strategy.

While this is simply another tactic to "shame" the regents, its treacherous effect is to carry out their dirty work for them, finishing the purge which the capitalists have been pushing all along. It is no accident that Ward Connerly's latest scheme, the "California Racial Privacy Initiative," would target the recruitment and retention centers. Now the AAC proposes, out of demoralization, to surrender before that battle is even fought—all for a worthless publicity stunt. Jose Luis Lopez, ASUC [Associated Students of the University of California] academic

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 3: ***Anarchism vs. Bolshevism: The Need for a Proletarian Dictatorship***
UC Berkeley, 179 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.
March 19: ***Black and Red—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***
Harvard University, Loker Commons
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Tuesday, 7 p.m.
March 27: ***The Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party***
University of Chicago, Cobb Hall
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
March 28: ***Building a Party of the Bolshevik Type***
U of T, International Student Centre
33 St. George St. (just north of College St.)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

Prisons...

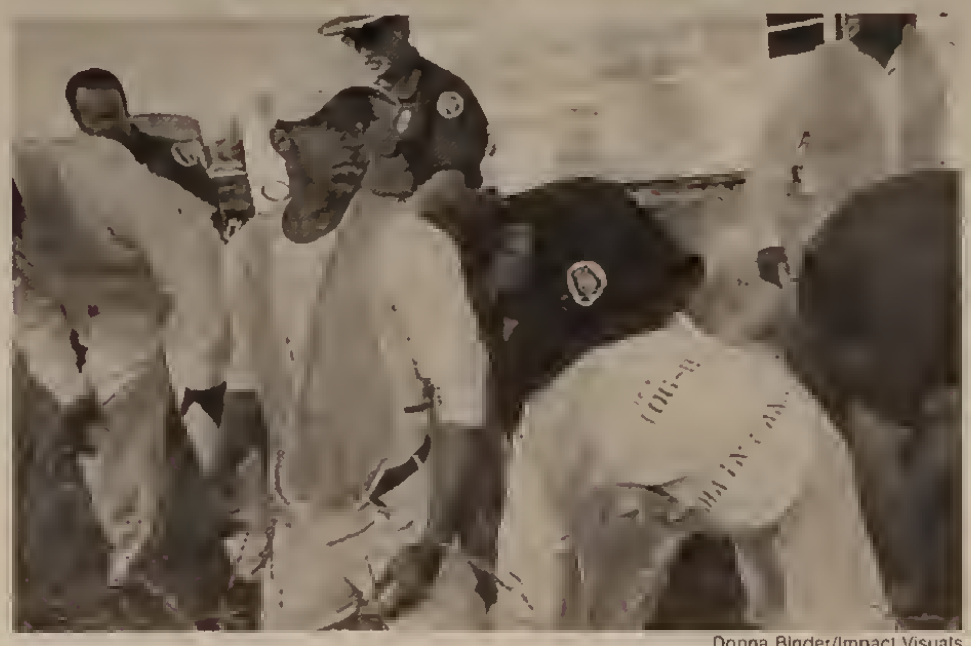
(continued from page 12)

and black people resulted from tumultuous battles, from the massive unionization drives of the 1930s through the civil rights movement of the 1950s-'60s. Everything from FDR's "New Deal" to LBJ's "Great Society" programs—gains which are under increasing attacks by the capitalists—were instituted to placate a restive population in an attempt to deflect social struggle.

Davis further complains that "the historical record clearly demonstrates that prisons do not work." They do work for the capitalists—prisons are *meant* to punish and terrorize working people and oppressed minorities. And the pinnacle of capitalist state terror is the racist death penalty, which is rooted in the legacy of black chattel slavery.

But to the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its Campaign to End the Death Penalty, which are participants in this conference, the call to abolish the death penalty is too radical. The ISO limits its demand to "Moratorium Now," playing up to liberal politicians who worry that the spectre of innocent people being executed would damage the image of the criminal "justice" system. While occasionally proclaiming themselves to be socialist, the ISO merely seeks to tinker with the capitalist state's machinery of death. We say: Abolish the racist death penalty!

Black leftist intellectuals like Manning Marable and Angela Davis seek to funnel opponents of state and cop terror into the Democratic Party, which they portray as a "lesser evil." In an interview in *Z Magazine* (April 1998), Marable described his earlier involvement with the Democratic Socialists of America: "I wasn't a Trotskyist. I didn't take the view that if you vote for the Democrats, your soul will go to hell." We can only expect that such pro-Democratic Party rhetoric will increase with the Republicans in the White House.



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Resurgence of chain gangs, part of increase in use of prison labor.

While we Trotskyists of the SYC believe in neither souls nor hell, we see it as vital to expose the role of the Democratic Party. In fact, it is precisely such ties to the Democrats—forged by the trade-union bureaucracy and black politicians and intellectuals like Marable—that have shackled the power of the multiracial working class. Under Clinton, more people were imprisoned than under any previous administration, and the rate of incarceration of black people skyrocketed. As he was putting thousands of new cops on the streets to terrorize the ghettos and barrios, Clinton kept his promise to "end welfare as we know it," consigning millions of poor and minority women to starvation. *Break with the Democrats! For a workers party to fight for socialist revolution!*

Marable states: "The driving ideological and cultural force that rationalized and justifies mass incarceration is the white American public's stereotypical perceptions about race and crime." But while racist sentiments—which are cultivated by the ruling class to keep the population divided and pitted against each other—serve to extend and make racial oppression more pervasive, they do not cause it. Racial oppression, the legacy of slavery, has been a structural component of American capitalism from the beginning—the material basis for racist ideas and policies, with black people constituting a race/color caste segregated at the bottom. The rise of the "talented tenth" black middle class resulting from the conscious capitalist policy to create a buffer against the '60s ghetto tinderbox has not altered the fact that the color line is central to American society. Racism, as well as anti-immigrant chauvinism, is used by the ruling class to obscure the irreconcilable class conflict between labor and capital.

Marable and his colleagues of the Black Radical Congress and Committees of Correspondence, as well as the organizers of "Critical Resistance East," *obscure* this central point by looking to a "progressive" wing of the ruling class to alleviate the suffering imposed by capitalism. They impotently call for "resistance," or for an "internationalization of human solidarity"; Marable simply says, "We cannot stand silent." But these liberal academics have no program to fight for the liberation of blacks and the oppressed.

The truth is that the brutal dungeons of capitalism, along with wage slavery, racism and war, can only be destroyed by *smashing* the capitalist state, expropriating the bourgeoisie and establishing a workers state. The multiracial workers party that can lead this revolution will be built in hard class struggle, based on the understanding that if labor does not champion black rights it will never achieve its own emancipation. We stand on the program of *revalutianary integratianism*—that black freedom will only be won through socialist revolution. This requires a political battle to oust the current trade-union bureaucracy with its subservience to the capitalist order. It is to the task of forging such a party that the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Club are dedicated.■

affairs vice president at Berkeley, praised the AAC plan, saying "many would argue that under the present circumstances this is the last option to bring a diverse campus to fruition." It is a measure of the dead end into which the liberals have painted themselves that this is indeed their "last option."

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

We of the Spartacus Youth Clubs have a better idea. As revolutionary Marxists, we don't limit ourselves to what seems possible within the framework the capitalists themselves have built. Affirmative action in education, where it still exists, is one of the last remaining gains of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Now, at the front lines of the battle against racist reaction, it is crucial that affirmative action be defended. But its basic premise pits sections of the working class and oppressed minorities against one another over crumbs of an ever-shrinking pie, and actually works against Asian students, as quotas historically have.

The forcible subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is the foundation of American capitalism. At the same time, the capitalist rulers have fomented racial hatred and made the color bar a fundamental dividing line in this country in order to obscure the irreconcilable class divide between labor and capital. Black workers are a key component of organized labor, integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat in whose hands lies the power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

We fight for *revolutionary integratianism*—the complete social, political, and economic integration of blacks and all minorities into an egalitarian socialist society. This can only be achieved by shattering private property and the capitalist state—a revolutionary task which can only be accomplished by America's powerful multiracial proletariat, on whose backs rests the entire foundation of capitalist profit. But this power cannot and will not be realized unless a class-struggle labor movement actively champions the cause of black liberation and is mobilized in defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. It is in the vital interest of the whole working class to fight for the futures of their children, for quality education and decent jobs, to break from the political grip of the Democratic Party which is promoted by the racist trade-union misleaders.

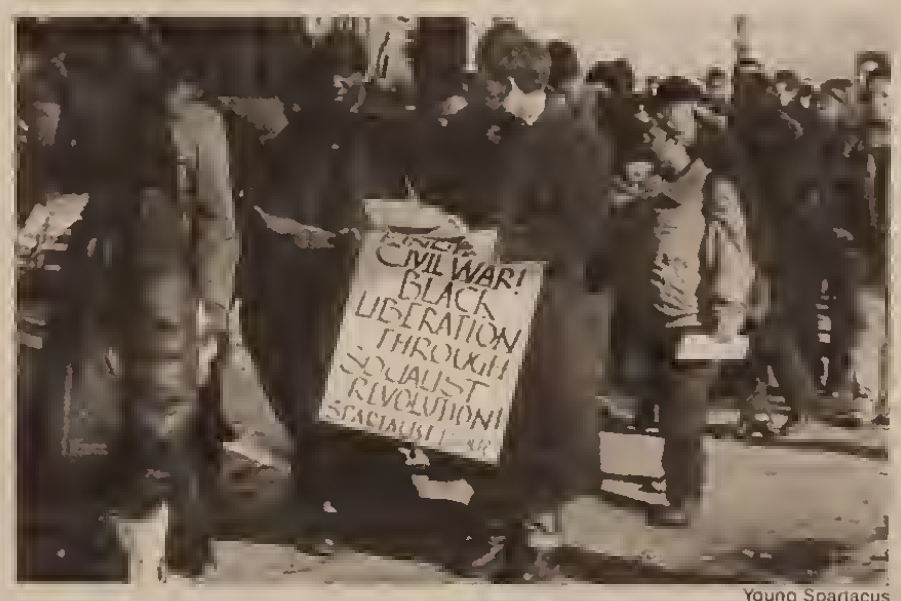
The elimination of affirmative action in hiring and the ongoing attacks on wages and benefits all mean that students already have powerful allies in the workforce at every UC campus and beyond. We need to appeal to those workers to join us in our struggle. We also need to appeal directly to the ghettos and barrios from Oakland to Compton. We can do that if we make our fight their fight—for an education and future for *every* child. The newly recognized graduate student unions could provide a powerful link if they abandoned their ivory-tower elitism and worked to organize one big campus union with all UC workers. The workers in the UC system can appeal to the unemployed if they make their fight the fight for jobs for all—a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! Take control of hiring away from the racist capitalists—for union hiring halls and special recruitment and training programs for minorities! The strategy necessary to win is one which seeks to build student/labor/minority mobilizations for open admissions and jobs for all.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win a new generation of workers and students, training them to be the future leaders of the multiracial revolutionary party necessary to lead the working class to end this system of exploitation and oppression. If you are looking for a program that seeks to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class to fight against the shredding of education for black, poor, and working-class youth, then it's time to join in the fight for a communist future!■

Students Protest Racist Professor at Harvard

BOSTON—The Spartacus Youth Club joined black Harvard students on February 13 as they assembled in Harvard Yard for a protest against racist comments by government professor Harvey Mansfield, a well-known opponent of affirmative action who has taught there since 1962. The students and supporters, over 100 strong, packed Mansfield's classroom in a silent sit-in, protesting his disgusting comments reported in the *Boston Globe* (8 February) that grades were artificially inflated after a supposed "influx of black undergraduates" starting in the 1970s. In 1996 Mansfield made the outrageous statement in the *Crimson* that "blacks do not perform as well as other group [sic] on standardized tests. I do not know whether this fact is inherited or acquired."

Though Harvard administrators dissociated themselves publicly from his comments, the whole school, like the other "elite" Ivy League schools, reeks with arrogant self-satisfaction in its role as a bastion of white upper-class privilege. As the student protesters pointed out, the percentage of black students at Harvard remains very small—on average there are about 120 black freshmen a year. We in the Spartacus Youth Club call for nationalizing the private universities, for open admissions and for free, quality education for all, as part of our fight against racial oppression and for black liberation through socialist revolution.



Young Spartacus

SYC at February 13 Harvard protest: Finish the Civil War!

Workers Power...

(continued from page 3)

found more coherence as they moved increasingly to the right. This was given the clearest expression in their unmitigated support for Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary countercoup in the Soviet Union in 1991. WP literally stood on the barricades in front of the Yeltsin White House—the rallying centre for the imperialist-backed countercoup that ushered in the beginning of the end of the former Soviet degenerated workers state.

Today the *Workers Power* article on the LRCI's rejection of the theory of "moribund workers' states" asks, disingenuously, "How could a united front with the restorationist regime of Yeltsin defend proletarian property relations?" But, at the time, that is *exactly* what the LRCI called for. In November 1991, an LRCI statement argued: "It was *necessary* to form a common front of resistance, a military and class struggle bloc with those forces *and with their leaders*.... A part of this united front call would have been to fight alongside the 'democrats' and the Yeltsinites to defend all the centres of resistance to the coup including the RSFSR parliament (the 'White House')."

This statement was written in response to the LRCI's then-fraternal allies in the American Revolutionary Trotskyist Tendency (RTT) which, despite its own support for the forces of capitalist counterrevolution, was uncomfortable with just how far the LRCI was going. In that response the LRCI baldly asserted its elevation of bourgeois "democracy" (i.e., the dictatorship of the capitalist class) above the defence of the class rule of the proletariat, arguing "The LRCI considers

Joseph Abeles Collection — Marc Riboud

Chinese Revolution liberated women from centuries-old bondage, brought literacy to working masses. Right: Students at National Library in Beijing.

terrevolutionaries' "democratic rights" so rabidly championed by Workers Power were those representing and defending the class rule of capital.

Workers Power has long echoed the views of the social-democratic handmaidens of world imperialism who attempted to provide an ideological cover for the destruction of the Soviet Union and deformed workers states. This view, typified by Cold War intellectual Hannah Arendt, holds that "Stalinist totalitarianism" guaranteed that the workers of these countries would never again wage any struggle in their interests. Thus WP appealed to the imperialist powers to intervene to enforce the "rights" and institutions of the "democratic" West.

In the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, WP has, if anything, cynically took up the cause of the Kosovo Albanians we had championed the national rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo—a democratic question necessarily subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against NATO attack. For its part, WP was at least consistent. Thus, when imperialist ground troops landed in Kosovo, WP claimed that a revolutionary situation had been created; the "bought-in-the-USA" election of Vojislav Kostunica led *Workers Power* (November 2000) to declare that nothing less than a revolution had taken place "which road [sic] to power on the backs of the masses' heroism."

Glase/Seattle Post-Intelligencer

November 1999 Seattle protest against WTO featured signs reading "People First Not China First." Workers Power joins chauvinist, anti-Communist crusade with calls for "workers' sanctions" against China.

it abstract and sectarian to counterpose a non-existent workers' democracy or soviets to existent democratic rights and to institutions created by their exercise."

Only those who have forsaken any proletarian revolutionary perspective could argue that the independent mobilisation of the working class in defence of its own class interests was a sectarian abstraction in the Soviet Union in 1991. We of the International Communist League (ICL, of which the Spartacist League is the British section) intervened, distributing tens of thousands of copies of a statement in Russian titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" which urged just such a programme of struggle against capitalist restoration. We called for independent workers committees in the factories to take control of production and fight privatisation; for committees of soldiers and officers to resist the use of the Soviet Army as an instrument against the working class; for workers militias to crush anti-Semitic pogromists and anti-Communist lynch mobs and to ward off communalist butchery by revanchist nationalists.

In the absence of proletarian resistance, reflecting the atomisation and demoralisation of the Soviet working class by decades of Stalinist misrule, the imperialist-backed Yeltsin countercoup ushered in the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The "institutions" created by the exercise of the counterrevolutionaries' democratic rights become even more closely embrace the imperialist rulers as the purveyors of "human rights" and "democracy." At the time of the NATO bombing of Serbia, the first major war in Europe since World War II, Workers Power joined pro-imperialist rallies in London dominated by placards reading "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." An LRCI statement distributed at the time in March 1999 claimed to defend the Serbs against NATO attack—"though not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy"! Meanwhile, in the next breath, WP urged the KLA—which had become a pawn of NATO imperialism—"to take full military advantage of the imperialist bombing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces," adding: "If [Clinton and Blair's] primary concern were for the Kosovars they would recognise their statehood, and give the KLA the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops."

As we said at the time, this was an unvarnished appeal to the NATO imperialists. In contrast to the cringing Labour-loving LRCI, we in the ICL issued a 21 April 1999 Declaration in English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Polish and Spanish which demanded: Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans! And long before the imperialists and their leftist apologists

LRCI vs. Trotsky

As the consequences of Yeltsin's victory became clearer, Workers Power tried to weasel out of their call for a "united front" with the forces of counterrevolution, arguing this was only their position for the first "three days," i.e., when it counted! Then WP devised their "moribund workers' state" theory to argue that nothing had fundamentally changed in the class nature of the Soviet Union. This strident revisionism was further amplified at the LRCI's Fourth Congress in 1997 where they argued that a capitalist state had been restored in the Soviet Union in 1927 and that the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe had been created without smashing the capitalist state. Alibiing their support for the forces of capitalist restoration, they argued that the "smashing of the Stalinist state machine" was a "programmatic necessity" and took Trotsky to task for never raising this counterrevolutionary demand.

In fact, Trotsky fought tooth and nail against those who capitulated to the pressures of bourgeois anti-Sovietism and abandoned their revolutionary duty to unconditionally defend the first workers state in spite of its bureaucratic degeneration. Against those who falsely equated the parasitic ***bureaucracy*** with the Soviet ***workers state*** as a rationale for jettisoning Soviet defensism, Trotsky insisted:

> "The Mensheviks are the representatives of bourgeois restoration and we are for the defense of the workers' state by every means possible. Anyone who had proposed that we not support the British miners' strike of 1926 or the recent large-scale strikes in the United States with all available means on the ground that the leaders of the strikes were for the most part scoundrels, would have been a traitor to the British and American workers. Exactly the same thing applies to the USSR!"
>
> —Trotsky, "No Compromise on the Russian Question," 11 November 1934

The last major factional battle of Trotsky's life was the 1939-40 fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition of Shachtman/Burnham in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party in which Trotsky demolished the new-class "theories" which were nothing more than rationales for weak-kneed capitulation to imperialist machinations against the USSR and the accompanying hysteria which especially gripped petty-bourgeois circles.

Trotsky fought for the unconditional defence of the proletarian property forms and planned economy that were the product of the October Revolution *against* and ***despite*** the Stalinist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in 1923-24. He understood the bureaucracy as a parasitic ruling caste—not a possessing class but an excrescence upon the workers states and their institutions—whose dogma of "socialism in one country" undermined the most crucial defence of the Soviet Union, the extension of the gains of the October Revolution through international proletarian revolution. Trotsky knew that either a political revolution by the Soviet proletariat would overthrow the bureaucratic caste or the bureaucracy would eventually prepare the way for capitalist restoration as it sought to guarantee its privileges by converting itself into a new possessing class. But for Trotsky the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack or internal attempts at capitalist restoration was never contingent on the prior overthrow of the bureaucracy. Rather, he understood the unconditional military defence of the gains of the October Revolution was the obligation of every class-conscious worker in order to defend and advance the interests of the proletariat internationally.

In response to the LRCI's previous declaration that a bourgeois state had existed in the Soviet Union since 1927, we wrote ("'Death of Communism' Centrists," *Workers Hammer* No. 161, March-April 1998):

> "With their 'new' theory on the class character of the Soviet state, Workers Power is part of a stampede of pseudo-Trotskyists who have joined the imperialists in trying to bury the legacy of the Russian Revolution and with it the 'spectre' of the dictatorship of the proletariat.... They stridently call to 'smash the Stalinist state' while on the home front operating as the most cringing, servile apologists for the maintenance of capitalist rule in its social-democratic face."

If its "moribund workers' state" theory derived from the Labourite view of equating nationalisations with socialism, the LRCI's current theory reduces the class character of the state to a category which is purely determined by the sub-

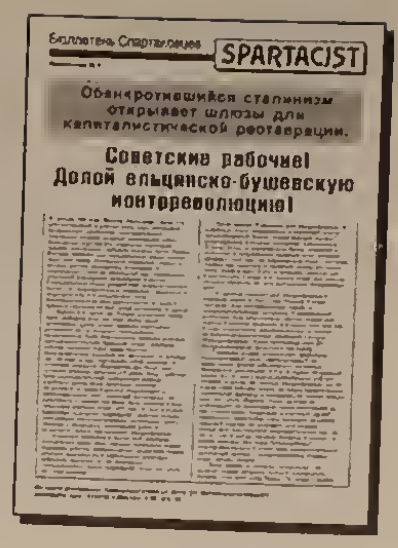
Basil Blackwell Inc

Left Oppositionists exiled to Siberia by Stalin demonstrate in defense of October Revolution, 1928.

jective intent of those in power regardless of what property forms exist. Deriving from the social-democratic view that "socialism" can be achieved through the ballot box, this "theory" is a complete repudiation of the most elementary Marxist understanding of the bourgeois state as the machinery for the repression of one class, the proletariat, by another, the capitalist class. For the proletariat to come to power it must smash the bourgeois state and institute its own class rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Spartacist

Yeltsin's counter-revolutionary barricades in Moscow, August 1991, joined by racist swine carrying Confederate flag. ICL statement that month proclaimed, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"



Defend China Against Imperialism, Capitalist Restoration!

In its article "Capitalist Restoration and the State," Workers Power allows that: "Some could argue that this position leads us to a dangerous idealism—that we are elevating a subjective change, maybe even a change of policy on the part of a regime, to a factor capable of altering the class character of the state." They then proceed to do exactly that, arguing that the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has transformed itself wholesale into a capitalist ruling class. The notion that a capitalist state defended proletarian property forms served as the theoretical justification for lining up behind the forces that smashed the Soviet degenerated workers state. Now the equally absurd view that the class character of the state has no relation to property forms serves the same purpose for the LRCI in writing off any defence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Counterposed to Trotsky's understanding of the *contradictory* nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which balances between a state based on collectivised proletarian property forms and world imperialism, Workers Power's arguments owe much to Cliff's "state capitalism" and Shachtman's "bureaucratic collectivism," investing the bureaucracy with a profound solidity and the power to single-handedly transform the class nature of the state. As we wrote in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories": "*If the final undoing of the October Revolution confirms Trotsky's analysis and program only in the negative, it at least exposes as threadbare all notions of Stalinism as a stable system.*"

Workers Hammer

Workers Power marched for war aims of "human rights" imperialism at April 1999 London "Workers Aid for Kosova" demonstration. Demonstrators carried NATO flags and placards reading "NATO—Good Luck" and "Just Do It."

WP's own notions are derived as well from a profound pessimism in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. Just as Workers Power argued that any struggle to mobilise the Soviet proletariat against Yeltsin's countercoup was "abstract" and "sectarian," its current declarations that capitalist restoration has "triumphed" in China mean writing off the Chinese proletariat as a contender in the battle against capitalist counterrevolution. While having something of a kaleidoscopic view of just exactly when capitalism was restored in China—1989? 1992? 1996?—Workers Power argues that the "crushing of working class political opposition in the aftermath of the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square had removed the most important social obstacle to capitalism's return." Yet the LRCI Congress which concluded that capitalism had been restored in China took place only two months after Workers Power itself had run an article headlined "Workers Resist the Drive to Capitalism" (*Workers Power*, May 2000) reporting on the massive strikes, demonstrations and other protests which took place in China in 1999!

What changed in the intervening two months to make the LRCI decide that the proletariat had been decisively crushed more than a decade earlier during the incipient political revolution in Tiananmen Square? The answer lies not in any quelling of the mounting resistance of the Chinese proletariat to further encroachments of capitalist imperialism. Rather, the LRCI's declaration that capitalism has been restored in China emanates from the same source as its "theories" on the class nature of the ex-Soviet Union and the former deformed workers states in Eastern Europe: capitulation to the pressure of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois public opinion. Specifically it reflects WP's political prostration before the British Labour Party with the added mix of its current enthusing over the "anti-globalisation" movement.

On the home front, this translated recently into WP's refusal to support the protests against extortionate fuel prices in Britain last autumn which were aimed against Tony Blair's Labour government. Blair & Co. responded to these massively popular protests by threatening the use of the army and unleashing the largest mobilisation of state repression since the Poll Tax upheavals in 1990. Fearful that the fuel protests could touch off another "winter of discontent"—a wave of strikes and protests, of extraparliamentary working-class struggle which could bring the country to a halt—the trade-union bureaucracy came to the rescue of the widely despised Labour government. These protests were clearly aimed at the Blair government and indeed the central demand was supportable from a proletarian standpoint. We explained:

> "A revolutionary leadership of the workers movement must seek to take the lead of protests such as this in order to direct them clearly against the real culprit: capitalism and the Labour government which administers it."
>
> —"Fuel Blockade Rocks Blair's Britain," *Workers Hammer* No. 174, Autumn 2000

Labour-loyal to the end, Workers Power brought up the rear as "left" apologists for the bureaucrats.

This did not go unnoticed by readers of Workers Power's press. A letter published in the November 2000 issue read: "The trade union bureaucracy joined the Blair government to defeat the anti-fuel tax movement. This was to be expected. What is more surprising is that Workers Power should have joined in." Another reader, noting WP's focus on work in the "anti-capitalist" milieu, asked: "Can it be mere coincidence that the Anti-capitalist movement...is also near unanimously opposed to the fuel tax protests throughout Europe?"

It is no more a coincidence than WP's sudden "discovery" of capitalist counterrevolution triumphant in China. Cosying up to the forces hostile to China within the "anti-globalisation" milieu, the *Workers Power* article announcing this discovery barely gives a nod to the 1949 Revolution. Insofar as it does make a mention, WP apes the language of propagandists for "Radio Free Europe," arguing that what happened in 1949 in China was the institution of "the Soviet model of bureaucratic command planning."

The 1949 Chinese Revolution liberated the country from capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation, ushering in a planned, collectivised economy which guaranteed workers lifetime employment and social benefits—what was called the "iron rice bowl." The revolution expropriated the landlords, sent the capitalist class packing and opened up the possibility of women entering social and economic life for the first time, making huge inroads into improving their previous slave-like status. At the same time, the 1949 Revolution was carried out by Mao's largely peasant army and was bureaucratically deformed from its outset. Modelled after the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the Chinese bureaucracy based itself on the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" and excluded the proletariat from political power.

As Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International, with the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union the state apparatus was "transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class, and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country's economy." Like the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Chinese bureaucracy has no other response to the hostile pressures of world imperialism than to introduce "market reforms" to replace central planning and management as the means to increase economic efficiency. Let us recall, as well, that the destruction of the former USSR—for which WP did its own small bit—has greatly encouraged those who would return China to the days of capitalist slavery and imperialist subjugation.

Many of the social gains of the Chinese Revolution *are* being obliterated as unemployment reaches massive proportions while state-owned industries are being closed or privatised. The Chinese bureaucracy is itself a major participant in joint ventures with foreign capitalists in the "Special Economic Zones" while it continues to invite overseas Chinese capital into the country, opening up entire areas to capitalist exploitation. But China does not have a capitalist economy; state-owned industry still dominates. Nor has there been a counterrevolution which smashed the existing state and replaced it with a new state committed to the defence of capitalist property forms.

Furthermore, to premise one's conclusions on the class character of the Chinese deformed workers state exclusively on the actions of the bureaucracy, as WP does, relegates the working class to merely a passive object of either the bureaucracy or imperialism. In either case what is eliminated is a proletarian revolutionary perspective and the role of consciousness, i.e., the need for a Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat.

As Trotsky argued in *The Revolution Betrayed*, the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat." What has stayed the hand of the Chinese bureaucracy is the massive wave of workers strikes and protests against the effects of capitalist "market reforms." As we wrote in an article on the uprising of laid-off Chinese miners last February (see "Chinese Workers Revolt Against 'Market Reforms'," *Workers Vanguard* No. 735, 5 May 2000):

> "The bureaucracy which is paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of

continued on page 8

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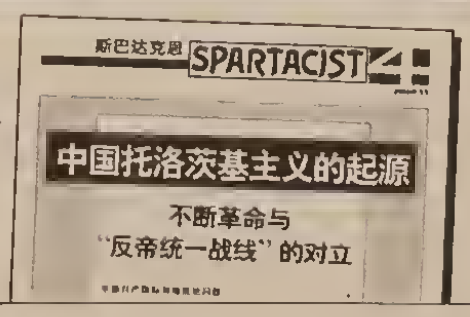

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Economy...

(continued from page 1)

and permanent prosperity. For example, in 1997 the prestigious journal *Foreign Affairs* ran an article, "The End of the Business Cycle," which asserted that "in advanced industrial countries the waves of the business cycle may be becoming more like ripples." The "revolution" in information technology (personal computers, the Internet and e-commerce, wireless phones, etc.) was, we were told, generating a quantum leap in productivity throughout the U.S. economy. Consequently, costs were falling and profits rising. At the same time, "globalization" was creating a single, integrated worldwide market for goods and services. Hence, it was argued that the increased pressure of foreign competition would keep down prices in the U.S. even as the economy approached full employment and full utilization of capacity. Inflation as well as the business cycle were proclaimed to be exorcised.

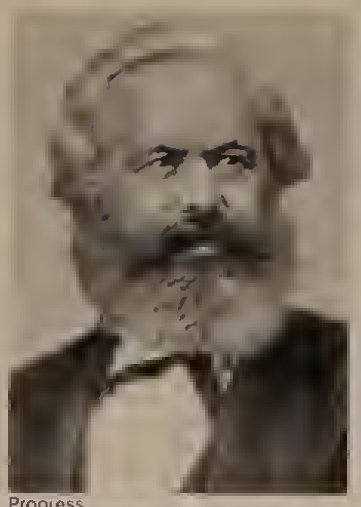
In reality, the basic laws governing a capitalist economy, as analyzed a century and a half ago by Karl Marx, are still operating with a vengeance. As Marx explained in *Capital*, Volume III:

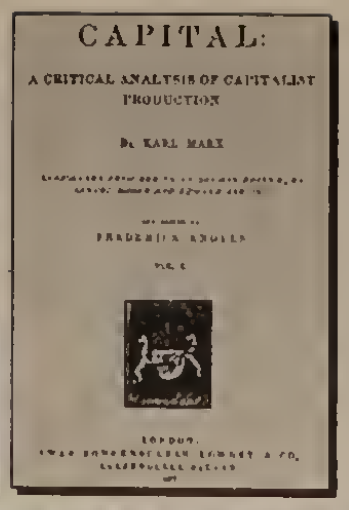
> "The expansion or contraction of production are determined by the appropriation of unpaid labor and the proportion of this unpaid labor to materialized labor in general, or, to speak the language of the capitalists, by profit and the proportion of this profit to the employed capital, thus by a definite rate of profit, rather than the relation of production to social requirements, i.e., to the requirements of socially developed human beings."

As a London *Economist* (December 2000) article on the downturn acknowledged: "One lesson is that the old rules of economics still apply: the business cycle is not dead and profits do still matter."

A period of rapid economic expansion invariably encounters at some point a sharp fall in the rate of profit, which thereby precipitates a downturn. Why so? To begin with, as the economy approaches full employment, labor costs rise. Firms have to pay more to hire new workers and to keep those they already have.

For example, in the mid-1990s Telespectrum Worldwide, a telemarketing outfit, opened a major operating center in the depressed old steel town of Steubenville, Ohio, part of the Midwest Rust Belt. With the local unemployment rate at 14 percent, the firm was quickly able to hire all the workers it wanted for the munificent sum of $6 an hour. By the beginning of 2000, the unemployment rate in Steubenville had fallen to 4 percent. Telespectrum was now paying new hires $6.50 and $7.20 after three months but was running at only 80 percent capacity because workers could get better jobs elsewhere. Thousands of companies across the country were in a similar bind.





Progress

Boom-bust cycles outlined by Karl Marx demonstrate fundamental irrationality of capitalist system of production. Unemployed stand in bread line after 1929 stock market crash.

European Picture Service

Low unemployment is bad for business. *Business Week* (5 February) recently wrote in no uncertain terms:

> "It is becoming increasingly clear to managers that if they want to keep their profits and productivity rising in a slowing economy, they are going to have to cut large numbers of workers. And make no mistake, layoffs will be as prevalent among New Economy high-tech companies as they will be among more old line industries."

Marx explained that a "reserve army of the unemployed" is a ***necessary condition*** for the profitable operation of a capitalist economy:

> "The industrial reserve army, during the periods of stagnation and average prosperity, weighs down the active labor army; during the periods of overproduction and paroxysm, it holds its pretensions in check. Relative surplus population is therefore the pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labor works. It confines the field of action of this law within the limits absolutely convenient to the activity of exploitation and to the domination of capital."
>
> —*Capital*, Volume I

Given the unplanned nature of capitalist production, periods of economic expansion usually run up against shortages of various natural resources. This condition is aggravated by the monopolistic control of world oil supplies by an Anglo-American cartel, descended from the old Rockefeller empire, acting in cahoots with the Saudi monarchy. During the last year, the price of natural gas in the U.S. increased by over 50 percent, that of low-grade fuel oil by over 40 percent. Spiraling energy and fuel costs are wreaking havoc throughout the economy. Producers of chemical fertilizer, who use natural gas as their main raw material, have cut their operating capacity in half. Firms in California's Silicon Valley—the Mecca of high tech—have been severely disrupted by electricity blackouts caused by the state's "energy crisis."

Fundamentally, capitalists invest in expanding productive capacity on the assumption that the additional output, whether automobiles or Internet services, can be sold at the existing rate of profit, or at a higher rate of profit if they're investing in cost-cutting technology. However, during periods of economic expansion the average rate of profit tends to fall. Even if productivity rises and wages don't, increased profit per worker does not offset increased capital per worker.

This dynamic can be clearly seen in the telecommunications sector, one of the mainstays of the "new economy." The return on capital for telecommunications companies has fallen steadily from 12.5 percent in 1996 to an estimated 8.5 percent last year. "It looks like the sector is way overcapitalized," in the judgment of Wall Street analyst Blake Bath (*Business Week*, 25 September 2000). "Spending has grown at absurdly fast levels relative to the revenues and profits produced by that spending." Or as Karl Marx put it: "The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself."

The Stock Market Boom: A "Naturally Occurring Ponzi Scheme"

In 1997, the well-known liberal economist Charles Kindleberger, the author of a standard history of financial panics, described the stock market boom as a "mutual funds mania bubble, instigated in part by changes in pension laws, which allow companies to turn over the funding of pensions to their employees." The United States is one of the few advanced capitalist countries in the world in which working people have to provide for their old age by investing in the securities market. At bottom, this situation reflects the relative political backwardness of the American working class and the

Workers Power...

(continued from page 7)

> society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the parasitic ruling oligarchy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). The urgent task facing the Chinese proletariat is to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International, to prepare and lead this political revolution, standing at the head of the masses and directing the spontaneous and localized workers' struggles toward the seizure of political power."

How convenient (and Shachtmanite!) for WP to simply declare capitalist restoration to be victorious in China. Real Trotskyists would be more than a little self-critical at having let this historic defeat occur without fighting against it—or even noticing it! Not so the left Labourites of Workers Power, for whom the internationalist duty to defend the gains of the Chinese working masses is less than a trifle.

For New October Revolutions!

The ultimate responsibility for the victory of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe lies at the doorstep of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Preaching the lie of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism abroad, it politically disarmed the working class which was atomised through repression and whose consciousness was poisoned by Stalinist nationalism, destroying the only possible long-term basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat, a class-conscious working class fighting in its historic interests.

Spartakist

ICL spokesman addressing 3 January 1990 demonstration of 250,000 protesting fascist desecration of Soviet war memorial in East Berlin. Spartacists said: "No to capitalist reunification! For a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe!"

The ICL fought to the limit of its resources and ability to defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. Where Workers Power wrote off the proletariat of the deformed workers states, in the course of our intervention into the incipient political revolution in the DDR in 1989-90 we sparked a 250,000-strong mobilisation on 3 January 1990 against the fascist desecration of a memorial to the Red Army in Treptow Park, Berlin. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, what was seen in the Treptow mobilisation was a political struggle between the Trotskyist programme of political revolution and the Stalinist programme of capitulation and counterrevolution. Ten years later this was recognised by former Soviet leader Gorbachev in an interview where he stated: "We changed our point of view on the process of unification of Germany under the impact of events that unfolded in the DDR. And an especially critical situation came about in January [1990]. In essence, a breakdown of structures took place. A threat arose—a threat of disorganization, of a big destabilization. This began on January 3 and [went] further almost every day."

We did not prevail in our fight to mobilise the proletariat against the capitalist *Anschluss* of the DDR. But for us it was not an "abstract" question, we *fought* to defend the gains of the working class and for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy which had brought the DDR to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. We *fought* against Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution. Today we fight for the unconditional military defence of the remaining workers states: China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. Our defence of these states derives from our irreconcilable opposition to world imperialism and our fight for new October Revolutions. The LRCI's repudiation of the Trotskyist programme of defensism derives from their accommodation to the bourgeois order.

The differences between the ICL and the LRCI can be reduced to one word: the *state*. All of our party's activity is directed to organising, training and steeling the international proletarian vanguard party necessary for the seizure of state power. In contrast, the politics of the reformists and centrists like Workers Power are defined by the subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the limits of capitalist society. As Trotsky wrote in *In Defense of Marxism*, a codification of his fight against Shachtman/Burnham: "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." Behind all of the LRCI's crackpot "theories" on the class nature of the state lies nothing more than an alibi for ducking the elementary duty of authentic Trotskyists to oppose the designs of "our" imperialism to reconquer China for capitalist exploitation and a repudiation of the fight for proletarian state power.■

corresponding weakness of the labor movement.

The greater political and organizational strength of the workers movement in West Europe has forced the capitalist class in these countries to accept a far higher level of government-provided social programs, the so-called "welfare state." All West European countries as well as Canada have some kind of socialized medicine. These benefits have been under attack, in the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, by the various West European ruling classes aiming to improve their capacity to vie with each other and, primarily, with U.S. imperialism. These efforts have met with militant working-class resistance throughout Europe. Nevertheless, government-funded pensions in West Europe are still relatively generous compared to the U.S. Social Security system. Consequently, personally held pension funds in the U.S. are now equal to 71 percent of total national output, compared to a mere 14 percent in Germany and 7 percent in France and Italy.

By the 1980s, the so-called baby boomer generation was facing the uncertain economics of retirement. For many, having to live solely on Social Security would require a sharp cut in consumption levels—real hardship if not dire poverty. Moreover, the long-term solvency of the Social Security system was being called into question. Leading politicians of both capitalist parties and media economic pundits warned that the Social Security system might collapse under the weight of benefits paid to baby boomer retirees.

At the same time, in the early 1980s changes in tax laws encouraged people to finance their own retirement funds through IRAs and Tax Sheltered Annuities (TSAs). These laws also radically changed the financial structure of corporate pension plans from defined benefits to defined contributions. Under the former, retirees received a monthly or weekly check, just like a paycheck, from the companies for which they had worked. The amount was fixed, and known in advance, by a union contract or corporate pension plan. The financial assets out of which the benefits were paid were managed by the company, sometimes in conjunction with the union. This system had its downside for workers since benefits, fixed in dollar terms, were not generally protected against inflation.

Nonetheless, the change to defined contributions has produced a fundamentally greater level of economic insecurity. Working people are in effect now forced to provide for old age by investing in the securities market, weighing potential gains against risk. There are, to be sure, a wide range of securities, some of them fairly safe, like U.S. Treasury bonds and bank certificates of deposit (CDs) which are insured by the federal government up to $100,000. Why, then, have more and more Americans invested more and more of their money in corporate stocks, the riskiest and most volatile of financial markets?

Reuters

Time

Then-president Clinton with Russia's Yeltsin, 1994. Capitalist triumphalism over counterrevolution in USSR helped fuel speculative craze during 1990s boom market, now going bust.

As the market for IRAs and TSAs expanded rapidly in the 1980s, Wall Street launched a massive advertising campaign to convince the American public that stocks were the best possible long-term investment. "You can't beat the S&P 500" became the conventional wisdom propagated in brokerage offices, bank trust departments, the financial columns of daily newspapers and TV ads by big Wall Street firms. "We're bullish on America," Merrill Lynch told TV audiences.

And certainly the bull market of the mid to late 1990s surpassed and defied all precedent. The long-accepted basic measure of corporate stock valuation is its price-earnings ratio (P/E)—the ratio of the price paid for a share of stock to corporate profits per share. For well over a century, the average P/E of corporate stocks in the U.S. was concentrated in the 10 to 20 range. At the height of the 1920s boom, just before the great crash of October 1929, the P/E reached the then historic high of 32.

When the stock market peaked in early 2000, the P/E was 39. To understand the speculative insanity behind this statistic, one needs to compare stocks with other forms of investment. Someone who bought a share of stock at a price 39 times the profit per share purchased a financial asset with a rate of return of about 2.5 percent. You can get that much by putting your money in bank savings accounts and get almost three times as much in a one-year CD. So why have people bought stocks at prices which defy elementary financial rationality?

A recent study of the 1990s bull market by Yale economics professor Robert J. Shiller described it as a "naturally occurring Ponzi scheme" (named after Charles Ponzi, a famous financial swindler of the early 1920s). The manager of such a scheme promises large returns for investors by putting their money into a profitable operation. But little or no investment in any real assets is actually made. As Shiller describes in *Irrational Exuberance* (2000):

> "A Ponzi scheme entices initial investors, after they have made a lot of money, to tell their success stories to another round of investors, who then invest even more in the scheme, allowing the hoaxer to pay off the second round of investors, whose success story entices an even larger round of investors, and so on. This scheme must end eventually, since the supply of investors cannot increase forever, and the perpetrator of the scheme no doubt knows this. The perpetrator may hope to exit, not having paid the last and largest round of investors, and then hide from the law."

This is a description of a financial swindle. How does it explain a decade-long stock market boom involving thousands of companies, millions of investors and trillions of dollars? Consider, for example, a working-class couple who in 1995 decided to play it safe by keeping their pensions in CDs with an annual interest rate of 6.5 percent. They have relatives, friends, co-workers who tell them that they've made a 10 or 15 percent gain on their stock market mutual fund. The couple becomes convinced that they're losing out on a good thing. So they cash in half of their CDs and put the proceeds into a mutual fund.

As hundreds of thousands of families across the country shifted their pension funds, money put aside for their children's college education, etc. into the stock market, the price of stocks naturally rose. This in turn encouraged them and others to put even more money into stocks. Many working people, who ten years ago never owned a share of corporate stock, are now subscribing to financial newsletters and trading shares weekly or even daily, trying to beat the market. But in the end, the market will beat them. Those who put most of their money into the NASDAQ high-tech sector have already lost their shirts. But the blue chips are still way overpriced. If the P/E returns to anything approaching the normal range of, say, 20, stockholders will lose the monetary equivalent of the entire U.S. housing stock! And that could happen next week or next month.

The famous financier Bernard Baruch, an economic adviser to several U.S. presidents, was known for his savvy in selling all his stocks a few months before Wall Street crashed in the fall of 1929. He later said that when a shoeshine man offered him a stock tip, he knew it was time to get out of the market. While reflecting class elitism, Baruch was expressing social reality. When working people think they can get rich playing the stock market, they're investing in a fantasy. But it is not a fantasy of their own making. They are being victimized by a gigantic Wall Street fraud.

The Corporate Debt Bomb

When Robert Shiller described the 1990s bull market as a "naturally occurring Ponzi scheme," he implied that there was no deliberate fraud involved except possibly in a few isolated and insignificant cases. But in fact stock prices have been deliberately manipulated. Many corporations, especially the big blue-chip firms, borrowed money in order to "retire" a portion of their own stock, i.e., to purchase the stock from outside investors and then take it off the market. This kind of financial operation raises the stock's price by both increasing demand and reducing supply.

Most analyses of the 1990s boom focus on the factors affecting demand as if the supply of corporate stock passively adjusted to demand. But that is not at all the case. Since the early 1990s, the total volume of outstanding corporate stock retired has substantially exceeded new issues. In 1998, for example, the volume of outstanding shares retired exceeded new issues by $500 billion while corporations took on additional debt of almost the same amount.

This indicates a major change in the financial structure of American capitalism—a shift from equity to debt which began in the early 1980s. In 1985, U.S. manufacturing firms on average had $1.21 in debt (outstanding bonds and bank loans) for every dollar in equity (the total market value of outstanding corporate stock). By 1990, the debt-equity ratio had risen to $1.49 to the dollar and by 1995 to $1.59. Then as prices took off into the stratosphere, relative corporate debt also increased sharply.

Why should a reputable blue-chip corporation borrow money at interest instead of issuing new stock to investors who would pay handsomely for the mere prospect of future and uncertain gains? If they were raising money to expand productive capacity, corporations would tend to favor issuing additional stock over taking on additional debt. But in many cases they're raising money, through bonds or bank loans, in order to artificially inflate the price of their stock by retiring

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Economy...

(continued from page 9)

a portion of it.

This kind of financial operation, like any other Ponzi scheme, cannot last forever. In this case, forever ended in the latter half of last year. Corporate debt defaults are now at the highest level since the 1990-91 recession. A number of major banks—the Bank of America, Bank One, Wachovia—have experienced a big drop in earnings mainly due to a proliferation of "non-performing" loans, both corporate and household. More intelligent and hardheaded business journals like *Business Week* and the *Economist* have been publishing concerned articles about the parlous financial state of U.S. corporations and banks.

A lead editorial titled "Debt Trap!" in the *Economist* (27 January) points to the "eerie similarities" between the U.S. today and Japan at the end of "bubble economy" in 1989-90. The popping of the speculative bubble in Japan's real estate and stock markets ushered in a decade of economic stagnation in the world's second-largest capitalist economy. And Japan is now again teetering on the brink of recession, in part due to the economic slowdown and looming recession in the U.S. The *Economist* writes:

> "Too much debt was always at the heart of Japan's weakness. So it is alarming that America's boom has also been fuelled by massive borrowing by companies and households....
>
> "Japan, in short, is not unique. America is but one more example of an age-old phenomenon, in which rapid increases in asset prices encourage a credit binge and overinvestment that proves unsustainable once asset prices fall. It is no coincidence that the deepest and most protracted recessions in recent decades have taken hold in countries that experienced booms in property or share prices and a build-up of debt."

A New World Economic Downturn?

It is not just an "eerie similarity" that the two biggest economies in the capitalist world are both on the verge of recessions. In the past few years, the U.S. has accounted for one-third of the world's total economic growth, both directly and by pulling in imports from other countries. Japan has benefited not only by increasing its own exports to the U.S. but through its extensive involvement in East Asia. Japanese industrialists, for example, provide equipment and license technology to South Korean automakers; they subcontract with firms in Taiwan and Thailand producing computer components and telecommunications equipment mainly for the American market.

The slowdown in the U.S. has derailed East Asia's partial recovery from the 1997 financial/economic crisis. This can clearly be seen in the case of South Korea, the most important capitalist economy in the region after Japan. The South Korean stock exchange, mirroring the NASDAQ in the U.S., plunged 50 percent last year. The big automaker Daewoo has gone bankrupt while Hyundai—the largest of South Korea's *chaebols* (industrial/financial empires)—lost $1.7 billion last year.

West Europe, where economic growth was sclerotic for much of the 1990s, is bound to be hurt by a downturn in North America and East Asia. The main index of business confidence in Germany has fallen steadily for the past several months. "The landscape is changing very fast," observed Ellen van der Gulik, an economist in the London office of J.P. Morgan, "and it's clear that euroland is not immune."

The economic slowdown in East Asia and West Europe has, in turn, had a negative impact on U.S. corporate sales, profits and investment. Microsoft's chief financial officer, John Connors, complained: "We did not anticipate the rate of deceleration in the world economy that we're now seeing" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 December 2000). What we are seeing is the beginning of a downward spiral in the world capitalist economy. A slowdown in one country reduces the export earnings of its trading partners which, in turn, cut back their imports from that country. When that country happens to be the United States, the downward spiral in the world economy can accelerate very rapidly.

The economic interdependence of the major capitalist states does ***not*** mitigate but intensifies the conflicts of interest between them. In recent years, "globalization" has become the reigning fashion in bourgeois economic ideology. According to the ideologues of "globalization," large industrial and financial corporations—General Motors and Citibank, Siemens and the Deutsche Bank, Mitsubishi and the Bank of Tokyo—no longer have a national identity or loyalty to a particular nation-state. They've allegedly become "transnational" entities seeking to rule the world through institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. This is nonsense.

Capitalists have always pursued and must always pursue the opportunities for higher rates of profit wherever possible or perish at the hands of their competitors. In reality, the bourgeoisie remains, as it has always been, a ***nationally organized class*** which relies on and requires their ***own*** military forces to protect their property and interests internationally. As Lenin explained in *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), economic conflicts between the propertied classes of the major capitalist countries are ultimately resolved at the political level, in the extreme case by war. This was in fact the underlying cause of both the First and Second World Wars.

The trade-union bureaucracy supports the capitalist order and, specifically, the rule of "its" capitalist rulers and their "right" to reap "reasonable profits." This has led the tops of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW), in the face of threatened job cuts, to offer their members as a low-wage alternative to higher-priced foreign labor. Thus CAW president "Buzz" Hargrove intoned, "You can hire three workers in Canada for the price of two in the United States. You can hire four workers for the price of two in Germany" (*Toronto Star*, 29 November 2000)!

In the U.S., the labor bureaucracy mobilizes protectionist "America First" campaigns as a replacement for class struggle against job-slashing cutbacks. The chauvinist, class-collaborationist union tops are incapable of mounting a significant fight against runaway shops, whether to non-union strongholds in the U.S. or to other countries. In the final analysis, their protectionist efforts, pitting U.S. workers against their class brothers and sisters in foreign countries, prepare the basis for mobilizing labor support for imperialist war.

The collapse and later destruction of the Soviet Union as a countervailing power blocking U.S. ambitions has intensified the American imperialists' appetites for unbridled domination, as seen in the devastation of Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The subsequent recurrent U.S. air attacks and starvation blockade of Iraq have little to do with the policies of Saddam Hussein. They are mainly intended to demonstrate to Germany and Japan the Pentagon's war-making capacity and the determination of the American ruling class to retain control over the Persian Gulf oil fields.

As we wrote a few years ago in the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Increasingly mutually hostile imperialist powers and rival blocs must oppress the peoples of the former colonial world and those still under the yoke of colonial peonage, impoverish the world's masses, engage in continual wars for the maintenance and redivision of the world markets in order to prop up the falling rate of profit, and attempt to smash the revolutionary struggle of the workers wherever it breaks out. In its final frenzied effort to maintain its class rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to plunge humanity in nuclear holocaust or dictatorial oppression of unprecedented ferocity."

Only the proletariat, through the seizure of political power and the destruction of capitalism as a world system, can lay the basis for the elimination of exploitation and the resolution of the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces of the world economy and the nation-state barriers. The future of humanity depends on the struggle of the presently small forces adhering to the revolutionary program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to forge workers parties with the experience, willpower and authority among the masses to lead successful proletarian revolutions. That is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated.■

Bush Vendetta Against Labor

MARCH 11—The Bush administration is acting like it's the Reagan years revisited. Having staffed his Cabinet with anti-woman, anti-gay bigots and Reaganite militarists, Bush has now thrown down the gauntlet against labor. Just days after Congress tore up a federal regulation aimed at protecting workers from repetitive-stress injuries, on March 9 Bush invoked the Railway Labor Act (RLA) to ban a strike by Northwest Airlines mechanics. Bush declared that he would take the "necessary steps" to ban other work stoppages at United, American and Delta Airlines, all of which face possible strike dates in the next few months.

In large part, this is the Bush administration's payback for the massive effort undertaken by organized labor on behalf of Democrat Al Gore in the elections. And the pro-capitalist labor tops are already using these attacks to drum up support for the Democrats in preparation for Congressional elections next year. But while the Republicans would rather openly repress the working class, the Democrats would rather lie and do the same thing.

The last two decades of assault on the unions was initiated by Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers strike in 1981. But the blueprint for that strikebreaking was drafted by the Democratic Jimmy Carter administration. When American Airlines pilots struck in 1997, Clinton used the RLA to order them immediately back to work. In December 1999, as New York City transit workers geared up to strike, Democratic Party state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani both brought down injunctions criminalizing not only strike action but even uttering the word "strike."

Airline workers have enormous economic clout to use in their fight against anti-labor attacks because of the central importance of air travel and freight in the economy. But the union tops chain that power to the capitalists and their state through their ties to the Democratic Party. To set the unions on the path of class struggle, it is necessary to oust the labor misleaders and to fight for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class enemy. The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from pro-Democratic Party "lesser evilism" and to forge a workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of exploitation and oppression.

Paul Mattsson

AP

Vauxhall workers in Britain rally on January 20 as GM workers throughout Europe demonstrate against layoffs. February 20: South Korean Daewoo workers protest cop attack on sit-down strike.

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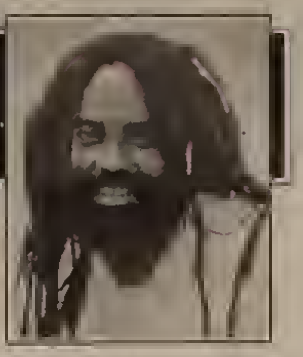
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



More Bombs Over Baghdad

"What a country calls its vital economic interests are not the things which enable its citizens to live, but the things which enable it to make war."
—Simone Weil (1909-1943),
French Philosopher

Once again, after almost a decade has passed, the fiendish roar of American and British jets echoed in the suburbs of Baghdad, Iraq, and a deadly rain of bombs once again hits one of the oldest cities on earth.

Immediately, the corporate media rushed to the airwaves to promote the bombings, and Bush Administration officials announced that the aerial attacks on the Iraqi capital were acts of "pre-emptive self-defense."

Once again, the corporate-political media launch into the demonization game, with attacks on a "Hitler"-like Saddam Hussein, with foreboding threats of Iraq developing "weapons of mass destruction,"—yeah, uh huh.

George Bush II announces that this, his first substantive international action (other than a contemporaneous photo-op with Mexico's Vicente Fox), was meant to "send a message" to Hussein. His Dynastic, Unroyal Highness did not deign to tell his subjects what the "message" really was.

This writer will try.

The great English writer, George Orwell, in his prophetic novel of an intrusive, panoptic, totalitarian state, *1984*, illustrated with brilliant clarity the capacity of such states to utilize words that mean exactly the opposite of what they were proffered to mean. In *1984* the State states:

"War is peace. Freedom is slavery. Ignorance is strength."

Similarly, "Weapons of Mass Destruction" is a term that evokes fear, but fear stifles thought and cripples reason.

Consider the fact that never has either Israel or the apartheid-era South Africa been described as states wielding "Weapons of Mass Destruction," although both possessed nuclear capabilities.

If having a "weapon of mass destruction" is a violation of international law, then the USA must be a global criminal, for no nation possesses so much nuclear weaponry (moreover, no nation has formerly used such weapons—except the US).

If most Americans are asked to name the country that sells the most arms to the rest of the world, even reasonably well-informed folks would say, "Russia," "China," "France," or "Brazil." Few would answer, "USA." In selling weapons the US truly is "Number One." Iraq waged a bitter and vicious war for almost a decade against her Shi'a neighbor and rival, Iran. Almost a million men, women and babies perished in that southwest Asian holocaust. Guess who sold the most arms to Saddam Hussein's army?

The United States of America.

Back during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War, it was the Ayatollah Khomeini who was being demonized by the media. Iraq's Hussein was "our guy."

What the bombing of Iraq was and still is all about—is oil.

Don't take my word for it.

Several years ago, when another US-UK bombing spike was going on, an American general, Brig. William Looney, spoke openly of the "message" that America was trying to send to Iraq:

"If they turn on the radars we're going to blow up their goddamn SAMs (surface-to-air missiles). They know we own their country. We own their airspace.... We dictate the way they live and talk. And that's what's great about America right now. It's a good thing, *especially when there's a lot of oil out there we need*."
—Blum, Wm., p. 159, *Rogue State*,
Common Courage, 2000

The general sez, "oil." Shouldn't he know why Iraq is being bombarded?

This is the Voice of Empire, as real and as omnipotent as any empire in history; the Roman, the Byzantine, or the Ottoman Empire. And empires do what they do for one real reason: they can.

24 February 2001

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; e-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 563-0442. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SC1 Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Feds Indict Their Former Flunkey

Defend the Teamsters—Hands Off Ron Carey!

In the latest installment of the relentless, systematic campaign by the capitalist state to control and wreck the 1.4 million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), former union president Ron Carey was indicted on January 26 for perjury and making false statements during a government probe of union election finances. Carey now faces a maximum penalty of 35 years in prison.

Although Carey won the Teamsters presidency in 1991 in a government-run election, the Feds turned on their eager accomplice after the 1997 UPS strike. That strike ended nearly two decades of defeats for labor and sparked a series of strikes by American workers fed up with years of eroding living standards, second-class part-time and multi-tiered jobs and a future that promises even less.

Like Carey, whose government-sponsored election was engineered by the "dissident" Teamsters for a Democratic Union and hailed by the reformist left, current Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr. has himself cheered the intervention of the capitalist state into the union. Hoffa issued a January 25 press release trumpeting that "the International Brotherhood of Teamsters supports the decision of the U.S. Attorney to indict former Teamsters General President Ron Carey." Hoffa treacherously supports the attack on the union by the bosses' government which carried out a vendetta against his father in the 1950s and '60s and is currently dictating rules for the upcoming Teamsters national elections. Meanwhile, the Feds' "Independent" Review Board is bringing charges against Hoffa Jr.'s mentor James Brennan, president of IBT Local 337 in Detroit and Teamsters Joint Council 43.

Today, government "oversight" of the union means that the Feds review union publications, run union elections and even raid the union treasury to foot the bill. In the name of "cleaning up" the union, the government tramples on the rights of its members and cripples its ability to struggle against the bosses. The Teamsters tops' lauding of state intervention starkly exemplifies their role in tying the unions to the capitalists and their state, politically expressed through their support to the Democratic Party. We say labor must clean its own house: *Feds out of the Teamsters! Government hands off the labor movement!*

Urging on the Feds' efforts to cripple the Teamsters, a *Wall Street Journal* (30 January) editorial makes clear what is really at stake: "The Carey case, in short, is a dagger pointing to the highest levels of the American labor movement."

A *Journal* (1 February) article notes that the perjury charge against Carey stems from an alleged scheme to channel Teamsters money, through other unions and the Democratic National Committee, to back his election campaign. The article exhorts the Justice Department to target the AFSCME government workers union, the SEIU service workers and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka, demanding that the Feds intensify their "glacial pace" of obtaining convictions, and quotes U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White assuring that "The investigation is continuing." Separate government investigations are targeting the Laborers International Union, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union and others.

We print below a March 10 protest letter by the Partisan Defense Commitee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.

Dear U.S. Attorney White:

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that the charges against former Teamsters president Ron Carey be dropped. The prosecution of Carey is part of a government assault against the entire labor movement. Under the pretext of "rooting out corruption" and "restoring democracy," the transparent intention of the U.S. Justice Department—along with Judge Edelstein, who oversees government supervision of the Teamsters, the "Independent" Review Board, the FBI and an army of other state agencies—is to take control of the largest and potentially most powerful union in this country.

The government's full-scale assault on the Teamsters began decades ago, with the attack on the current Teamsters president's father, James Hoffa Sr., who had won the national Master Freight Agreement. It culminated in the government takeover of the union in 1989, which facilitated Carey's election as the "reform" candidate in the 1991 union election. The Justice Department's attack on Carey began shortly after the powerful UPS strike in 1997, laying bare the purpose of this "legal" hatchet job: to try to paralyze the IBT and other unions daring to engage in labor struggle.

Your prosecution of Ron Carey has been accompanied by government investigations targeting major unions in this country, including the Laborers International Union of North America, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the Service Employees International Union and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka.

In its efforts to bust the unions through state intervention and court suits, the government stands indicted for what it is—the agency for the repression of working people, blacks and all those at the bottom of this society. Representing the only significant racial integration in this country, the unions are the basic defense organizations of the working class.

Drop the charges against Ron Carey! Government hands off the unions!■

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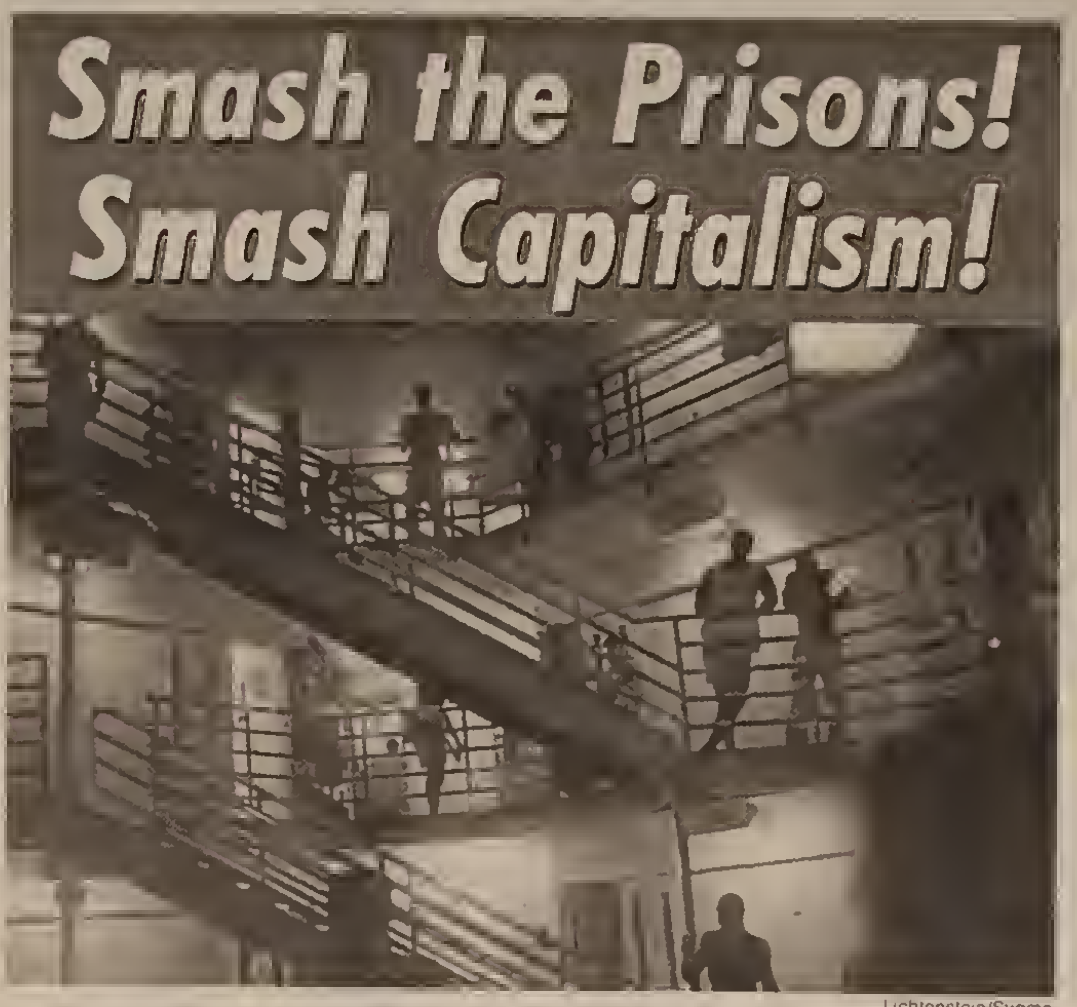
WORKERS VANGUARD

Unchain Labor/Black Power! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The following leaflet was issued by the New York Spartacus Youth Club on March 8 and distributed at the "Critical Resistance East" conference at Columbia University, March 9-11. The conference drew an integrated crowd of over 1,000 youth from throughout the East Coast and elsewhere. We intervened, counterposing our revolutionary program at several workshops including those led by the Black Radical Congress and the Campaign to End the Death Penalty.

Young Spartacus



Lichtenstein/Sygma

Inmates at state prison in Gatesville, Texas. Burgeoning U.S. prison population is largely a result of racist campaign against black and Latino youth.

More people are in prison in the United States, by orders of magnitude, than in any other industrialized country in the world. Overwhelmingly, those behind bars are black or Hispanic, over half of them youth. The incarceration rate has more than tripled since 1980. Why? The organizers of this "Critical Resistance East" conference would have you believe that this is something new, the result of profit-hungry corporations taking over prisons. There has been an increasing privatization of prisons and widespread use of prison labor. But this should not obscure the fact that prisons are an integral part of the capitalist *state*, together with the cops, courts and professional army. It's not the CEOs of big corporations who arrest you, drag you through the racist courts and lock you up. It's the armed thugs of the capitalist state who represent the interests of those who run the profit-hungry corporations. The state is an instrument of coercion to enforce the rule of one class over another—in this society, the rule of the capitalist class over the working class from whom it derives all its wealth.

The increasingly reactionary political climate fostered by both the Democrats and Republicans has turned the U.S. into a heavily armed "democratic" police state. The purpose of this vast increase of the police powers of the capitalist state is to strengthen and protect the rule of the American capitalist class as it carries out a war against the working class at home and pursues an increasingly aggressive imperialist role internationally as the world's only "superpower." But the organizers of this conference have no intention of challenging the class rule of racist capitalism, instead peddling the illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of the oppressed.

Lenin explodes such illusions in his book *The State and Revolution*, written in 1917 at the time of the Russian Revolution: "The state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another; its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes." The fact that the ruling class needs an entire repressive apparatus to regiment the population through naked force proves the irreconcilability of the interests of labor and capital—and the need for the working class to lead the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

In the U.S., capitalist rule is rooted in the brutal oppression of black people. The population of the inner-city ghettos, once used as a reservoir of unskilled workers for industry, is now deemed a surplus population, not "worth" spending a dime on, whether for education or basic welfare. With industry after industry milked dry by profit-hungry American capitalists, the one million jobs lost on the assembly line were replaced by one million new places in prison. Black youth are characterized as predatory criminals who should be locked up at as young an age as possible. This is carried out under the auspices of the racist "war on drugs" and "war on crime." We are for the legalization of drugs and other "crimes without victims" such as prostitution. We are also against gun control, which gives this racist capitalist state the monopoly of arms while disarming the rest of the population.

In "Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex" (*ColorLines*, Fall 1998) Angela Davis writes that "the focus of state policy is rapidly shifting from social welfare to social control." But was the state expressing an interest in "social welfare" when it assassinated 38 Black Panthers and locked up Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Mumia Abu-Jamal and many other black activists, including Davis herself? For U.S. capitalism, social welfare is a means of social control in the face of social protest. Even the most token gains achieved by workers

continued on page 5

Fight for Mumia's Freedom!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Forced to Fire Attorneys

PDC Statement

The clock is ticking on the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man who was falsely charged with the killing of a Philadelphia police officer, convicted and sentenced to death by Philadelphia's notorious cop and court frame-up machine. With his case in the last stages of legal appeal before the federal court, Jamal has now been forced to file a petition to dismiss his attorneys Daniel Williams and Leonard Weinglass. In a malicious act, Williams has authored a book purporting to be an "inside account" of Jamal's case. In his petition, Jamal correctly indicts Williams' book as "a breach of client loyalty," noting "that this is a clear conflict of interest cannot be seriously questioned, for in such an instance the litigative interests of the client and the personal (and indeed financial) interests of the lawyer conflict."

Even within the loose "ethics" of the legal profession, publication of such a book by an attorney involved in an active case, much less one in which the client's life hangs in the balance, is an abomination. The Partisan Defense Committee, which has championed the cause of Mumia's freedom for over 14 years, stands with him in the petition he has filed in his own defense. It would be a further gross injustice in his case if Jamal were denied the right to assemble a new legal team.

Evidence of Jamal's innocence is demonstrable and overwhelming. In the gunsights of the FBI and Philadelphia cops since he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, Jamal further enraged the police as a journalist with his searing indictments of police terror, particularly the Philly cops' murderous, years-long vendetta against the MOVE organization. On 9 December 1981, the cops saw the perfect opportunity for a frame-up when they saw Jamal slumped on a curb, bleeding profusely from a bullet wound to his stomach, with police officer Daniel Faulkner lying shot nearby.

Five different witnesses from five different vantage points told the police that they had seen another man flee the scene of the shooting. Four of these witnesses were bribed, coerced or terrorized by the police into changing their true eyewitness accounts. The cops claimed that the bullets which killed Faulkner came from Jamal's gun. But there is no evidence that his gun was even fired that night! As for the much-touted "confession" Jamal supposedly uttered as he lay near death in the hospital, this fabricated story didn't surface until *two months after* the event, following a meeting called by the District Attorney's office to orchestrate the cops' testimony. None of this came out in the sham 1982 trial presided over by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the U.S.

This is a case study in the nature of the racist American "justice" system. Williams' unconscionable act of using his position as a central lawyer for Jamal in his own interests is now serving as a ticket for the two longstanding lead attorneys on the defense team to bail out. With the state trying to accomplish the final act of this frame-up—Jamal's execution—at the very least they are guilty of running away from his case.

While the PDC favors all possible legal actions in Jamal's defense, we put no faith whatsoever in the justice of the capitalist courts. In publicizing Jamal's cause, we have made his case known to everybody we could—death penalty abolitionists, trade unionists and more generally the working people in the U.S. and internationally. We have organized labor-centered demonstrations based on the understanding that the social power of the working class must be brought to bear in his defense. What is crucially posed now is that all of Jamal's defenders, particularly the organized labor movement, mobilize in the fight for his freedom. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

13 March 2001

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 755 30 March 2001

All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out Now!

Balkans Tangle

MARCH 26—Less than two years after the U.S.-led NATO onslaught against Serbia, the Balkans powder keg threatens to explode in the imperialists' faces. Having used the struggle of the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) as a pretext for their war of domination against the former Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic, the imperialists now find the UCK pushing the region toward renewed intercommunal conflict. "West Is Alarmed as Warfare Grows in Balkans Again," read a headline in the *New York Times* (17 March).

The former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, which provided a platform for NATO's war against Serbia, is embroiled in a potential civil war with the National Liberation Army, which claims to be distinct from the Kosovo guerrillas but whose Albanian initials are also UCK. On March 21, a German KFOR (Kosovo occupation force) tank convoy and a thousand troops moved into the town of Tetovo amid heavy fighting between Macedonian troops and UCK irregulars. Earlier this month, a U.S.-led KFOR unit engaged in a firefight with UCK commandos on the Kosovo border. Responding to European calls for more "robust" action against the Albanian separatists, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell now promises to help augment the Macedonian regime's "military capabilities" and support its "efforts to bolster a democratic, multiethnic state." Given substantial Macedonian Slav and Albanian minorities in Greece and Turkey's posture as patron of the Balkan Muslim peoples, the UCK's efforts for a "Greater Albania" could easily pull these historic enemies—and NATO partners—into a full-scale war.

In Bosnia, which remains occupied by upwards of 20,000 troops under United Nations auspices, the nationalist Croat Democratic Union threatens to secede and bring down the "multiethnic, democratic" house of cards set up by the U.S.-imposed Dayton Accord in 1995, reviving the spectre of renewed ethnic slaughter among Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs.

Serbia, anointed a "democracy" by the masters of Wall Street, Frankfurt and the City of London in the wake of Milosevic's ouster last fall, has chafed under repeated raids by a local UCK offshoot into the imperialist-imposed "ground safety" zone along its southern border with Kosovo. NATO has now invited Serbian military forces back into this area.

While opportunist leftists tailed behind their respective capitalist governments in beating the war drums for "poor little Kosovo" two years ago, the International Communist League fought for the defeat of the U.S./NATO imperialists through workers revolution and for military defense of Serbia. That war had nothing to do with defense of the Kosovo Albanians. It was aimed from the start at asserting U.S. dominance in Europe and realizing longstanding plans to insert a substantial NATO military presence in Serbia. We denounced the predatory "peace" dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers, who wreaked more destruction on Yugoslavia than had Hitler's Nazis in World War II, declaring in *WV* No. 715 (11 June 1999):

> "This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed the world over. It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region. It will fuel the rapacity of the American bourgeoisie at home and abroad. It will sharpen the conflicting appetites of the major capitalist powers, accelerating the drive to an even bloodier war in the future."

Reuters

U.S. occupation forces patrol border between Kosovo and Macedonia. Albanian separatists, pawns of 1999 U.S./NATO war of domination against Serbia, are now deemed "extremists."

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Kosovo was turned into a NATO protectorate, divided into British, French, German, Italian and American zones of occupation, with the U.S. calling the shots as supreme overlord of NATO. Beneath the seeming amity among the imperialist occupiers lie very different interests. Germany is intent on reasserting its traditional sphere of influence, especially in the northern Balkans; the D-mark is now the main currency in Kosovo and elsewhere in the Balkans. Britain's ambitions were made clear by the bizarre ceremony staged last week in London's Claridge's Hotel, as Crown Prince Alexander was granted Serbian citizenship in the suite where he was born in 1945, a prelude to re-establishing the monarchy. That suite was designated "Yugoslav territory" the day he was born in order to ensure his claim to the (abolished) Serbian throne! France likewise has historic appetites in Serbia, and Italy in Albania, while Russia has reverted to its prerevolutionary posture as "big brother" of the Slavic peoples.

The renewed flare-up in the Balkans comes as the U.S. flaunts an increasingly bellicose foreign policy. The wholesale expulsion of some 50 Russian diplomats last week is the most provocative action of this sort since the height of the Reagan administration's Cold War offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Simultaneously, the Bush administration provocatively hosted a representative of the Chechen separatists brutally suppressed by Russia as "terrorists."

Tensions between Washington and its West European "allies" have also grown more strident. Today's *New York Times* headlines, "Europe and Bush: Early Storm Clouds to Watch." The Europeans oppose American plans for a "star wars" anti-missile system and the U.S. denounces European plans to build a "rapid reaction force" as a counterweight to NATO. Reflecting its own imperialist appetites in the oil-rich Near East, France recently came out openly against the U.S.-dictated UN embargo of Iraq, as has Russia. Within the European Union itself, virtually everything from the influx of asylum-seekers to the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease serves as a pretext for tightening borders and fomenting national chauvinism. And such tensions among the major capitalist powers are bound to deepen as an international recession takes hold.

Washington's main target is the bureaucratically deformed workers state of China. The London *Guardian* (24

continued on page 10

AFP photos

Balkan cauldron boiling: Macedonian police fire on Albanian separatist positions outside Tetovo (above). Albanian commandos on the march along Serbian border.

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National Guard Called Out Against Nursing Home Strikers

Hartford, March 20: Nursing home workers picket governor's home during one-day strike.

AP

Connecticut

MARCH 25—When 4,000 members of the New England Health Care Employees Union (NEHCEU), District 1199, staged a one-day strike against Connecticut nursing homes on March 20, Republican governor John Rowland and the employers acted as if they were facing a workers insurrection. Rowland mobilized National Guard troops to herd scabs through picket lines. The state coughed up $6 million to the nursing homes to pay for the scabs, and nursing assistants and food and maintenance workers at 16 nursing homes were locked out for five days.

In the face of this concerted strikebreaking campaign, locked-out workers continued to walk picket lines. Two days ago, the union held a large rally and march around the St. Mary Home in West Hartford, where management had tried to get housekeepers, laundry workers and dietitians back to work. But they stayed out in solidarity with locked-out nursing staff. On the day of the strike one dietitian at St. Mary's declared, "We're all part of the union. We stick together."

With nearly 15 percent of the state's nursing homes unionized, a high ratio compared to most other states, busting the union has been a priority for the profit-gouging bosses, who wring the last pennies out of elderly patients while brutally exploiting the largely black and immigrant workforce. When the governor raised Medicaid reimbursements, from which the nursing homes derive most of their profit, by $200 million two years ago, the extra funds were largely used to hire non-union workers while staff at unionized homes was laid off.

Rowland's lie that he mobilized the National Guard to protect the safety of the patients didn't go over very well. There is widespread sympathy with overworked, underpaid health care workers in this racist capitalist society, where the bottom line isn't patient care but profit-boosting. The two central demands of the NEHCEU are greater staffing levels and a modest wage increase of 6 percent over each of the next two years. The link between the union's struggle for better working conditions and better health care was not lost on the patients, some of whom joined the picket lines. One woman told the *Hartford Courant* (22 March), "My mother went to the picket line in her wheelchair."

With upwards of 30 patients per nurse and a lack of necessary supplies, many patients are deprived of proper medical attention. A union Web site noted, "Staffing levels in Connecticut nursing homes rank next to last among New England states. There has been a 166 percent increase in the number of times Connecticut nursing homes are cited for violations of resident care standards."

This strike graphically illustrates that the capitalist state—consisting at its core of the military, cops, courts and prisons—is not a neutral arbiter but an instrument for the repression of workers and minorities in defense of capitalist profits and class rule. This strikebreaking orchestrated by the governor's office takes place in the context of a vendetta by the Republican Bush administration against organized labor. Rowland's actions against the nursing home strike may seem like overkill, but were intended to intimidate the entire labor movement. For their part, leading Connecticut Democrats have seized on the opportunity to criticize the governor in speeches to union rallies, while the Democratic state comptroller is investigating whether strike-related payments to the nursing homes were "necessary" to protect the residents. The NEHCEU leadership responded to the union-busting by soliciting Democratic Party support for a toothless federal lawsuit charging that Rowland violated the National Labor Relations Act by taking management's side.

Beware: the Democrats are no friends of labor. It was the Clinton White House which ended "welfare as we know it," creating the climate for Rowland to set up a union-busting, slave-labor "workfare" scheme in the state four years ago. The mobilization of the National Guard against the strikers should have been met by mass mobilizations of labor throughout the state; building picket lines that scabs dare not cross. But the pro-capitalist union tops chain the power of labor to the capitalists and their state through their ties to the Democratic Party and by putting their faith in the courts of the class enemy. To unleash the power of the unions, it is necessary to oust the labor misleaders and replace them with a class-struggle leadership based on a program of the political independence of the working class from the capitalists.■

Imperialism and the Balkans

TROTSKY

LENIN

In the early part of the 20th century, intensifying interimperialist rivalries spurred Great Power intrigues in the Balkans that paved the way for World War I. With capitalist counterrevolutions in East Europe and the Soviet Union once again fueling the murderous nationalism which had characterized the Balkans, the region has again become a cockpit for war. NATO's war against Serbia two years ago, carried out under the guise of "humanitarian" concern for the Kosovo Albanians, was intended to establish U.S. hegemony over the region. In a 1908 article, Leon Trotsky exposed the imperialists' machinations and the attendant fratricidal conflicts as inevitable preludes to war.

The states that today occupy the Balkan Peninsula were manufactured by European diplomacy around the table at the Congress of Berlin in 1879. There it was that all the measures were taken to convert the national diversity of the Balkans into a regular melee of petty states. None of them was to develop beyond a certain limit, each separately was entangled in diplomatic and dynastic bonds and counterposed to all the rest, and, finally, the whole lot were condemned to helplessness in relation to the Great Powers of Europe and their continual intrigues and machinations....

The Treaty of Berlin constitutes the formal foundation of European equilibrium as a whole. Apart from so-called "moral" obligations, it is guarded, apparently, by armies, fortresses, and warships, and is the object of a constant vigil by diplomats. Yet all this in no way prevented one participant in the Congress of Berlin, namely, Austria, from violating the treaty as soon as a favorable moment occurred. The miserable incapacity of the "concert" of Europe to prevent the violation of a treaty placed under its protection provides a merciless disproof of illusions about the possibility of realizing the Peace of God by means of arbitration between capitalist states.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Balkans, Capitalist Europe, and Tsarism,"
The Balkan Wars (1912-13) (1980)

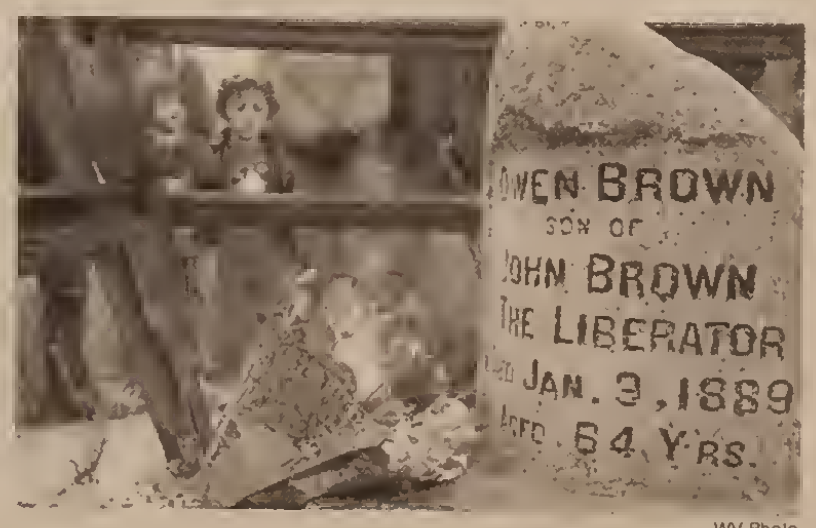
At the Grave of Owen Brown

On February 11, comrades of the Spartacist League's Los Angeles branch and friends gathered in memory of comrade Susan Adams at the grave of abolitionist fighter Owen Brown on a wooded hilltop in nearby Altadena. The roughhewn marker reads, "Owen Brown, son of John Brown, the Liberator, Died Jan. 9, 1889, Aged 64 Yrs." Alongside his father, the great abolitionist, Owen Brown and his brothers battled the pro-slavery militias in "bleeding Kansas" in the 1850s, carrying out raids to free slaves. After a wreath was laid, a comrade noted, "It's appropriate that we honor our comrade, Susan Adams, today. She fought on many battlefronts for our party, to the benefit of every section of the International Communist League."

On 16 October 1859, John Brown and his men, including Owen and two of his brothers, launched the famous raid on the Harpers Ferry federal arsenal, seeking to spark an anti-slavery insurrection. Fighting bravely against overwhelming odds, Brown and his band managed to hold out for more than 30 hours, but eventually nearly all were killed, wounded or captured by U.S. troops commanded by Robert E. Lee.

John Brown was tried for treason and executed along with four other abolitionist martyrs, while Owen Brown escaped to California with a price on his head. Speaking at the memorial, a comrade noted that "When abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass returned to Harpers Ferry in 1881 to commemorate his friend John Brown, he spoke for all of us for whom the Civil War was a class war against the system of slavery: 'If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did, at least, begin the war that ended slavery'."

Owen Brown settled on this hilltop in Altadena, called "Little Round Top," near Brown Mountain, named after his father. In later life, he was often honored by black Civil War veterans in the area, and his funeral was attended by thousands, who sang the anti-slavery anthem "John Brown's Body," as did our comrades and friends in tribute to Susan.



WV Photo

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No. 755 30 March 2001

On Soviet Russia and Kemal Ataturk

Bronx, NY
3 December 2000

Dear *WV*:

I'm confused. I had always thought, and have often read in your press, that the subordination of the interests of the international revolutionary movement to Soviet nation-state Realpolitik was a phenomenon of the post-1924 Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." I was therefore surprised to read about the following episode in 1919-1921, at the height of the influence of Lenin and Trotsky. In 1919, in Berlin, Karl Radek established ties to Turkish nationalists. In the following year, this led to friendly relations between the Soviet government and Mustafa Kemal, which culminated in a treaty with Turkey in March 1921. During this period, however, Mustafa Kemal crushed a peasant movement in Turkey with ties to the Third International, and in January 1921 engineered the murders of the entire leadership of the Turkish Communist Party, who had been trained in Germany by the Spartakusbund. These developments seem not to have ruffled good relations between Turkey and Russia, as evidenced by the commercial treaty between the two countries signed two months later. According to one historian, the execution of the Turkish communist leadership was "noted and put aside by both sides in almost statesmanlike fashion" (Bölent Gokay, *A Clash of Empires*, 1997, p. 108). This is the kind of episode we normally associate with e.g. Soviet relations with Nasser's Egypt in the 1950's, but this happened right in what Trotskyists consider the heroic period of revolutionary internationalism.

How do you explain this?

Loren G.

_WV_ Replies:

The economic and military support extended to the Turkish nationalist regime of Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) by Soviet Russia in the early 1920s has often been cited by bourgeois historians and Stalinists alike as an alleged precedent for the *political* support extended to bourgeois-nationalist regimes by the Soviet degenerated workers state in later years. This argument is based on a distortion both of Lenin's policy toward Kemal's Turkey and of the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in 1923-24. Repudiating the Bolshevik program of international socialist revolution in favor of the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," the Stalinists promoted class collaboration in the capitalist countries, disarming the workers and setting them up for bloody defeat, from the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 and Spain in 1936-37 to Iran and Iraq in the 1950s.

We Trotskyists opposed the Stalinist bureaucracy not, *per se*, because it established friendly diplomatic or military relations with this or that capitalist state. In order to survive in the face of hostile imperialist encirclement, even a healthy workers state would be obliged under certain conditions to maneuver and seek temporary support among rival capitalist states. The crime of the Kremlin bureaucrats was that they sold out the fundamental interests of the world proletariat for the sake of temporary diplomatic advantages. Under Stalin, the Communist International (CI) was transformed from an instrument of world revolution into an abject tool for furthering the Kremlin's diplomatic aims. Vainly pursuing "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, the Stalinists subordinated the proletariat to a supposedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie.

Before discussing Lenin's support to Kemalist Turkey, let's review the facts. Kemal, who was commander of the Turkish army in Anatolia, came to power in the turmoil that followed the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. A 1919 revolt by Turkish peasants, one of several popular uprisings in the Near East in the wake of the Russian Revolution, provided mass backing to Kemal's bourgeois nationalists. Kemal sought to modernize the country and to resist the imperialist powers, notably Britain, which, already occupying a broad swath from Egypt through the Fertile Crescent to Iran, was pushing to assert its domination over Turkey. Earlier that year, Greek military forces, encouraged and subsidized by the British imperialists, had occupied the port of Smyrna (today Izmir) and were preparing to drive into the Turkish interior. In March 1920, British forces occupied Constantinople (Istanbul), seeking to crush the nationalists and achieve control over the Straits linking the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Kemal responded by appealing to Soviet Russia for joint "struggle against foreign imperialism which threatens both countries."

Ataturk Library

Soviet military representatives with Kemal Ataturk (fourth from right), 1922. Bolshevik regime gave military support to Ataturk against British imperialism while helping to build Communist Party in Turkey.

Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith

Counterrevolutionary Russian general Kolchak with British patrons during Civil War against Bolshevik rule.

The following month, the Red Army advanced to the Turkish border as it defeated the counterrevolutionary White forces and drove out the imperialist troops that had intervened in an attempt to smash the Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks soon began supplying military aid to Kemalist Turkey. Relations between the two countries converged further when the Allied powers revealed their peace terms for Turkey. These terms were subsequently codified in the August 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, which sought to reduce Turkey to a virtual British protectorate and effectively place the Straits under British imperialist control, an undisguised threat to Soviet Russia. In March 1921, a Soviet-Turkish Treaty was signed providing for Soviet financial and military aid to Turkey and affirming that it was up to the countries adjoining the Black Sea to guarantee freedom of commerce through the Straits. Strengthened by the material support provided by Soviet Russia, Kemal succeeded in driving out the last Greek forces in Anatolia in September 1922. With the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the imperialists retreated from their earlier demand that they be given oversight over Turkey's finances and military, and Turkey was granted effective control of the Straits.

The military and economic aid provided to Kemalist Turkey by Soviet Russia under Lenin was clearly justified for two reasons. First, it was necessary to militarily support Kemal from the point of view of defense of the Soviet workers state. The creation of a British-dominated client state in Turkey would have been a dagger aimed at the southern flank of the Soviet Caucasus. Secondly, it was called for by the Leninist principle of military defense of backward countries against imperialism. The defeat of the British-sponsored military offensive against nationalist Turkey represented a significant defeat for imperialism in the Near East and a consequent gain for the world proletariat.

The Turkish Communist Party was organized in 1918 by Mustafa Subhi, a member of the Bolshevik Party whose history went back to the earliest Marxist propaganda circles that came together in Ottoman Turkey around 1910. The Turkish nationalists in power turned on the fledgling Communist Party, seizing Subhi and 16 other leaders when they tried to return to Turkey from Russia in January 1921 and drowning them off the coast of Trebizond. Following the Soviet-Turkish Treaty, the Kemal regime lifted the ban on the Turkish CP and freed imprisoned Communists. But after his victory over the Greek forces in 1922, Kemal proceeded to crush the Turkish Communists.

According to Gokay in *A Clash of Empires*: "The murder of the Turkish communists in the early days of 1921 represents the first example of the failure of a peculiar Soviet dilemma in the East—to support the anti-communist leadership of national liberation movements and at the same time to sponsor and organise the local communist movements to overthrow them via the Comintern." But the CI did not "put aside" or cover up the murder of the Turkish Communists. Both *Zhizn Natsionalnostei* (Life of the Nationalities, 14 May 1921), the publication of the Soviet People's Commissariat of Nationalities, and the CI's *Kommunisticheskii Internatsional* (7 June 1921) printed a letter by a Central Committee member of the Turkish Communist Party giving a full account of the murders.

As published in the German-language edition of the CI's journal, *Die Kommunistische Internationale* (No. 17, 1921), the letter explained that the fate of Subhi and his comrades had been unknown until March 1921. After arriving in Turkey, they were hounded from one town to another before being abducted in Trebizond, "bound, knifed with bayonets and thrown into the ocean." When a Soviet representative had tried to meet them, he too "was threatened with lynch law." The

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Spartacist Forum

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An Internationalist Salute to Our Comrade Susan Adams

Comrades, friends and family came together at memorial gatherings of the International Communist League in the San Francisco Bay Area, New York and Paris on the weekend of March 3-4 to honor our comrade Susan Adams. A leader of our international party for nearly 30 years, Susan died at her home in Jersey City on February 6 after a two-year struggle with cancer. Susan's family held a memorial meeting in Los Angeles on February 10. Other ICL tributes took place internationally.

One measure of the impact Susan had on our party and its fight for an international communist society is the outpouring of letters and remembrances by ICL members around the globe, as well as by former members, friends and sympathizers and even political opponents. A speaker at the Bay Area memorial said, "Susan was somebody you could trust. She was upright and forthright. And because she was quite bright, she was very powerful. Everybody who has known her was strongly touched by her."

It was in the Bay Area that Susan spent her first formative years as a communist cadre in 1971-73. Much of the rest of her life was divided between work in our New York center and in Paris as a leader of the Ligue Trotskyste and our broader work in Europe, for many years in collaboration with her former husband, William, now an ex-member.

Before the memorial meeting in Paris, comrades marched to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where they laid a wreath at the wall which commemorates the thousands of proletarian fighters butchered by the bourgeoisie following the suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune. Wreaths were also laid at Leon Trotsky's gravestone in Coyoacán, Mexico, at Karl Marx's grave in London's Highgate Cemetery, at the monument to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin and in a grove of redwoods in the Bay Area where the ashes of our comrade Toni Randell had been buried after her death in 1982. One Bay Area comrade explained, "It's a tradition in the communist movement to commemorate a special occasion by laying a wreath on the grave of someone who has made a key contribution to the struggle against capitalist reaction."

One comrade at the New York memorial who had been a member of our British section in the 1980s recalled an incident at the annual political fête near Paris organized by the reformist Lutte Ouvrière group: "I remember very clearly one day a cadre of Lutte Ouvrière had died and there was nothing in their paper about her. Susan was disgusted by this and she let them have it: 'You don't even bury your dead, you don't honor your dead'."

Our comrades are a precious resource, the bearers of the Marxist program for the liberation of humanity. In saluting Susan's lifetime of struggle as a communist leader, we seek also to educate and train a new generation of revolutionary fighters, a task to which she devoted much of her energy.

Spartacist

4

1948-2001

We publish below excerpts from remarks at the New York memorial by Susan's husband, François, her brother Tom and her longtime friend Helene Brosius. Also speaking in New York were Bruce Anwar, who worked with Susan in Paris; Sam Kaehler, who worked with her in Moscow; and Alan Wilde, a young party cadre. Paul Costan, a former member who had worked with Susan in our Detroit branch in the early '70s, addressed the Bay Area memorial. Eibhlin McDonald of the Spartacist League/Britain spoke in Paris.

* * *

Helene Brosius: A few weeks ago, at the end of a tough day of doctors and decisions, Susan looked up and said to me: "After all, I've done everything I wanted to do in my life." And as much as it made me want to hold her and not let her go, I also knew that what she said had truth to it. Susan was a Marxist revolutionary to her bones, single-mindedly driven to build a revolutionary proletarian party, to reforge the Fourth International. She wanted simply to be a communist. And that she was—until her last breath.

Susan's father, Angelo Adams—Ange—came from Greece at age four and made a good life here. He wanted to have the best for his family—Betty and the five kids. Sue was the oldest, then Mark, Joni, Tom and Marian, who have all come today. The break with her family was difficult all the way around and it didn't even begin to heal until much later.

Sue's rejection of Catholicism was conscious, vehement and finally political. She wrote an exceptional article for our journal *Women and Revolution* called "The Cult of the Virgin Mary" in 1977, at the time of "born again" president Jimmy Carter's election victory. "Marxists find contemporary religion," she wrote, "an odious thing."

> "We understand, however, that what sustains religious affiliation in the scientific age is not so much intellectual conviction as social oppression. Thus, while the anti-clerical spirit which animates Voltaire's earnest wish that 'the last king...be strangled with the entrails of the last priest' may be sincere and even justified, such a 'war against god' does not transcend petty-bourgeois idealism. Religion will disappear only when the society which creates the need for it is destroyed."

To her chagrin, her understanding did not—all at once—release the grip that a Catholic upbringing had on her own psychology. This was a lifelong effort.

Sue well understood that religion also served as an instrument for the oppression of women. She was a thoughtful, fervent partisan of women's liberation, understanding that it will come about only as a result of socialist revolution. It is fitting that a last contribution of hers is the wonderful talk on "Women and the French Revolution." This was a several years' labor of love for Sue. In 1994, she wrote of this work to a fellow member of the *W&R* editorial board: "At a time when the bourgeoisies of the world attack the Enlightenment, it has been quite literally a real pleasure to read of the hope in rationality and human progress of this period."

Susan's liberal arts education actually did include a good dose of science and math, but in these and technical matters in general she always seemed at a bit of a loss. What did stick was an appetite for and range of knowledge of literature—especially European literature—which was wonderfully intertwined with her understanding of European history. This was the foundation upon which she developed as an exceptional Marxist intellectual.

It was the '60s, and like thousands of kids she was turning hard against the manifest injustices of racist American imperialism. At UC San Diego she threw herself into New Left politics and the new SDS chapter. But unlike many New Leftists, she started to study. She devoured Marx and Lenin and was drawn to the pro-working-class wing of SDS led by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party. She actually managed to graduate, despite an arrest that year for sitting in at the chancellor's office—and she went off to Stony Brook on Long Island for graduate school. It seems that no sooner had she arrived there than she broke from PL and started working with Spartacist in the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS.

I wouldn't say she was too smart for PL—because they had some intelligent people. Nor is it exactly true, as her mentor in PL evidently told her when she was leaving, that she "always read too many books." I think it was that she really considered and absorbed what she read. In her application for SL membership she wrote that she was drawn to our "consistency with the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky" as opposed to the "at times reactionary Stalinoid politics of PL."

Her New Left origins poked through from time to time. Her father, Ange, the successful banker, was being prosecuted in the early '70s. Sue was in a real quandary—support her father, the class enemy? As she put it, Jim "kicked my ass, so to speak." Her memory was that he said something like: "What's wrong with you,

Le Bolchévik

Comrades and friends honor Susan at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris after laying wreath at Wall of the Communards, March 3.

girl? That's your father. Can't you see he's being prosecuted for things that everyone does and probably because he's Greek. Get yourself out there to his trial before it's over." She did. She was always grateful for Jim's advice.

Only three months after joining the Spartacist youth group in 1971, Susan had a chance to display the courage which turned out to be so characteristic of her. We had been bloodily ejected from an anti-Vietnam War conference of NPAC, led by the Socialist Workers Party. As comrade Al Nelson described it recently, "It was the most protracted violence I have ever witnessed in the workers movement. Seymour had his nose broken; I had bald spots on my head where tufts of hair had been torn out." The next day, Susan volunteered to be a mole, to elude the massive SWP goon squad stationed there to exclude known or suspected "disrupters" and to report back what was being said in the aftermath of this savage exclusion. Al wrote: "We met a couple of blocks away and discussed her assignment and its dangers. I remember being extremely impressed with how calm and determined and brave she was."

The summer of '71 Susan moved to the Bay Area, which is where I first met her. I was pleased to endorse her application for membership in the SL in December 1971. And when I left for New York the following summer there was no question in my mind that Susan was the comrade to take over as Bay Area organizer, though there were other comrades who had more experience than she did.

In the next years, as new opportunities arose for the party, Susan was the clear choice for one difficult and critical assignment after another. She taught, expected and inspired the utmost professionalism. She was uncommonly able at locating and resisting the poison of subjectivity in herself and other comrades. But perhaps most valuable was her unbending drive for programmatic clarity. Not that she was immune to the ambient pressures in her political work, but she was fearless in her determination to arrive at and deepen the party's understanding of them. Even when—and maybe especially when—there was a disaster that she'd been party to.

Thus, more often than not, Sue was sent to the front lines of our party work. After just over a year in the party, in February 1973, she was picked to be founding organizer of the Detroit branch. Unfortunately, it was the eve of an economic downturn and the collapse of the auto industry in Detroit. But that local was a major step for our organization. In summer '74, she came to New York to head up the national youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League, which was growing rapidly and, with many difficulties, taking on independent organizational reality for the first time.

In 1976, she was off to Europe as an international rep. France, the world center of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, was the jumping-off point for our European work and, other than Australia, our first international foothold. The job required constant travel around Europe, wide knowledge of the left and workers movement throughout the area, vigilance for opportunities, patience and care in cadre development.

After spending a year in New York in '78-79 as our international secretary, it was off to Europe again, this time as a central leader of the French section (to the surprise of our French comrades, a few of whom would have preferred to eat in McDonald's every night rather than have an American woman leading their section). For the next ten years, she was our central cadre in Europe. In 1989-90, she played a leading role when the International poured its energies and resources into the potential political revolution in East Germany.

Susan and François

WV Photo

In 1992, just weeks after a gut-wrenching fight with the French leadership, which of course included her, at an international conference, Susan took on one of the most important and difficult assignments there has ever been in our organization—the work of reimplanting Bolshevism in the land of October, our Moscow Station. Our comrade Martha Phillips had been murdered in Moscow earlier that year. Moscow was a dizzying whirlwind of archival, opponents, campus, labor and educational work. A prime achievement of Moscow Station was the publication of Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin* in Russian and its distribution. In 1995, she returned to the center in New York after a 20-year absence from the country, and took on a full range of duties in the leading committees of the International and the American section.

Sue's life is a thread running through the history of our party. In the mid-'70s, Sue forged a powerful national youth leadership. But after the heady days of the New Left, the mid-'70s slumped pretty fast into quiescence. Coming out of the '60s, Sue had an appreciation, at times surely tinged with moralism, for the value of that kind of struggle. In a 1975 national report, she deplored the callowness of the recruits, their "lack of depth which comes from the binocular vision of having once been Maoists or Stalinists or even New Leftists. Trotskyism seems self-evident to too many of our young comrades and commitment to being a revolutionary has meant for them commitment to going to meetings, reading books, debating opponents and giving up dope. As wretched as the New Left was, one understood that becoming a radical meant risking jail, fights with the cops, etc. (or at *least* risking suspension from school!). And as rotten and misleading as were the ideologies of Che, Cleaver and Malcolm X, becoming part of a movement of which they were the heroes involved a level of commitment which our young comrades have not had to consider." A good dose of political education was needed, she concluded, and "some good and hard political fights this year."

In this period, Susan worked on the article "Rape and Bourgeois Justice," a polemic against the liberal, New Left and feminist views of capitalist class injustice. "Rape and Bourgeois Justice" still stands as a guiding statement for us on the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society. Collaboration on this article further cemented a lifelong working relationship with Jim Robertson, a personal and political tie as formative and consequential as any in her life.

WV Photo

Susan giving report at SL/U.S. National Conference, in 1972.

Sue found her assignment to international work in Europe in 1976 a tremendous challenge—terrifying and exhilarating at the same time. From a '76 letter to me:

> "France is very exciting and interesting these days. I can't help it, I *like* it when the whole world seems political and the issues are urgently enough felt by people that they stand around in knots and argue and scream at each other into the night."

It was, as she wrote, "the classical time of swimming against the stream.... The popular front is on the road to power through the elections, drawing everyone else in its wake."

Susan was of course a hit of a workaholic, diligent and sometimes earnest to a fault, though she learned to measure that a bit. Languages really did not come easily to her. She developed a fine command of French. But her ear wasn't very good so her pronunciation was poor, which was an obstacle when dealing with snobs. She started intensive study as soon as she got there, and ten years later she was still working on her French. Later she studied German and, when she went to Moscow, she studied Russian four to five hours a day at the beginning despite the manic pace of the political work there.

Sue had an impressive mastery of the basic Marxist texts—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon—and a prodigious memory for what she read. She also knew our press and internal documents thoroughly. She used the literature like a precision instrument, pulling out exactly the right tool for the job. When she ran into French parochialism, an enduring weakness of the French left, including the so-called Trotskyists, she wielded the weapon of founding American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon.

In 1983, she was delighted to succeed in bringing out a speech by Cannon upon his return from a quite unrewarding assignment in France in 1939. This was a two-edged sword in the struggle *against* our political opponents and *for* our French section. The *fact* alone of publishing Cannon was a polemic against the deeply held belief on the French left that nothing useful could derive from America. Susan wrote in the introduction to the Cannon pamphlet:

> "Given the program, the construction of the leading cadres is the key to the construction of revolutionary parties; and the former requires an even higher degree of consciousness and a more deliberate design than the latter."

Cadre development and particular attention to the youth was a hallmark of her work, on which she brought to bear her wide-ranging intellectual storehouse. You'd often find her using lessons she'd learned—or wrestled with—when she gave advice to others.

She went as our rep to a five-day academic conference on Trotsky in Wuppertal, Germany just after the disastrous 1990 East German elections which ushered in counterrevolution there. All the big-shot Trotskyist pretenders were there—from Mandel and Broué to Michel Pablo. To their horror, she always introduced herself as a professional revolutionary. There was a group of Gorbachevite Soviet academics who were poking their heads up out of the *glasnost* opening. Everyone worth anything was talking about the 1923-24 period of the Soviet Union, which we also were critically examining in light of some new documentation that had emerged from the Soviet archives. Broué had just published his Trotsky biography, which we were reviewing.

She wrote a wonderful report, and you could tell how charmingly and fruitfully she worked over the lot of them. Some of those pretentious academics must have walked away from a nice lunch only to look down and see the knife in their stomachs. She drove Mandel into a sputtering frenzy, at a lunch in front of a bevy of fawning young social democrats, over his uncritical printing of an article in praise of the Estonian Forest Brothers, Baltic fascists who fought with the Nazi Wehrmacht against the Red Army.

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WV Photo

Detroit, November 1973: Spartacist contingent joins demonstration of Arab auto workers who staged one-day strike protesting UAW tops' purchase of Israeli war bonds.

(continued from page 5)

She was also our reporter at the trial of Nazi SS butcher Klaus Barbie in Lyons in 1987. We printed her reporter's notebook in *WV* and *Le Bolchévik*. In one sentence, Sue summed up the politics of the trial:

> "Barbie's smiling grimace is a smile of contempt: he can beat the French state court simply by following its own rules, since he is willing to say the equivalent of what French rulers have believed for more than a century: better Hitler than a workers commune (soviet) in Paris."

Susan is rightly widely admired for her persistence in fighting for programmatic precision. The purpose was always to get it right—not to win an argument—because the party's line really *matters*. She sparked a rich internal discussion in late '96 about the slogan "U.S. Bases Out of Japan," which was raised in our Japanese propaganda protesting the U.S. bombing of Iraq. After a couple of months of political exchanges internationally, we arrived at a much more nuanced and precise appreciation of how most effectively to express our opposition to the U.S. imperialist military in various contexts in this post-Soviet world.

After the French section succumbed to multiple pressures in '92, especially the collapse of Stalinism, she never stopped trying to sort out what had gone wrong. When she returned to France in '95 to help get the section straight around the big strikes there, she was able to lead again, having herself worked through a lot of the prior history and gained a measure of understanding.

Susan and François were a remarkable love match. When she got ill, Susan called him her "great hero." He treated her with unfailing tenderness. In '95 she wrote to her cousin Cathy about her coming marriage: "Who knows what the future holds, or how long we'll be together, but I wouldn't have traded this for anything."

I have to add one story here from a longtime sympathizer in Germany because it so captures a part of Sue. This was in the mid-'70s: "She also had a fine low-key sense of humor: I remember a female comrade asking Susan where she got her clothes (since Susan could be elegant in anything), and Susan answered 'Salvation Army.' When the comrade expressed surprise, Susan shrugged and smiled and said, 'Well, *Parisian* Salvation Army'."

Susan wished to be cremated. Trotsky wrote in *Problems of Everyday Life*, cremation is "a powerful weapon...for anti-church and anti-religious propaganda." So it was, as François pointed out, her last act of propaganda. Personally, I find a fitting conclusion in Trotsky's description of his friend and comrade-in-arms Adolf Joffe:

> "Joffe was a man of great intellectual ardor, very genial in all personal relations, and unswervingly loyal to the cause.[...] The personal bravery of this very sick man was really magnificent.[...] He was a good speaker, thoughtful and earnest in appeal, and he showed the same qualities as a writer. In everything he did, he paid the most exacting attention to detail—a quality that not many revolutionaries have.[...] For a great many years I was bound to him more closely than any one else. His loyalty to friendship as well as to principle was unequaled."

Paul Costan: I was fortunate to know and work with Susan Adams in that relatively brief but intense period when she was the founding organizer of the Detroit local. We were a couple of dozen, enthusiastic but overwhelmingly new to the party, drawn from many points on the political map, but primarily the New Left. We were from all over the country, and I don't think there was a single comrade who had even visited Detroit previously.

Within a week or two of arriving in town, half of us were working 50, 60, even more hours a week in the plants—and there are few jobs as successful as auto assembly in isolating some major muscle groups and making them scream. The city was still a seething cauldron in the aftermath of the '67 ghetto rebellion. The current racist outrage was a cop unit that specialized in street executions of dozens of black youth. Their commanding officer was running for mayor against a black ex-Stalinist Democrat while the bourgeoisie nervously debated this emerging strategy for political control of the northern industrial centers. And the city and plants were crawling with ostensible revolutionaries, almost all of whom had been there longer than we, many whose organizations—two brands of Shachtmanites, Spark, CLP—had made the city their national center, not to mention the half dozen or so decomposition products of earlier Trotskyist work that existed solely in the Motor City.

It was Sue who organized and led our intervention into this tempest. I was astounded to read in the *WV* memorial that she had barely a year in the party herself. Of course she didn't do it alone—yet she was the organizational glue, and for at least a year the senior political leader. Susan was a rock—amidst the seemingly daily turmoil that was the Detroit local, I never once saw her get flustered. She had a unique ability to combine a sense of perspective and political focus with a seemingly infinite capacity for detail—her reports are a wonderful testament in this regard. I remember her "Greetings from the Vyborg of the North American proletariat" salutation referred to in *WV*. Vyborg, and the River Rouge complex as our Putilov—these were among the regular and purposeful reminders that Susan used to keep us focused on our immediate goal, the formation of Bolshevik fractions in a critical industry.

Detroit exerted powerful deforming pressures on young communists—the depoliticizing tedium and exhaustion of factory labor, a truly ubiquitous and heavily social-democratic labor bureaucracy that had its fingers in everything, and a plethora of reformist, centrist and nationalist opponents. Susan led the local in fashioning an educational program centered on the Russian Revolution and party history as a corrective to these pressures, and implemented a program of regular campus work in Ann Arbor for the industrialized youth, and yet more educationals on the political opponents. She also sought to raise our level of literacy and culture, not an easy task in a city that, for example, has a beautiful Diego Rivera mural—but libraries with no books. She made sure to inject readings from *Their Morals and Ours* into our frequent discussions of issues of communist morality in everyday life.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League initiated campaign at University of Chicago to drive Milton Friedman, economic braintruster for murderous Chilean junta, off campus through protest and exposure, October 1975.

Susan was a fundamentally compassionate person. Living as we did, in closer proximity than you will normally experience short of barracks life, knowing no one in the city other than ourselves, and depending on each other for virtually everything, our personal lives were far more intertwined than the norm. Even though she was barely a few years older than the youngest of us, her maturity and stability were such that she was frequently sought out for personal solace, which she gave freely to all who were at least half-deserving. She sought the best from people politically, encouraged the shy and prodded the tardy—to improve them, and to strengthen the party. And she imbued daily work with a sense of revolutionary optimism that was infectious. She has died far too young.

Bruce Anwar: Susan introduced Cannonism in France. There are so many ways to show what that means, I can only scratch the surface. One thing was her meticulous attention to organizing down to the slightest detail, which was such a break with the organizational sloppiness that's rampant in the French left, going all the way back to Trotsky's time.

Just one example: the contingent we formed in the demonstration that took place when Reagan came to Europe in 1982. Mitterrand had been in power for one year, acting as the spearhead in Europe of the anti-Soviet Cold War hysteria. The French left called a demonstration against Reagan, but they were wallowing in anti-American chauvinism as a way of prettifying French imperialism and the popular front in power.

The LTF put out a supplement: "Reagan and Mitterrand: Anti-Soviet Warmongers." To prepare the contin-

Le Bolchévik

LTF banner at Paris protest against 1991 Persian Gulf War reads, "Defend Iraq Against the Imperialists! Sink Mitterrand/Bush in the Gulf!"

gent, Susan took the entire party out to a field near Rouen where we practiced marching in military formation so that every comrade would know his place in the contingent. That was one very impressive contingent and it greatly increased our impact on the left.

It also illustrated another point: Susan fought constantly to break out of what we called the "historical impasse": the fact that we were never more than a few dozen in a country of three self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups, each with several thousand members. In demonstrations, it was accepted practice—enforced by the Stalinist goons—that their contingent marched in the front—it was supposed to be "their" demonstration—the mass of workers would march behind them, and the smaller left groups would bring up the rear. And the LCR goons copied the Stalinists, trying to make sure that the smaller groups marched behind them, way at the back. But not us, at least not when we could help it. I generally headed up our security team, and Susan would invariably be at my side—you know, roughly half my size—pushing me on to be more aggressive at opening a road to get our contingent into the demonstration.

Susan had a very special tactical sense, an intuitive feel for seizing opportunities to extend the LTF's influence and weight. There are so many examples. One of the best is the December 11, 1980 anti-fascist demonstration in Rouen that really put us on the map in that city.

The fascists had been staging a series of provocations against our comrades, who were doing a weekly sale of *Le Bolchévik* at the train station. Susan proposed that we try to organize a worker-centered demonstration against the fascists. (This was well before the 1982 labor/black mobilization against the Klan in Washington, D.C.) That demonstration in Rouen was spectacularly successful, about 400 people, heavily working-class, which in that city was comparable in size to the annual May Day demonstration. But the demonstration only happened because of about three weeks of constant political struggle, that Susan orchestrated, against our political opponents on the left, especially the LCR, who used every maneuver in the book to try to sabotage the demonstration in the name of "free speech for the fascists." In the upshot, two days after the demonstration, Jaruzelski staged a counter-coup in Poland to spike the pro-capitalist power drive by Solidarność, and some of the same groups that had marched with us against the fascists were now marching with the far right in solidarity with Solidarność and capitalist counterrevolution in Poland. But many of those who had worked with us to build that demonstration joined the party, and that surge of recruitment led to the establishment of the Rouen local.

Finally, I want to mention the fight that Susan carried out from the start against this "star conception" of leaders that is so prevalent on the French left. She fought against the prima donnas who thought that they alone embodied the leadership, but also against those who stepped back from taking responsibility and saw *her* as the "star" who should do it all. Susan didn't pretend that she was developing something new and original, just applying the experience of Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon and the founding cadres of our tendency, "just" doing that.

Eibhlin McDonald: My tribute to Comrade Susan is based on her role as representative of the International Secretariat in Europe, which is how I first knew her. One of her qualities was her training for combat with opponents. She made sure our intervention at the Lutte Ouvrière Fête every year was an international effort and she helped prepare all of us. She was superb at finding contradictions of the opponents and exploiting them and she really hated passivity in the face of an opportunity to build the party. The first example I remember was in 1980. Workers Power had moved to the left on the Russian question as the Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. The SL/B dismissed this development, saying they were "still Third Campists at heart." Susan was furious. She wrote in block capitals, "WHERE IS THE MAJOR ARTICLE IN *SPARTACIST BRITAIN* COMMENTING ON THIS??"

She also had guts when confronting the chauvinism of the opponents. The most spectacular example was against LO in 1992 at the fête. They excluded ACT UP; we defended them and LO threatened to exclude us. We did a stunning protest outside the big tent where the annual LO-LCR debate takes place. We just quietly appeared out of nowhere and stood there with signs denouncing LO's homophobia and anti-communism. We arrived just as an LO speaker was explaining that voting rights for immigrants are not important—after all, voting rights for women had not changed anything!

Susan made sure the LTF played an active part in the British miners strike of 1984-85. Dominique came to London and gave a great forum (attended by striking miners) on our struggle against the Mitterrand popular front. Miners came to France to raise money. Paul Brewin loves to talk about working with French comrades during the strike. When I told him about Susan's death, he recalled his visit here and said those were "hard times, but good times." He says he learned for the first time

LE BOLCHEVIK 4

Une campagne financière réussie

Salut aux mineurs britanniques!

No. 51, December 1984

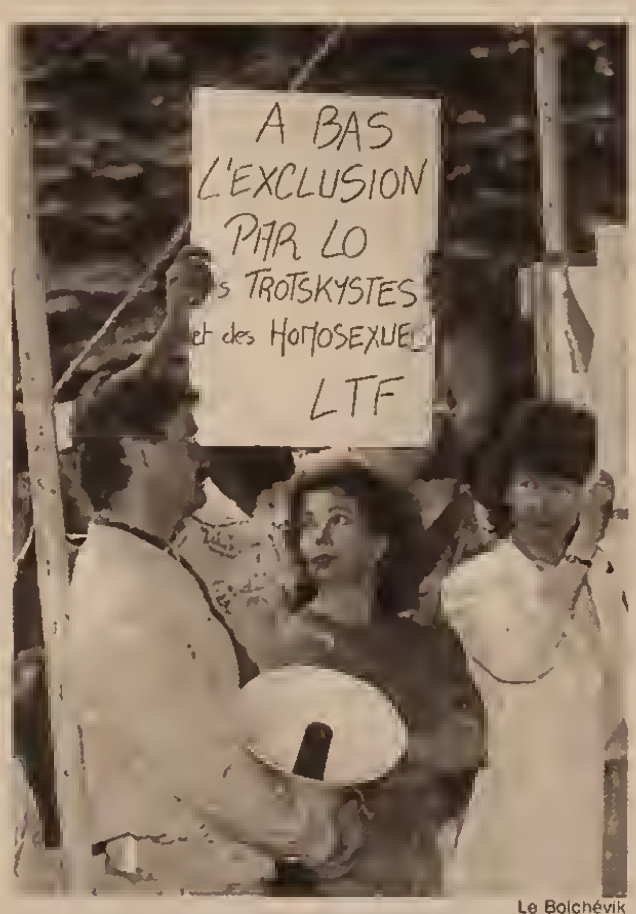
Le Bolchévik

Paris forum in late 1984, part of LTF-sponsored fundraising tour by striking British miner Paul Brewin (center).

what a Stalinist is when CGT goons chased him off "their turf" in Rouen where he was collecting money.

My favorite Susan story is one I discovered in an old bulletin. In 1976, 28-year-old Susan is sent on assignment in Genova, Italy for the International Secretariat. A group of three guys had broken to the left and professed agreement with the Spartacist tendency. But things were not moving forward. Susan wrote a report which said they should get into one city, write some polemics and do political work, otherwise they would just spin wheels and concoct theories about our party's deviations. This plain speaking offended the leader, I suppose because it was not "high Trotskyism." Of course, Susan *had to* comment on the Catholic church. She wrote: "Italian society is so odd—so many priests walking around as if they belonged in public made me edgy." The leader of this group went ballistic. He described her report as "asinine," "light-minded," "coarse" and "insensitive." He was so retrograde he assumed this young, beautiful woman, an American to boot, must be an airhead. She was a cultured communist. His problem was he wanted to vote for workers parties in the popular front.

Sam Kaehler: There was more than a grain of truth when a comrade now in Poland made the point that many of us were recruited somewhere else but trained in Moscow. When I arrived in the summer of 1993, Susan had already been in place for six months. Events were going pretty hard in the wrong direction. The Soviet workers state had been strangled and civilization as it existed was taking a nose dive. Before 1990, none of us had lived through a counterrevolution, so we were dealing with new theoretical questions. In these conditions, Sue welded together a group of comrades coming from very different perspectives and backgrounds (from former East German tank commanders to sons of the military elite, Americans, Australians, French and of course Russians). She calmed down the hotheads and brought forward the quieter ones. She taught us to think and act



Le Bolchévik

LTF protests anti-gay exclusion of AIDS activist group ACT UP from June 1992 Lutte Ouvrière Fête. LTF was itself excluded for defending ACT UP.

as Spartacists and to generalize and understand the events that we were living through.

Each step of the way we had to grapple with what would happen if the working class intervened in events and why hadn't it? Sue pushed hard for historical, theoretical clarity. I think the most significant thing that we read during this time, and Susan pushed this, was a document by the Left Opposition leader Christian Rakovsky called "Letter to Valentinov," or "The Professional Dangers of Power." It was an early attempt to generalize on the defeat of the Left Opposition and to come to terms with what was Stalinism and what effect was it having on working-class consciousness. It was the basis for what became *The Revolution Betrayed* by Trotsky. It provided a real theoretical link to the original Left Opposition and our fight against the final betrayal of Stalinism in the former Soviet Union.

Sue told us then: "Nobody promised that we would make the revolution. But there's a lot of things for us to do in order to prepare for new revolutions and lay the basis for the next generation of revolutionary leaders so that they can draw the lessons of the class struggle." This inspired the work on *The Third International After Lenin*, which was distributed in thousands of copies for the first time.

On the plane here I read "The Role of the Individual in History" by the founder of Russian Marxism, Plekhanov. It wasn't until I was halfway through the book that I remembered why. It was the work that Susan said convinced her to dedicate her life to revolutionary Marxism way back in San Diego. In short, the point of the essay is that once you understand the conditions and social forces that shape society and you want to change it for the better, you don't have much choice but to be a communist revolutionary, as it is in the recognition of such necessity that one finds the greatest satisfaction and use of one's life. That was Susan to the hilt, and now she's gone.

Alan Wilde: I knew Susan mostly because she was someone who really fought hard for the youth. After the October 23 mobilization we had in New York City to stop the Klan, she was someone who really was in the forefront of fighting against a lot of stodgy youth, myself and others, in opening up the youth for recruitment and building our youth organization.

A couple of years ago there was a play called *Gross Indecency: The Three Trials of Oscar Wilde*, and she wanted to run a review of it. We never did. She kept saying, "Why do we always run reviews of things we hate? Why can't we run a review of something we like?" There was a quote in there that she really liked, and I thought I'd end with reading it. When Wilde was tried for homosexuality and for his writings being immoral, he replied by saying, "I have never come across anyone in whom the moral sense was dominant who was not heartless, cruel, vindictive, log-stupid, and entirely lacking in the smallest sense of humanity. Moral people, as they are termed, are simple beasts. I would sooner have fifty unnatural vices than one unnatural virtue. The real enemy of modern life, of everything that makes life lovely and joyous and colored for us, is Puritanism, and the Puritan spirit. There is the great danger that lies ahead of the age. Puritanism is not a theory of life. It is merely an explanation of the English middle classes."

Tom Adams: Calm, determined and brave. I like those words, that's kind of what I wanted to talk about. When Susan called around to the family late, late one night last January to tell us that the cancer was back and she wasn't going to make it after all, she said something to me that I admit at the time I pretty much dismissed as false bravado. But now we've all gone through these last

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Spartacist photos

ICL Moscow Station distributed Russian-language supplement titled "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" at June 1993 Ukrainian miners strike, explained roots of capitalist counterrevolution at Moscow public meeting in late 1992.

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12 months with her and watched her die and now I know it was far from false bravado when she said, "Ah hell, dying young isn't the worst thing in the world." I think that all of us unite today under the, I guess revolutionary, slogan, "We love Susan!"

Ever since I sat there on that snowy February 6th and held her hand and shared some of her brave final breaths, I've been pondering those words, "dying young isn't the worst thing in the world." Over the last four weeks of grieving, I think I've figured out some of what she meant anyway. What would Sue consider the worst thing in the world? Well, it started becoming obvious to her family, I think, late in the '60s when we lived across the street from the University of California in San Diego. Perhaps a location decision that my parents regretted eventually. It made it awfully easy to get to SDS chapter meetings, and I think the cigarette vending machines were how I learned to smoke. She headed off to demonstrations up and down the state and got herself jailed for occupying an administration building to protest the war—a very earth-shaking event in our family, of course, where the Greek immigrant father had to go face his daughter on the other side of the bars and bail her out.

And it got even more intense the week before graduation when George Winne self-immolated in the quad to protest the war. Susan at that point refused to take part in the graduation ceremony, or at least she did until her mother Betty took her aside and gently explained to her, "Your father has been working his fanny off for twenty years in order to see his oldest daughter graduate from from college, so I think that you better show up." So she graduated. And I'll never forget the defiant look on her face as she strode across, grabbed her diploma quickly, and sailed across the stage with her head in the air and refused to shake the bloodstained hands of the board of regents representatives there that day. I'm sure some of you remember the despicable Reaganaut Clark Kerr; he looked shocked.

Around the family dinner table in those days Sue was doing a lot of what I'm sure you were doing in those days, which was serving notice to your families that times were very definitely changing. Her father, as many of you know, was an immigrant from a tiny village in Greece, a World War II vet, product of the GI Bill. Her mother was an immigrant too in a sense, who with her single mother in the 1920s moved north from Arkansas to Missouri to Chicago to follow the American Dream, as many people did. Mom of course was in many ways a role model, especially for the girls in the family. And she went charging over the years through basically every door of opportunity that the sexist society of the time was slowly opening and taught her daughters to enjoy themselves kicking open more doors.

Although Ange would always claim to be descended from Alexander the Great, Socrates was more of his spiritual ancestor. They wanted to raise a bunch of kids, strangely enough, who would think for themselves and challenge assumptions and distrust the common wisdom. They certainly convinced Susan, I think, that one of the worst things in life would be to ever take anything on faith. I think another thing worse than dying young for Susan would have been to ever violate Socrates' famous dictum, "The unexamined life is not worth living." The unexamined life, of course, would be that of the distracted conventional life that most people lead without thinking about it.

So all those things would be bad—the unexamined life, blind faith. But what would Sue consider the worst thing in the world? I think it's pretty obvious to everybody in this room. To know that the world needed to change but not do anything about it.

François: Susan went as peacefully as she could. She was very afraid of the suffering that she might endure, and she did not go through the worst of her fears. She passed her last day listening to some beautiful Mozart arias. And she was also so happy to have so many people, comrades and family, visit her.

I really wanted to mention her sense of beauty. She was always saying that when she became political many things came together—politics, sex, music, painting. She said there was Catholicism and religion one way and sex and many other things including politics the other—and she knew exactly where she was going. Part of her becoming political and becoming a political leader was struggling against all these conservative psychological things. She used to tell me a lot, "There's no way that you can approach political problems and think about them if you let your psyche intervene."

She was always finding projects. She always amazed me with the energy that she had. When I'd come back home at 11 o'clock after a full day at work, she would say, "Well, why don't we do the three following things next?" She wrote in her diary, "I feel like I must *finish* my projects and then have *more*."

One that we completed and *WV* put so much work into was "Women and the French Revolution." I want to try to explain where that came from. That was part of her attachment to fighting for women's liberation. Throughout her years in France, she did a tremendous job at training especially young women cadres in fighting against the political prevalence of society which says that they are maybe good for this and that but not good for thinking because that's a man's thing. She was always hammering Spartacism against parochialism and male piggishness. When we expelled a comrade in the early '80s because he was beating his wife, none of the political opponents in France could believe that. They were saying, "Well, all right, he was beating his wife. But what was the *real* reason he was expelled, what's the political reason?" That's how piggish they were.

Another project that she had is the indexing of the first volume of French *Spartacist*, which was very important to her. It's part of the training of a new generation of communist cadre and also part of our continuity. One thing that she was very proud of was being part of a generation of cadre that was trained in direct collaboration with comrade Jim, who himself was trained in the SWP and by James Cannon, and this is our continuity with Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. She was very proud and always very conscious of passing this experience to a younger generation.

That also goes with her way of doing politics. Politics is nothing spontaneous. It's hard work, it's conscious, it requires thought and thoroughness in everything. I found a nice quote in her diary where she says, "An insight *must* have words and *that* is where the time comes in. So, it's just not: *voilà*!" It was part of her training and also her inspiration of young communists. A small story that for me illustrates that: When I was a young member in the Paris office and was putting a glass in the sink, she was passing through the kitchen and she said, "I'm glad. I see that you're going to wash this glass." Being a young male, I'm not sure I would have. Anyway, the point is that I don't think I ever left a mess in any office that I worked in after that.

The last thing that I wanted to mention is how much she loved her father. One story that she told me about him which she was very proud of: it was the beginning of the '60s and they were watching TV, watching a civil rights protest. Her dad was a really conservative guy, I think. Nevertheless, he turned to say, "If my kids were prevented from going to school because of their ethnicity or color, I'd be out there with those guys in the streets."

Spartacist

April 1994 ICL meeting in Moscow announcing publication of first-ever Russian edition of Leon Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin*.

Finally, I just wanted to let everybody know that we had a little ceremony to disperse Susan's ashes. She wanted it to be done facing Ellis Island, which was the symbol for her of coming from a family of Greek immigrants from her dad's side. And it also faces the ocean; she said it's between Europe and America, the two places where she spent the two parts of her life.

She wrote, "If you are a revolutionary you really do spend all your life preparing to make a revolution." That's just what you do, and that's just what she did.

SUSAN ADAMS MEMORIAL COLLECTION

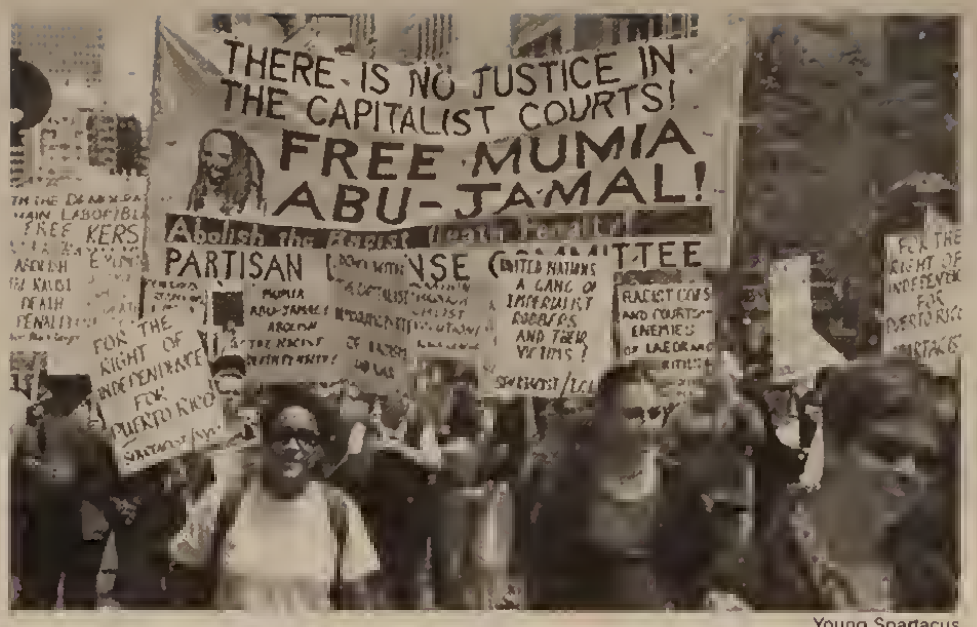
The Prometheus Research Library is honoring our comrade Susan Adams by creating a special collection as a tribute to her lifelong commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. The PRL, central reference archive of the Spartacist League of the U.S., is seeking contributions to expand its holdings of archival and current materials of the Marxist and workers movement related to the woman question, particularly its international aspects. This special memorial collection will enable our comrades and visiting researchers to pursue further study in this area of great importance to Marxists. Those who wish to contribute may make checks payable to Spartacist, earmarked "Susan Adams Memorial Fund." Mail to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Horowitz...

(continued from page 12)

given programs stating that the campus police would remove anyone who disrupted Horowitz. Students were required to provide their names and ID numbers (on a form that also offered membership in the Berkeley College Republicans) and then were videotaped by police as they entered the lecture hall—an editorial in the *Daily Californian* (March 20) described "metal detectors and a SWAT Team-like police presence." Grim irony reigned as Horowitz, protected by over 30 cops, vituperated against leftist "intellectual terror" suppressing conservative views on campus. Horowitz completed his harangue uninterrupted. But when the third speaker (and first black person) in the discussion period contested Horowitz's reactionary filth, the moderators shouted, "No debate," cut off the microphones, and Horowitz's bodyguards hustled him out of the building! To top off the farce, Horowitz supporters held up prepared signs denouncing the audience! From start to finish, Horowitz's talk was a *setup* to provoke the audience into shouting him down so that he could claim his "free speech" was violated and then use this travesty to witchhunt the left, liberals and minorities.

This is standard procedure for neo-McCarthyites like Horowitz and the Berkeley Conservative Foundation. In fact, Horowitz's appearance was only the most recent in a series of provocations and vicious attacks against leftist and black students at Berkeley. Last fall, the BCF invited Accuracy in Academia's Dan Flynn to speak on his scurrilous tract, *Cop Killer: How Mumia Abu-Jamal Conned Millions into Believing He Was Framed*. When angry anti-racist students walked into the BCF/AIA's trap and shouted Flynn down, Flynn and his cohorts used this to whip up anti-leftist hysteria and to label Mumia's defenders as violators of free speech (see "SYC Defends Mumia Against Reactionary Smear Campaign," *WV* No. 745, 3 November 2000). It is obscene that these hypocrites posture as defenders of "free speech" while calling for the legal lynching of a black journalist framed up for using his voice and his pen! Two months later, when former Israeli prime minister and certifiable war criminal Benjamin Netanyahu skipped out on a speaking engagement in Berkeley in order to return to the Near East, the *Daily Californian* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* (not to mention the BCF's organ, the *California Patriot*) set out to vilify the 300 peaceful demonstrators exercising their democratic right to protest. Why? Once again, for violating Netanyahu's "freedom of speech." "Lock 'em up and expel em' [sic]," growled the *Patriot* (February 2001). Then came the Horowitz ad. After outraged students stormed the *Daily Cal*'s offices, the paper's editors published an apology for allowing the *Daily Cal* to become an "inadvertent vehicle of bigotry" (*Daily Californian*, 1 March). Before the ink could dry, Horowitz & Co. launched a national media campaign in defense of—you guessed it—Horowitz's trampled "freedom of speech" in order to prepare the spotlight for his next campus provocation. Thus, in an interview with the *New York Times* that was excerpted in a front-page article (21 March), Horowitz calls the students who protested nationwide "campus fascists."



Young Spartacus

SL/SYC-built Revolutionary Contingent at 13 May 2000 San Francisco rally called for mobilizing labor's social power to free Mumia. Framed-up death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has been targeted by right-wing reactionaries like Horowitz.

As the SYC leaflet underlines, black oppression constitutes a fundamental feature of American capitalism. That is why social reaction necessarily dons the hood and cloak of racism, as black students at Berkeley experience daily. Since the publication of Horowitz's reparations advertisement, black student groups have carried out a series of silent protests, including a one-hour "Black Out" blockade of Sather Gate by a group of 75 students dressed in black with bandannas covering their mouths. The flyer they distributed provides a gut-wrenching list of recent attacks against black students, while the fact that these students chose to silence *themselves* in protest is a telling sign of the despair to which they have been driven by racist reaction. Thus, the organizers of the "Black Out" told students to *stay away* from the Horowitz protest.

As the SYC made clear in building for the anti-Horowitz demonstration, an end to black oppression can only come about through a revolutionary program for black liberation through socialist revolution. The racist Democratic Party, though it may pose as a friend of blacks and workers, binds them to their own oppressors, to the capitalist state, through the instrumentality of the trade-union bureaucracy. The labor movement must actively champion the cause of black liberation—the fight against every manifestation of black oppression is inseparable from the struggle to free all working people from capitalist exploitation. From this standpoint, we seek to *refute* racist ideologues like Horowitz who justify racial oppression.

Where was the rest of the campus left when Horowitz came to town? Although Solidarity endorsed the protest, they did not bother to show up at the picket line. The International Socialist Organization professes to be socialist, but where were they when the far right attacked the right of socialists to do political work on campus? They not only refused to support the anti-Horowitz protest, but actively worked against the SYC's attempt to build a united front by using their leadership position in the campus group Students for Justice in Palestine to block that group's endorsement. The ISO bowed to the pressure of the administration and campus liberals who argued that it was best not to give Horowitz "attention." Apparently it would be preferable to leave his racist fabrications unchallenged and project the image that there is no opposition to his filth.

To their credit, members of the Progressive Labor Party came to the picket line, put out a leaflet, and also spoke. But while their statement correctly denounces Horowitz's racism and the class it serves, they nevertheless walk straight into Horowitz's trap by declaring "No Free Speech for Racists" and "Free Speech Is a Hoax." Rather than fight racist ideology, PL calls to suppress it in a classic liberal-moralist fashion. At the same time, PL caters to backward consciousness. As a Spartacus Youth Club speaker explained at the protest: "Their opportunism means that PL does not challenge the current consciousness of the working class, leading them to abandon the *actual* defense of black rights—witness their failure to defend affirmative action against the drive to eliminate minority students from the universities." The only way to fight for a "communist future," which PL proclaims is their goal, is through a struggle to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class by politically defeating its false leadership: the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO bureaucracy. But PL instead bends to prevailing illusions—the Democratic Party does not even earn a mention in PL's leaflet! ■

Kemal Ataturk...

(continued from page 3)

letter sharply attacked the representative for not immediately sending a message about this threat to Moscow and for not being "sufficiently energetic" in trying to save their lives.

It is unthinkable that such a criticism would have been published in a Soviet state or Comintern journal under the Stalinist bureaucracy. Furthermore, the letter was introduced with an editorial statement denouncing "these new crimes of the ruling classes in Turkey" and a postscript declared: "The death of Comrade Subhi, who fell on the battlefield, a victim of the hatred and viciousness of the ruling classes, will give birth to thousands of new avengers, thousands of fearless fighters who will walk in the path of the first and foremost Turkish Communist."

The fact that the Soviet state under Lenin was obliged to conclude accords with various capitalist powers in no way tempered the revolutionary program of the Comintern. In April 1922, Moscow signed the Rapallo Treaty with Germany which provided Soviet Russia with vitally needed trade while allowing Germany to get around the provisions of the Versailles Treaty by establishing arms factories and military training in Russia. At the same time, Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks devoted considerable resources in seeking to prepare the powerful German Communist Party to lead a socialist revolution in Germany.

In the case of Turkey, as well, the early Comintern and the Soviet state sought to advance the cause of socialist revolution. A September 1919 appeal by the Soviet commissar for foreign affairs, Georgii Chicherin, to the workers and peasants of Turkey proclaimed: "You must be the masters of your land, and you, only you, can issue this or that law for the country; not the parasitic exploiters, the pasha landlords, the manufacturers and factory owners, and the unprincipled, irresolute parties, who are not concerned with the happiness of the working class" (reprinted in Jane Degras, ed., *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy 1917-1924* [1951]).

Similar appeals to the Turkish proletariat were issued in the name of the Comintern in that period. There are also quotes that could and have been cited by historians seeking to prove a supposed political continuity between Lenin and Stalin. A resolution presented by a Turkish delegate and unanimously passed at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 protested Kemal's suppression of the Turkish Communist Party, noting that the latter had "even proved its readiness, faced by the common enemy, to make temporary sacrifices in regard to its programme and ideals." The Comintern declared its willingness "to support any government or political party...which will continue the fight against imperialism and reaction, and will bring about democratic reforms in favour of the Turkish working masses" (Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Vol. 1 [1971]).

Such declarations reflected a political weakness manifested at the Fourth Congress in its "Theses on the Eastern Question," which addressed the relations which the young Communist organizations in the countries of the East should adopt vis-à-vis bourgeois-nationalist movements. It should be understood that the CI was dealing with countries where there was little or no tradition of Marxist workers parties and where the proletarian movement was new and small. But as we noted in "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997): "While criticizing the colonial bourgeoisie, the Fourth Congress Theses clearly went beyond recognizing the possibility of common actions with bourgeois nationalists, such as a military bloc against an imperialist power. The Theses were mooting a call for a *political* bloc with bourgeois nationalism around a minimum program of democratic demands."

Nevertheless, it was a sharp descent from the opportunistic impulses expressed at the Fourth Congress to the catastrophic betrayal subsequently carried out by Stalin in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. Under orders from the Stalinized Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party subordinated itself to the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, derailing the revolutionary upsurge and setting up the working class for bloody defeat. By 1936-37, the Stalinists cynically and consciously worked to liquidate the Spanish Revolution in the hope of currying favor with the "democratic" imperialist powers. It was the Trotskyists who continued the fight for the internationalist principles of Leninism, for political independence of the proletariat and the struggle for world socialist revolution carried forward by the International Communist League today. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 3: ***Anarchism vs. Bolshevism: The Need for a Proletarian Dictatorship***
UC Berkeley, 179 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.
April 2: ***Socialism Utopian and Scientific—For a Materialist Conception of the Class Struggle***
Harvard U., Loker Commons
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 3: ***The Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party***
University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
April 3: ***Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!***
Columbia U., 609 Hamilton Hall
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

March) reports a new policy review by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld portraying China "as the principal threat to American global dominance" and writes of "Washington's decision to turn more of its guns and missiles towards China." The Bush administration talks of supplying Taiwan with destroyers with advanced Aegis radar systems, while pushing full speed ahead with plans for its "star wars" missile defense, intended chiefly to neutralize China's nuclear arsenal. Imperialist-backed counterrevolution, destroying the remaining social gains of the 1949 Revolution, would spell enormous hardship for China's workers and poor and would fuel potentially cataclysmic rivalry between the U.S. and Japan over the spoils. It is in the direct interest of the international proletariat—especially workers and minorities in the U.S.—to fight for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Counterrevolution Fuels Nationalist Wars

In the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, conflicting appetites among the major capitalist powers have increasingly come to the fore. We have frequently observed that the outline of the international political situation following capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution increasingly resembles that before the first interimperialist world war in 1914-18. That the tiny state of Macedonia is today under an international spotlight is a telling indication of this.

Britain's Lord Owen, a onetime Labour Party leader, recently called for a "present-day equivalent of the 1878 Congress of Berlin, with pre-agreed boundary changes endorsed by the major powers" (*New York Times*, 25 March). That congress created the statelets that made up the Balkan peninsula in the years before World War I, separated by artificial boundaries, cutting through the many peoples of the region, in order to suit the Great Powers—chiefly Britain, tsarist Russia, Bismarck's Germany and Habsburg Austria. This period marked the ascendancy of the modern imperialist epoch, what Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin later called the "highest stage of capitalism," defined by the increasing concentration of monopolies, the dominance of banking and finance capital over industry and the scramble by a handful of big capitalist countries to grab colonies, markets and spheres of exploitation from each other. The Balkans was a major cockpit for these conflicting imperialist appetites.

The immediate precipitant of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 was a revolt by the Albanians of Kosovo, whose capture of Skopje, now the capital of Macedonia, destabilized the central Balkans. Amid the disintegration of Ottoman Turkey and Austrian encroachment, the Balkan statelets went to war with Turkey—and then with each other—in a mad frenzy to seize territory. Macedonia was carved up among Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. This was a prelude to World War I, which was triggered by the assassination of an Austrian archduke by a Serb nationalist.

The only time nationalist hostilities in this region abated was during the existence of the multinational Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, born out of World War II with the victory of Josip Broz Tito's Communist Partisans over the occupying Nazi Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. But the victory of Tito's Stalinists resulted in a workers state bureaucratically deformed from its inception, with the working class denied political power. The 1945 Yugoslav constitution guaranteed formal equality for all the South Slav peoples, and the relative national harmony achieved under proletarian state power and a collectivized economy stands in stark contrast to the communalist bloodletting of the past decade. But bureaucratic misrule and the nationalist deformations inherent in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" were counterposed to a lasting, equitable resolution of the national question.

A socialist federation of the Balkans necessarily had to extend to Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece, with its substantial Macedonian and Albanian minorities. Intent on continuing his wartime alliance with British imperialism after 1945, Stalin allowed the Greek Communists to be crushed by British imperialism and domestic reaction in the Civil War, ensuring the continued rule of the chauvinist Greek bourgeoisie. Finally, Tito's split with Stalin in 1948 put an end to plans for federating Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Romania, which had pro-Moscow regimes.

Under central planning, economic differences between backward regions and more industrialized areas like Slovenia and Croatia were somewhat ameliorated through the favorable allocation of investment and other resources. Tito's introduction of "market socialism" in the 1960s reinforced regional disparities and fueled a resurgence of nationalism, paving the way for a fracturing of the Stalinist bureaucracy after Tito's death in 1980. In our article "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* Nos. 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976), we warned: "The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle."

This is precisely what happened as Stalinism collapsed in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Slovenia and Croatia seceded from the Yugoslav federation and restored capitalism in 1991, igniting an ethnic civil war between Serbs and Croats which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state. This was instigated by German imperialism, fresh from its counterrevolutionary annexation of the DDR (East Germany). Washington then pressed Bosnia to declare its independence, instigating an even bloodier intercommunal slaughter. While the imperialists (and their "left" lapdogs) vilified Milosevic's Serbia for "ethnic cleansing," the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the course of the recent Balkan wars was the expulsion of some 200,000 Serbs from the Krajina region of Croatia in 1995, an atrocity carried out in collusion with the U.S.

Until now, Macedonia had been relatively immune from the nationalist fratricide, lauded by the imperialist media for its pro-Western "multiethnic" regime, which includes the Democratic Party for Albanians. In fact, the present coalition government, which replaced the ex-Stalinist Social-Democratic Alliance in 1998, is headed by extremist Macedonian nationalists whose namesake, the Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organization, was a tool of the Bulgarian far right in the years before World War II. Ethnic Albanians constitute at least a quarter to a third of the population—the exact figure is itself a point of political controversy, with the recent fighting erupting just before a planned census in April—but are largely excluded from government positions, the police and the army. Use of Albanian is heavily circumscribed, and the regime suppressed an Albanian-language university established in Tetovo a few years ago. The influx of some 200,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo, many fleeing NATO bombing, provoked a firestorm of opposition.

The Macedonian UCK claims that it is not fighting for secession. In fact, the UCK has long had the aim of a "Greater Albania," including parts of northwestern Greece. And Greece has long had designs on Macedonia. When Macedonia declared independence in 1992, the Greek bourgeoisie demanded that the country call itself Skopje, the name of the capital city, and screamed, "Macedonia is Greece!" Troops were mobilized for a possible invasion and a three-year economic embargo was imposed. Bourgeois hostility toward the Macedonians in Greece, who are denied language rights and suffer systematic discrimination, is fueled by the disproportionate role they played in the Communist-led forces in the Greek Civil War.

In "The National Question in Yugoslavia," we wrote:

> "Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania. The border in this region was established by military conquests of the Serb bourgeoisie in 1913 and in no way reflects the national borders of Albania."

Our defense of the right of self-determination of the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Greece in no way implies political support to the reactionary nationalism of the UCK, which has shown itself no less proficient at bloody "ethnic cleansing" than the Serb chauvinists. Under the protection of its NATO imperialist patrons, the UCK has forced tens of thousands of Serbs and Roma (Gypsies) from their homes through pogromist massacres, most recently bombing a busload of Serbian civilians in February.

WV Map

Moreover, in the 1999 war the question of Albanian self-determination was subordinated to military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces, which likewise implied not an iota of political support to the Serb-chauvinist Milosevic regime in Belgrade. With Kosovo now a NATO protectorate, there can be no independent struggle for the national rights of ethnic Albanians or any other national minority in the region which does not first and foremost seek to expel the imperialist "peacekeepers." At the same time, we noted in our article at the end of the war: "The question of military defense of the Kosovo separatists against U.S./NATO forces might well be posed in the event of armed clashes if the imperialist occupation troops move to disarm the UCK." We fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans through proletarian revolution against all the capitalist regimes of the region. *Down with the imperialist occupation of Kosovo! All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now!*

AP

April 1999 U.S./NATO bombing of refugee convoy in Kosovo killed 82 Albanians.

Fake Lefts Sell Imperialism's Lies

In his 1910 article "The Balkan Question and Social Democracy," Leon Trotsky, who worked as a journalist in the region during the Balkan Wars, wrote: "The Social Democratic parties of Bulgaria and Serbia, the most mature representatives of the labor movement in the Balkans, are fighting tirelessly on two fronts: against their own dynastic-chauvinist cliques and against the imperialist plans of tsarism and the Europe of the stock exchanges" (*The Balkan Wars 1912-13*). With the outbreak of World War I, the Serbian Social Democrats and the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialists (Tesnyaki) joined Lenin's Bolsheviks in hard proletarian-internationalist opposition to the imperialist slaughter. Lenin's principled stand in 1914 was the precondition for the victory of the Bolshevik-led workers revolution in 1917, which pointed the way out of imperialist war to the proletariat internationally.

In May 1919, the Tesnyaki constituted themselves as the Communist Party of Bulgaria. As Joseph Rothschild noted in his *The Communist Party of Bulgaria: Origins and Development 1883-1936* (1959), their adherence to the new Communist International brought into it a party very much in the Bolshevik mold, the "only mass party, other than the Bolshevik one, of a truly 'Russian' complexion." At its founding congress, the Bulgarian party proclaimed that the independence of the Balkan peoples could only be assured by the establishment of a Balkan Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The current crop of counterfeit "Marxists" and "Trotskyists" stand in the tradition not of the Bolsheviks and Bulgarian "Narrows" but of the German Social Democracy—denounced by Lenin as "social-imperialist"—which voted for imperialist war credits and mobilized the workers as cannon fodder for the capitalist rulers. The reformist and centrist "socialists"—from the Cliffite Socialist

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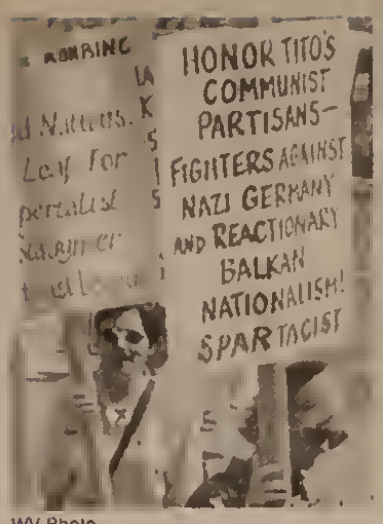
Workers Party (SWP) in Britain and International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. to Alain Krivine's United Secretariat (USec) and the British Workers Power (WP)—promoted the war aims and propaganda of the imperialist rulers in 1999 while declaiming against the NATO bombing. Their only difference lay in which of the divergent imperialist forces they tailed—the strongly pro-NATO Clinton and Blair governments or the French Socialists and British Labour "lefts," etc.

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we were presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-NATO war rallies. Indeed, it was the liberals and fake socialists who most loudly and assiduously promoted the lie that what was at issue was the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. Their ideological prostration before the capitalist rulers over Kosovo reflected their many years of support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." Their lodestar is not the interests of the international proletariat but bourgeois "public opinion." Amid "ethnic cleansing" on all sides, the fake lefts consistently lined up behind whichever nationality Western imperialism momentarily favored—and always against NATO's chief nemesis, Milosevic's Serbia.

As the U.S. and Britain promoted the Bosnian Muslim regime in 1993, WP



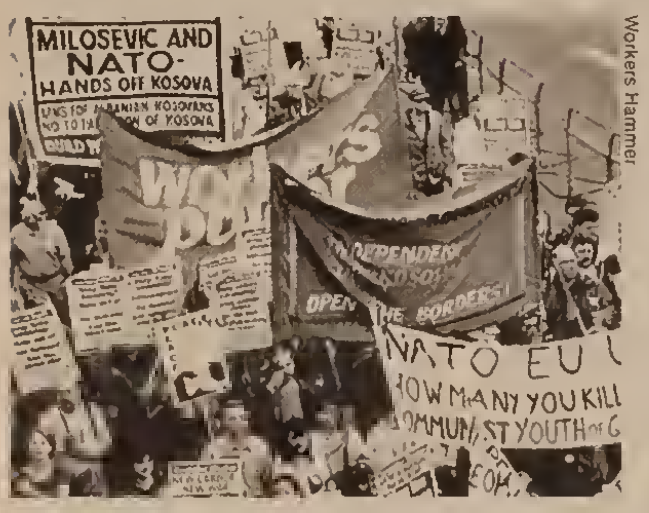
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Leadership of Tito's Communist Partisans was drawn from the many nationalities making up Yugoslavia. Tito (center), who was from Croatia, pictured with Slovenian, Serbian and Montenegrin Communists.

WV Photo

dutifully chimed in, "Solidarity with Bosnian Muslims!" WP joined with the USec in a campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia," which openly collaborated with imperialist "peacekeeping" forces, and baldly refused to defend the Bosnian Serbs against NATO's bombing campaign with the line that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary" (5 September 1995 statement). For its part, the ISO claimed to oppose imperialist intervention in Serbia but chastised the imperialists for not doing enough to oust Milosevic from power, writing: "Opposition parties have called on the West to take a tough line, but have come away disappointed" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 December 1996).

When the West's attentions shifted to Kosovo in 1999, the NATO "socialists"



Workers Hammer

Fake socialists promoted war aims of NATO imperialists, championing "poor little Kosovo." At May 1999 London demonstration, Workers Power banner read: "Stop NATO's Bombing! Independence for Kosovo!"

followed suit, invigorated by the fact that the social-democratic parties they supported were now in power in much of West Europe. They raised a clamor for "independence for Kosovo" and championed the UCK, which *boasted* of spotting targets for NATO bombing sorties. In a statement distributed at a 30 March 1999 public meeting in London, WP claimed to "support the Serbian forces' self-defence against NATO attack" but "not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy"—i.e., *not* on the principal battlefield. Tailing behind Blair's Labour Party, which was the most belligerent government in the war against Serbia, WP was in fact one of the most vociferous promoters of NATO's UCK puppets, marching alongside NATO flags in a "Workers Aid for Kosova" demonstration in London and co-sponsoring a London public meeting whose main speaker was a rabidly pro-NATO Albanian nationalist.

Across the channel, the French USec group, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, echoed the anti-American nationalism of the French bourgeoisie, promoting the UN or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as an alternative to NATO. Daniel Bensaïd, a prominent French USec leader, co-signed a statement calling for a "multinational police force" in Kosovo "under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord" (*Rouge*, 1 April 1999). With the British SWP immersed in an "antiwar" coalition with "little England" anti-American Labour "left" Tony Benn, SWP spokesman Alex Callinicos likewise signed the pro-OSCE appeal. And while the SWP capitulated to Bennite Labourism, the American ISO bent to the prevailing pressure of "human rights imperialism." Idiotically whining that "NATO bombs won't bring peace," the ISO argued for self-determination for Kosovo and echoed the lie that the issue was the plight of the Albanian refugees, pleading in *Socialist Worker* (7 May 1999): "Money for Refugees, Not for War!"

"Albanian Liberation" Meets "Serbian Revolution"

Having tailed the imperialist-backed Albanian nationalists in Kosovo, the same groups were soon tailing the imperialist-backed Serb chauvinist Vojislav Kostunica in the so-called "Serbian revolution" that ousted Milosevic, which as we noted in a headline at the time was "Made in the U.S.A." (*WV* No. 744, 20 October 2000). In a 10 October 2000 posting on its Web site, WP enthused over "a mighty popular revolution," fatuously claiming that Kostunica "has not offered himself as an open tool of Nato." Compelled to acknowledge the well-documented ties of the anti-Milosevic opposition forces to Western imperialism, the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (December 2000-January 2001) nonetheless concluded that "it is neither the cause nor the driving force of the revolt." And the British *Socialist Worker* (24 March) declares even now: "Hundreds of thousands of people in Serbia took to the streets and brought down Milosevic, no thanks to NATO."

To be sure, Kostunica did not openly embrace NATO. He is, if anything, even more rabidly chauvinist than Milosevic, staging a photo-op with Serb chauvinist paramilitary killers in Kosovo in 1998 and supporting Radovan Karadzic's extreme nationalist party in last November's Bosnian election. But Kostunica's election victory was bought and paid for by the U.S. and other NATO powers, especially Germany, which openly funded and braintrusted the opposition parties and blackmailed the population with threats of continued economic sanctions if they didn't vote the right way. One of the chief recipients of imperialist largesse was the Otpor student group, a favorite of Western leftists, whose omnipresent clenched-fist signs and "Gotov Je" (He's Finished) stickers were paid for by the U.S.

With Milosevic ousted, as the *New York Times* (19 March) observed, "The Bush administration and NATO have gone out of their way to paint the guerrillas in the hills of Macedonia as 'Albanian extremists,' a far different description than the portrayal of Kosovo Albanians in 1999 as a persecuted minority needing help." Now that the UCK is being discarded by its imperialist patrons, the opportunists find themselves in a quandary. Reflecting the European governments' harder line against the UCK, the British *Socialist Worker* (10 March) writes: "These Albanian guerrilla campaigns have been allowed to flourish in part because they operate in zones for which the US is responsible." Meanwhile, the American *Socialist Worker* (16 March) has a different tilt: "NATO even plans to allow the Serb-run Yugoslav Army to enter a three-mile buffer zone on the border of Kosovo in order to attack the same Albanian guerrillas that the U.S. supported during the 1999 war."

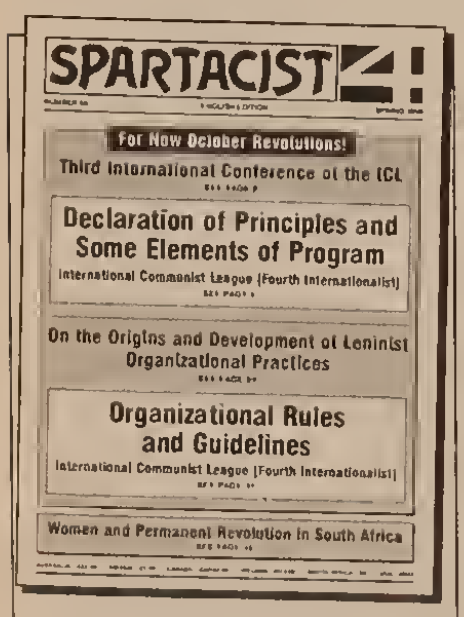
Opportunism is nationally defined. Foreshadowing the recent open split between the two groups, the ISO and SWP traded accusations of capitulation in the aftermath of the war. According to a document by Callinicos justifying the split, the ISO took the SWP to task for not denouncing "illusions in the United Nations as an alternative to NATO" and for ignoring the question of Kosovo self-determination ("The Anti-Capitalist Movement and the Revolutionary Left," 7 March).

National differences in opportunist appetites can only intensify as rivalries among the major capitalist powers themselves intensify. For the common starting point for reformists and centrists is utter prostration before their "own" rulers, generally refracted through the social-democratic labor bureaucracies. Their role as drummer boys for imperialism in the Balkans portends a larger capitulation with the inevitable outbreak of a new interimperialist war—inevitable if the proletariat does not seize power first.

Writing in 1908, Trotsky scathingly denounced the Russian liberals who called on the tsarist autocracy to intervene in the Balkans:

> "Poles and Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews, Armenians and Georgians, Slavs and non-Slavs—we all wade up to our knees in blood that is shed every day by the tsarist gang. And the liberals call upon this government, the most guilty of them all, to free the Serbs from the grip of Austria....
>
> "We shall render our best service to the Serbs of Bosnia, as to all oppressed peoples in general, when we dash the crown from the head of Nicholas II."

Trotsky's revolutionary internationalist politics led him to join with Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1917 and organize the October Revolution. And we communists of the Spartacist League/U.S. will render our best service to all the oppressed peoples of the world through the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party to bring down this blood-drenched ruling class through an American October Revolution. ■



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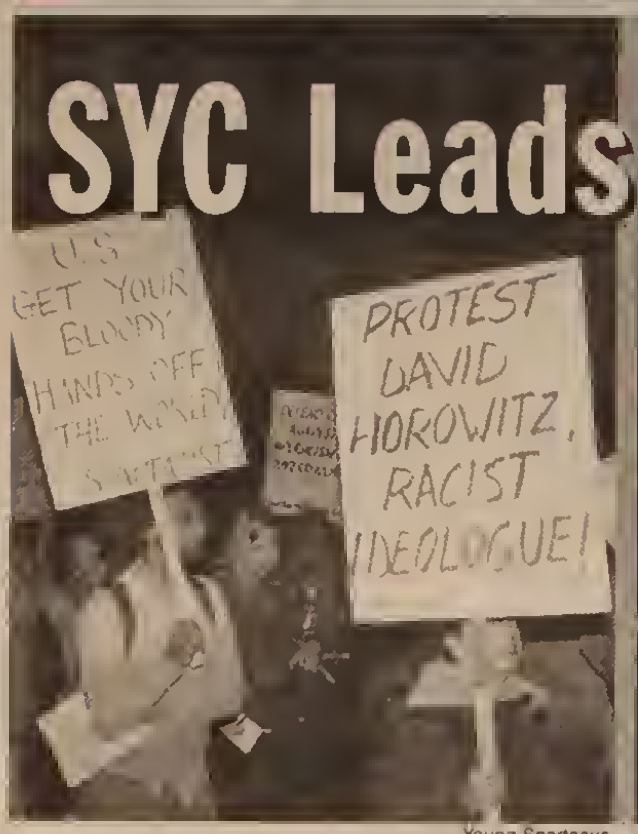
WORKERS VANGUARD

UC Berkeley

SYC Leads Anti-Horowitz Protest



Young Spartacus

Jose Carlos Fajardo/Contra Costa Times

Down With Witchhunt Against the Left!

Young Spartacus

BERKELEY—Orchestrating a national campaign of provocation, racist ideologue David Horowitz recently submitted a full-page ad entitled "Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea—and Racist Too" to 51 college and university newspapers. The ad is a sickening medley of lies which claims that slavery has left no lasting impact on American society and that black people have *actually benefited* from slavery. The majority of the papers refused to print the ad, and protests resulted at many campuses where the ad was printed.

At the University of Wisconsin at Madison, 150 students rallied outside the office of the *Badger Herald*, the right-wing student newspaper, then stormed the editor's office and demanded her resignation. At Brown, an entire press run of the university's paper was confiscated by enraged students. The Brown administration sponsored a faculty panel one week later to discuss "freedom of the press"; the event was packed with hundreds of students, but closed to the media and anyone without a valid Brown ID. The threatening atmosphere has escalated as black students and professors at Brown who were involved in the protests have received ominous letters and messages with racist slurs. One student received a handwritten letter accompanied by a photo of a mutilated black youth. There has been a flurry of editorials and letters in campus papers around the country, as well as in national papers such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Now, San Francisco State University's *Xpress* plans to run Horowitz's racist ad in order "to provoke a discussion about free speech and race relations" (*Contra Costa Times*, 25 March).

The Berkeley campus paper, the *Daily Californian*, ran Horowitz's ad on February 28 and then the Berkeley Conservative Foundation (BCF) and College Republicans sponsored him to speak there on March 15—but Horowitz was met with vigorous opposition. More than 50 protesters joined a Spartacus Youth Club-initiated demonstration to protest racist ideologue Horowitz, facing down a small clot of anti-communists who provocatively advanced on them. Significant numbers of students who went inside Horowitz's lecture were also there in opposition to this devout servant of racist U.S. imperialism. Giving organized expression to the deeply felt anger on campus at this racist bigotry, the SYC built a militant united-front protest to refute Horowitz's lies and tell the truth: America is a racist hellhole for black people! Black liberation must be won through socialist revolution!

Who is this racist pig? David Horowitz's sinister history as a right-wing ideologue spans two decades—from acting as an adviser in the murderous CIA-backed war against the Nicaraguan Sandinistas in the 1980s to spearheading California's Proposition 209, which outlawed affirmative action in public education and government hiring/contracting. His recent book, *Hating Whitey*, rants about the danger black men supposedly pose to white women—the same kind of deadly trash long used to incite lynchings in this country. In Horowitz's twisted vision of capitalist America, affirmative action is a racist crusade against whites; leftists and liberals are totalitarian thought police suppressing freedom of speech; and blacks should show gratitude to "white Christians" for the "gifts" of "the greatest freedoms."

At Berkeley on March 15 as the audience approached the barricaded entrance to the auditorium to hear Horowitz's lecture, "Celebrate Free Speech," they were

continued on page 9

Protest Racist Ideologue David Horowitz!

In building for the protest against Horowitz, the Spartacus Youth Club distributed the following statement.

1857: Dred Scott case—The Supreme Court asserts that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

2000: Four cops who killed unarmed West African immigrant Amadou Diallo in New York City are acquitted because they were just doing their job.

This is the true face of racist, bloody American capitalism. But according to the recent *Daily Cal* ad by the right-wing, racist demagogue David Horowitz, blacks should shut up and show gratitude to this country that locks their youth out of its universities, locks them in its hell-hole prison dungeons, and shoots them down unarmed in the streets. From witchhunting liberals and leftists to braintrusting the destruction of affirmative action in California, Horowitz is one of the chief ideologues of the war against workers, youth, blacks and other minorities prosecuted today by both the Democratic and Republican parties. Protest his appearance at Cal Thursday, March 15 and expose who and what he serves: the capitalist ruling class and its mass police terror in the ghettos and barrios, union-busting and poverty, and imperialist slaughter from Vietnam to Iraq, from Central America to Serbia!

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Beware: Horowitz's appearance is a trap of provocation and lies. Cloaking himself in the flag of "free speech," the neo-McCarthyite Horowitz will attempt to convert any challenge into a campaign of anti-leftist hysteria and racist reaction, the program of the post-Soviet New World Order. Shouting Horowitz down will only play into his hands by making it appear that the left has no answer to his demagoguery. Marxists understand that it is necessary to *refute* the lies of right-wing propagandists and combat the corrosive impact of their retrograde ideas. The Spartacus Youth Club calls for a large, disciplined, militant united front: Protest racist ideologue Horowitz!

Horowitz claims that slavery left no legacy, and racism (except against "Whitey") no longer exists. This is a revolting lie! Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. The forcible segregation of blacks at the bottom of this society is the legacy of chattel slavery and the Northern capitalists' betrayal of Radical Reconstruction. The capitalists and their hired mouthpieces pit different sections of the working class against each other by consciously fomenting racial hatred. Eight years of Clinton/Gore's vicious attacks against welfare, flooding the streets with cops and expanding the racist death penalty should make it clear that the Democrats are no friend of labor and blacks but, like the Republicans, a racist capitalist party of the bosses. *SO WHAT CAN BE DONE?* Blacks are not just victims. Integrated at the point of production, they are a strategic section of the working class that has the social power to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression through joint class struggle of black and white workers. Marxists fight for ***revolutionary integration:*** Finish the Civil War! The only way blacks can get "reparations" for the hideous brutality of slavery is through the expropriation of the capitalist class, through a socialist revolution in which they will play a vanguard role. Free quality education, full employment at union wages, free quality health care for all can only be accomplished under a revolutionary workers government which places the productive forces of society in the hands of those that labor. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for a multi-racial revolutionary party that takes up the cause of all of the oppressed. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 756

13 April 2001

U.S. Spy Plane Provocation

AP

Xinhua

Provocation by U.S. spy plane, still on Hainan military base, is part of calculated escalation by American imperialism against Chinese deformed workers state.

Defend China!

APRIL 10—Whatever happened in the skies above China's Hainan Island last week—and Beijing's account is a lot more plausible than Washington's—the U.S. spy plane provocation was no accident. It was part of a deliberate, calculated escalation of U.S. military pressure against the People's Republic of China, aimed at furthering the capitalists' goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reimposing the yoke of imperialist exploitation on China's working masses. As proletarian internationalists in the heartland of world imperialism, the Spartacist League/U.S. declares its class solidarity with the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese workers state, however bureaucratically deformed. We salute Wang Wei, the pilot who is presumed dead after defending his country against imperialist espionage and provocation.

With all the arrogance that comes of being the self-proclaimed "world's only superpower," U.S. imperialism thought it could dictate terms of submission to China. President Bush imperiously demanded the immediate return of the EP-3E plane and its crew, while the chauvinist American media smeared the downed Chinese pilot as a "cowboy" who didn't know what he was doing and got what was coming. But unlike the small, defenseless countries over which America's rulers regularly ride roughshod, China does not fall into the category of a "rogue state"—because it has nuclear weapons.

When Beijing refused to simply kowtow to the diktat of "Xiao Bushi" (Little Bush) and his power-crazed foreign policy wonks, Washington changed its tune, expressing "regret" for the downing of the Chinese pilot and seeking to negotiate an end to the crisis. The U.S. has acquiesced to the fact that the Chinese military has been carefully examining the EP-3E, the most advanced spy plane in the Navy's arsenal. This is an intelligence bonanza for China, which it should share with the Vietnamese, North Korean and Cuban deformed workers states.

Invoking "international law," Washington initially thundered that the EP-3E sitting on a Hainan runway was sovereign its airspace...if you lose your airman, and you lose your aircraft, I think the response would be very different." "International law" notwithstanding, when the U.S. got hold of a Soviet MIG-25 in 1976, it picked the plane apart and sent it back two months later in shipping crates.

Matters Marine

U.S. threat to supply Aegis guided missile destroyers to Taiwan targets China's missile systems.

U.S. territory off-limits to Chinese military personnel and proclaimed its inalienable "right" to carry out intrusive military/espionage missions right off China's coastline. Puncturing this imperialist hypocrisy, Chinese ambassador Yang Jiechi said on the PBS-TV *Lehrer News Hour* (4 April): "If America had witnessed such kinds of reconnaissance flights up and down its coast, so close to

The backdrop to the spy plane provocation is a shift in U.S. policy toward "an era of direct confrontation with China," as outlined in a policy review by Bush defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld. China has now been declared Enemy No. 1. Reporting on the Pentagon review, which has been virtually covered up in the American press, the London *Guardian* (24 March) wrote of "Washington's decision to turn more of its guns and missiles towards China," now deemed to be "the principal threat to American global dominance." In the last years of the Clinton administration, the U.S. began a significant shift of its military forces to the Asia-Pacific region.

Immediately before the U.S. provocation over the South China Sea, a Pentagon team visited Taiwan to put together a list of weaponry for this U.S.-sponsored capitalist state, including advanced Aegis-equipped destroyers which could take out Chinese missile systems. Taiwan has been a dagger aimed at the People's Republic from the time Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces fled there in 1949.

The U.S. has over 100,000 military personnel in the Asia-Pacific region, including 47,000 troops in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. The U.S. has increased spy flights against China and North Korea. U.S. plans for a "theater missile defense" system in Asia are aimed squarely against China's missile capacity and target North Korea as well. Last year, the U.S. conducted more than 50 joint military exercises with Japan, Australia, South Korea, the Philippines and others, a number unequaled since the fall of the Soviet Union. The U.S. recently sealed a deal with Singapore for use of a deep-draft navy pier, the second such facility open to U.S. aircraft carriers in South-East Asia since the close of the American naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines in 1992. The new pier is located at the mouth of the strategically important Malacca Strait, through which Persian Gulf oil shipments pass to Japan.

A domestic reflection of increased American belligerence toward China was the racist frame-up of Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee. As we wrote in "'Chinese Spy' Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism" (*WV* No. 719, 17 September 1999):

> "Even if Lee had, with purpose or not, given military secrets to the People's Republic of China, this is no crime from the standpoint of the international working class.... Our unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution necessarily includes defense of the right of these states to amass and test nuclear weapons and to obtain them by whatever means necessary."

China last month announced an increase of 18 percent in military expenditures for this year, although its military budget is still only a fraction of the Pentagon's. China has purchased from

continued on page 10

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15 Months Without a Contract
Chicago Transit Workers at a Boil

CHICAGO—Over the past several months, meetings of the powerful Chicago Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 have been the largest and most raucous in years. Workers who have been chained to the job without a contract for well over a year are demanding answers from the bureaucrats who have kept the membership completely in the dark about contract talks. The union tops nearly lost control of the January meeting of Local 241 bus drivers and mechanics as workers pumped their fists, chanting "Strike! Strike!"

For months, Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bosses and the bourgeois press have been running a smear campaign vilifying transit workers as reckless drivers, implying that they are responsible for the cutbacks in service to black and Latino neighborhoods. Last fall, when a black motorman was literally mobbed by enraged passengers after a faulty public address system caused them to miss their stops, the transit bosses responded by trying to fire him. In 1985, black Chicago bus driver David Johnson was framed up for "reckless homicide" after his bus had unavoidably hit a car that swerved in front of him, tragically killing seven white youths. Hundreds of Chicago transit workers responded by marching on police headquarters to demand that the charges he dropped, and they were.

Today the ATU misleaders have hogtied the union to a binding arbitration scheme that makes it "illegal" to strike. Putting the union's fate in the hands of arbitrators, claiming nothing can be done that violates the dictates of the capitalist state, the bureaucrats use the threat of an arbitration ruling as a club to ram through whatever deal they can get from the CTA bosses. The union tops want the membership to vote up a partial contract which leaves key contract issues to be "resolved" in the future. After being stonewalled by the bureaucrats through more than a year of bargaining, transit workers rightly fear that some of the worst givebacks in decades and provisions which challenge the existence of the union itself will be announced *after* the contract is ratified.

Binding arbitration has long been a crucial weapon in the union-busting arsenal of the bosses, designed to *stop* strikes from happening and to gut the very purpose of unions. The trade-union bureaucrats' embrace of this class collaboration, which ties labor to the exploiters, goes hand in hand with their longstanding allegiance to the Democratic Party. The labor bureaucracy and black Democratic Party politicians have served to channel the anger of the working class and the ghetto into cynical electoral politics which have secured the rule of the Democrats in Chicago for over half a century. They have made Chicago "the city that works" for Boss Daley's racist Democratic machine, and that means no strikes to upset the apple cart.

The contradictions of race and class that define capitalist America are played out in the raw in Chicago, the metropolis at the center of the industrial Midwest known as "Segregation City." The overwhelmingly black and Latino ATU locals have the social power to bring the city to a grinding halt, a power which can be linked to the anger of the increasingly impoverished and brutalized ghettos and barrios. A hard core of Chicago transit workers played a central role in stopping the Klan from rallying in Gary, Indiana on January 20 as part of the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. While the numbers that came out were diminished by threats of mass arrest by the city's Democratic Party administration, the Klan didn't dare show, and the city backed off from its arrest threats in the face of protests by labor officials nationally. We prevailed because we fought on the basis of mobilizing the power of labor independently of and in opposition to the cops, courts and all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class enemy. Here was a concrete, albeit modest, demonstration of what labor can do if it doesn't play by the bosses' rules.

Government, Cops and Courts Out of the Unions!

Would-be "opposition" cliques like Local 308's dubious "Union Watchdog" have seized on the rank-and-file discontent for their own purposes of ugly internecine feuding backed by the threat of state intervention. It is a testament to how discredited the local leadership is in the eyes of the membership that the "Union Watchdog," which makes appeals to racist sentiment against the local's black president, Jerry Williams, has been able to get a hearing. While making demeaning references to Williams' grammar, the "Watchdog" links have turned union material over to the attorney general and advocate dragging the union into the capitalist courts.

The FBI has launched an "investigation" of alleged corruption by Local 308 officials. In Local 241, an anonymous phone call brought the cops rushing into a union meeting this February. All sides in this bureaucratic mudslinging are equally committed to subordinating the labor movement to the bosses and their state. In Local 241, one bureaucrat is challenging the fact that many contract issues are unresolved. But his bottom line is to send the contract back to the bargaining table or to arbitration.

Far from being "neutral," the capitalist state represents the organized machinery of violence and repression against the working class and oppressed on behalf of those who live off the exploitation of labor. The state has repeatedly intervened in the labor movement, not to uphold union democracy but to take over and crush the unions. It was the Justice Department that first installed Ron Carey to run the Teamsters union in 1991, then launched their own vendetta against him following the successful 1997 Teamsters strike against UPS. It was the FBI that launched the deadly war on black radicals in the late 1960s, leading to the assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by a Chicago police death squad. The same Chicago cops who break up picket lines use racist terror to enforce the status quo in "Segregation City," from the vicious beating and attempted frame-up of black CTA driver Cassandra Seay in 1987 to the 1999 cold-blooded killings of black motorists Robert Russ and LaTanya Haggerty. Labor must clean its own house: *Government, cops and courts out of the unions!*

Labor/Black Power Is the Key

To ward off strike sentiment, the ATU tops claim that the union's last strike in 1979 was a "disaster" that cost the ATU its cost-of-living allowance (COLA), which had made Chicago transit workers the highest paid in the country in the '70s. The reality is that the four-day walkout *prevented* Mayor Jane Byrne's drive to eliminate COLA. ATU contracts continued to include a cost-of-living raise until 1983, when the Illinois legislature passed House Bill (HB) 1805, a law infamous among veteran Chicago transit workers because it outlawed the COLA, looted their pension fund and imposed the part-time system.

The "friend of labor" who pushed through this union-busting law was Chicago's first black mayor, Democrat Harold Washington, who twisted arms and called in his markers to get the bill passed in Springfield. It's hard to imagine a closer tie than the one labor had with the "progressive" Harold Washington. But when Washington tried to justify his anti-union attacks at a Local 241 meeting in

WV Photo

With support from transit workers and other trade unionists, January 20 anti-Klan mobilization in Gary, Indiana backed Democratic mayor off of threat of mass arrests.

Revolutionary Internationalism and Defense of the Workers States

TROTSKY

LENIN

The U.S. spy plane provocation has touched off widespread outrage in the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, where many look back to Mao Zedong as a stronger guardian of national sovereignty than his successors in the Stalinist regime. But as Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky pointed out in polemicizing against the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," defense of the workers state against the class enemy must be part of a program for international workers revolution. Proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers, not least the U.S., is crucial to the defense and extension of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Revolutionary patriotism can only have a class character. It begins as patriotism to the party organization, to the trade union, and rises to state patriotism when the proletariat seizes power. Whenever the power is in the hands of the workers, patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But this patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism. Marxism has always taught the workers that even their struggle for higher wages and shorter hours cannot be successful unless waged as an international struggle....

The invincible conviction that the fundamental class aim, even more so than the partial objectives, cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the very heart of revolutionary internationalism. If, however, the ultimate aim is realizable within national boundaries through the efforts of a national proletariat, then the backbone of internationalism has been broken. The theory of the possibility of realizing socialism in one country destroys the inner connection between the patriotism of the victorious proletariat and the defeatism of the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is still traveling on the road to power. How and in what manner it marches towards it depends entirely upon whether it considers the task of building the socialist society a national or an international task.

—Leon Trotsky, "Critique of the Draft Program of the Communist International" (1928), reprinted in *The Third International After Lenin* (1970)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Hawaii: Victory to Teachers, Faculty Strikes!

Pickets Shut Down Schools Statewide

APRIL 10—Hawaii's nearly 13,000 public schoolteachers and 3,100 state university faculty members went out on strike on April 5, the first time in U.S. history that an entire state's public education system—all the way from kindergartens to high schools to universities—has been shut down. The Hawaii State Teachers Association (HSTA), which represents public schoolteachers, and the University of Hawaii Professional Assembly (UHPA), the faculty union at the ten University of Hawaii (UH) campuses, both went on strike within hours of each other after Democratic Party governor Ben Cayetano called off negotiations.

The memberships of both unions—who have been working without a contract for over a year—had voted overwhelmingly to strike, and picket lines went up immediately at schools and UH campuses. The HSTA picket lines have been especially large and militant, with many students and parents participating. Moving to take advantage of the strike's popularity, lieutenant governor Mazie Hirono, who plans to run for governor next year, broke ranks with her boss Cayetano and joined several picket lines. But workers should have no illusions in capitalist parties, Democrat or Republican; both are enemies of working-class struggle.

The teachers and UH faculty are directly up against the capitalist state in Hawaii, where the schools are under state control. Cayetano has a long history of vicious attacks on all the public employees unions. When the state's extremely high cost of living is factored in, Hawaii teacher salaries are the lowest in the country. The HSTA asked for a 22 percent raise over four years, but were insultingly offered less than 14 percent, with no retroactive pay for the time worked without a contract. Cayetano outraged UHPA members by initially proposing to cut off their health benefits over the summer, then offering only a 9 percent raise, plus 2 percent union-busting "merit pay," over two years and no raises at all for the 300 non-tenure track lecturers. Attempting to break the public schoolteachers strike, Cayetano vindictively issued an executive order cutting off the HSTA's health benefits; even the UH administration rejected as illegal his attempt to do the same to the university faculty.

A Department of Education spokesman conceded, "The schools will remain closed.... And that's not really surprising, when we see the strength of the numbers reporting to the picket lines" (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 7 April). Less than 1 percent of HSTA members have crossed the lines, and so far nearly all classes have been canceled at UH, despite the administration's threats of "disciplinary action" against graduate assistants (GAs) who refuse to cross picket lines. Students and all GAs: Join the UHPA strikers in shutting down the campuses!

AP

Elementary school teachers picket, April 6, as strike shuts down Hawaii's public school system.

HSTA executive director Joan Husted noted that "labor unions have been stopping at the picket lines and unloading their loads at the gate" (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 April), while Teamsters bus drivers have changed their routes to avoid crossing picket lines. All Hawaii's trade unions must not only honor the UHPA and HSTA picket lines, refusing to make *any* deliveries, but unions such as the municipal workers, Teamsters and especially the ILWU dock workers and sugar refinery workers should carry out real solidarity, reinforcing picket lines and using their great power to help make sure the schools and campuses stay shut down until all the strikers' demands are met. Victory to the Hawaii teacher and faculty strikes!

January 1984, he was hooted off the stage by angry black bus drivers and forced to flee by the back door! Washington's attack on ATU members was part of a national campaign of racist austerity that heavily relied on black Democratic mayors to impose cutbacks while keeping the urban centers from exploding in protest. As black New York City mayor David Dinkins promised the racist rulers when he took office, "They'll take it from me."

Washington's election was seen by the black population of Chicago as a chance to finally be able to get some of their share of housing, jobs and schools through the Democratic Party patronage machine. Today, the conditions faced by the increasing numbers of black and Hispanic youth hired as part-time transit workers are bitter testimony to the betrayal of these aspirations. Brought in under the conditions of Washington's anti-union HB 1805, these workers face a future of 20-hour workweeks on starvation wages with no seniority and minimal benefits. They are even prevented from taking a second job because they are "on call" all the time.

Full-time transit workers can't make ends meet without working heavy overtime. One giveback contract after another has shifted health care costs onto union members while cutting hundreds of jobs and forcing those remaining to pick up the extra workload. The transit unions are already divided between rail and bus workers as well as along craft lines. Now the CTA bosses are wielding the club of hiring more part-time workers against the union while eliminating seniority in job picks. Against the bosses' divide-and-rule strategy of pitting one section of the transit workforce against another, there needs to be ***one industrial union of all transit workers*** which fights for full-time jobs with full benefits and seniority rights for the entire membership.

Transit workers take the heat for a company that is widely seen, particularly by the black and minority poor, as inefficient and callous. But the overwhelmingly black union membership provides a living link between the social power of

AP photos

L.A. transit workers shout down back-to-work ploy during month-long strike last year. City rulers brought in Jesse Jackson to help end strike.

labor and the masses of the inner city. A key union demand representing the interest of transit workers and the masses of working people and unemployed would be to *rip out the turnstiles—for free, quality mass transit from the Loop to the suburbs!*

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

The ATU tops falsify their own union's history in order to bolster their program of support to the black Democrats who uphold Harold Washington as an icon of the "progress" that can be achieved for the working people and blacks under their rule. Today, Jesse Jackson is the first and foremost of those who seek to quell the anger of the working class and ghetto poor by pushing the shell game that the Democrats are the allies of labor and blacks. Last year, Jackson—who has never missed an opportunity to try to douse the flames of militant social struggle—was called into Los Angeles to end a militant and powerful transit strike. Leading prayers and preaching the virtues of "reconciliation" with management, Jackson tried to refurbish the image of local Democratic Party politicians who had led a strikebreaking charge against the transit workers. Last month in New York City, Transport Workers Local 100 president Roger Toussaint attempted to head off anger in the ranks over attacks on the union's health benefits fund by organizing a rally for Democratic Party politicians, with Jackson as the central featured speaker.

The task of class-struggle militants in the unions is to fight to win the most advanced elements to the need to *break with the Democrats and forge a workers party*. That entails a struggle against all wings of the labor bureaucracy—a fight to oust capital's labor lieutenants who help maintain capitalist "order" and class peace. An insightful, disciplined revolutionary party with a committed base of black trade unionists—mobilizing organized labor, appealing to and seeking to lead the ghetto masses—could galvanize labor/black Chicago and the country.

Going beyond simple contract concerns and actively championing the cause of black liberation and the defense of the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed, battalions from the ATU and other heavily minority industrial unions have the potential to lead tens of thousands in powerful social struggle against racist capitalism. By doing so, the working class will open up the possibility of creating a new power in society, a workers government that will expropriate the bosses and return the wealth of this country to those who produced it, under a centralized plan based on the needs of the many, not the profits of the few. Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! ■

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Young Spartacus

Taliban: Bitter Fruit of U.S. Imperialism's Anti-Soviet War

Afghanistan: Women Enslaved by Islamic Reaction

We print below a forum given recently in San Francisco, Vancouver and Chicago by comrade Kathy Ibsen, slightly edited for publication.

It's Afghanistan in 1988: 15,000 women serve as soldiers and commanders in the army; there are 245,000 women workers. Women are 40 percent of the doctors and 60 percent of the teachers at the University of Kabul; 440,000 female students are enrolled in educational institutions and 80,000 more participate in literacy programs. The All-Afghanistan Women's Council has 150,000 members. Western dress is common in the cities and women enjoy some real measure of freedom from the veil and subjugation, for the first time in Afghanistan's history.

What made this possible? It was the Soviet Union sending 100,000 troops, mainly from Soviet Central Asia, into Afghanistan, which bordered the USSR, in December 1979 in order to stem a *mujahedin* insurgency against the left-nationalist, pro-Soviet government. Our party, uniquely on the left, forthrightly declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" This expressed our recognition that, despite its degeneration under a Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union remained a workers state and continued to embody historic gains of the October 1917 Russian workers revolution, not least for women and the historically Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia. Within weeks of the Soviet troops going in, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) held demonstrations internationally calling for defense of the USSR and victory to the Red Army.

When the Soviet forces completed their pullout from Afghanistan in early 1989, paving the way for a bloody onslaught against Afghan workers, women and leftists, we bitterly denounced this betrayal. In an attempt to placate U.S. imperialism, the Kremlin Stalinists handed over hundreds of thousands of Afghans to be tortured, flayed alive, beheaded and dismembered as "infidels" by the CIA-funded mullahs, tribal khans and feudal landlords. In solidarity with the Afghan masses, who were waging a bitter struggle for survival in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, we formally proposed to the Afghan government, in a letter dated 7 February 1989, the following: "To organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend "the right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education."

Though this offer was declined, at the request of the government, the Partisan Defense Committee (the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the SL/U.S.) and the PDC's fraternal organizations around the world raised over $44,000 in two months. The money went to aid the civilian victims of the all-out *mujahedin* offensive that year against Jalalabad, the Afghan city closest to the CIA's guerrilla bases in Pakistan. The attack was soundly defeated for a time. At our literature table at the back are photos and articles from our ICL correspondent in Afghanistan at the time.

In 1996, after four years of the horrific rule of a shifting "coalition" of warring factions of the reactionary Islamic *mujahedin*, who had already brought Kabul to the point of famine and devastation, the capital of Afghanistan fell to the Taliban, a fundamentalist Islamic militia. One of the Taliban's first acts was to grab the former president and Soviet ally, Najibullah. He was castrated and then hanged from a lamppost in downtown Kabul for three days. The Taliban killers proceeded to wreak bloody vengeance against any remaining vestige of social progress, adding the finishing touches to the program of social reaction implemented by the U.S.-sponsored, CIA-funded *mujahedin* cutthroats who took power in 1992. Anti-Communism was the bond between U.S. imperialism and the mullahs in Afghanistan.

AP

Women beg on streets of Kabul. Since 1996 capture of city by Taliban, women have been required to cover even their eyes.

Enslavement of Women

Today, under the Taliban's savage and backward regime, women are not allowed out of their homes unless escorted by a male relative. They must wear a head to toe covering, called the *burqa*. A dense, mesh-covered, three-inch square opening around the eyes provides the only means to see. In 1979, prior to the Soviet intervention, we said that "the sun never shines on Afghan women." This is literally true—veiled women don't see the sun, they breathe the dust that swirls underneath the *burqa*'s 30 yards of opaque muslin, which will again lead, as then, to a high level of tuberculosis.

There is nothing progressive or "anti-imperialist" about being shrouded in the veil. Nor is it, as some liberals would maintain, a quaint cultural attribute. You wouldn't think you would have to be a communist to see that wrapping a woman in a veil and secluding her in the home is a hideous oppression crying out to be wiped from the face of the earth! The veil is a physical symbol of the submission of women to men and the imposed affirmation of their inferior status. The bride price and the veil are concrete manifestations of the material oppression of women. In Afghanistan today, women are property economically, socially and legally. They occupy a subordinate status rooted in the oppressive institution of the family.

As part of the total seclusion of women, known as *purdah*, the windows of their homes have been painted black so they can't be seen. They must wear silent shoes, so they aren't heard. They must speak quietly and are not supposed to laugh. Women are prohibited from attending school and have been forced to leave their jobs since the Taliban issued edicts forbidding women to work outside the home. This is a matter of life and death for the 30,000 widows in Kabul and elsewhere in the country, who are the sole providers for their families. Medical services are essentially unavailable to women, since only a small number of women medical workers are allowed to practice and male doctors are prohibited from touching women. This has led, and will continue to lead to countless unnecessary deaths.

The teenage thugs in the Taliban's "Department for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice" roam the streets meting out regular, brutal beatings —using broken-off car antennas and metal cables—for such offenses as baring an ankle or wrist. Depression is widespread and the suicide rate among women has increased significantly. Though women are the main recipients of the Taliban's savagery, they are not the only ones. In Kabul's soccer stadium, thousands of men cheer as thieves' hands and feet are surgically amputated, as women are flogged or stoned to death. The most grotesquely bizarre method of execution is used against homosexuals sentenced to death by the Taliban. First they are partially buried in the ground and then a brick wall is pushed over them by a bulldozer.

For three years running, drought has destroyed the possibility of even subsisting off the land. More than 700,000 people (4 percent of the population) are desperately fleeing to the cities in search of food and shelter. Even by UN figures, more than 1 million people are at risk of starving to death this year. The Taliban is also destroying every statue in the country, using a combination of U.S.-provided hand-held missiles and stone hammers. Foremost among the treasures being destroyed are two 1,000-year-old Buddha statues carved into the stone cliffs in

Bamiyan, on the Silk Road from China to the Middle East. Numerous articles in the bourgeois press decry the destruction of the statues but barely mention the devastation of the country and its women.

Defense of the Soviet Union and Cold War II

So what happened in Afghanistan that has resulted in unspeakably hellish conditions for women? Why did almost every leftist and feminist group oppose the Soviet intervention which alone raised the *possibility* of social liberation in this wretchedly backward country? Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a *central issue* in the civil war which raged in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. Some of the blood of every unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundamentalists is on the hands of every leftist and feminist organization internationally that lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan. They did their small part to contribute to the horror which is today being inflicted upon Afghan women.

To see what sparked the Soviet intervention in 1979, you have to go back to the "April revolution" in 1978 when the Soviet-backed left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—the PDPA—came to power. The PDPA's base consisted overwhelmingly of the educated petty bourgeoisie, schoolteachers, students and Soviet-trained army officers. Many of them were educated in the Soviet Union, where they saw the advances of their ethnic cousins in Soviet Central Asia. With this direct comparative experience to show them how truly backward their own country was, many in these petty-bourgeois strata began to push for significant modernization. When the PDPA came to power, the Western press raised cries of a "Communist coup." In fact, this was a left-wing officers' coup, based mainly on the army.

At the time, Afghanistan was one of the most primitive, tradition-bound countries on earth. In 1978, only 35,000 people were employed in manufacturing—out of a population of 17 to 20 million. Their numbers were dwarfed by the Islamic clergy. There were ***a quarter of a million mullahs***, an enormous parasitic caste sucking the blood from a desperately poor people. There was virtually no industry—no railroad tracks, very few highways, primitive sanitation and widespread malnutrition. The average life expectancy was 40 years, infant mortality was at least 25 percent and half of all children died before age five. The rate of illiteracy was more than 90 percent for men and 98 percent for women. Almost all women, save members of a tiny Westernized urban middle class, were imprisoned in the veil and sold like chattel under the bride price system. Most people lived in nomadic tribes or as impoverished farmers in mud villages. There were a multitude of tribes over which no previous government had ever completely established its authority. Life was scarcely different from many centuries earlier.

Northern Neighbors

Reuters

Literacy classes, held as result of Soviet intervention. Members of Afghan women's militia at rally in Kabul just before Soviet pullout in 1989 (right); women were in forefront of battle to defend their social emancipation.

While not repudiating Islam, the PDPA regime sought to give the country a secular, progressive image. One of the more popular measures was to cancel the debt that poor and landless peasants owed to the powerful moneylenders. The landlords and tribal khans held the power of life and death over the mass of peasants, controlling 42 percent of cultivable land and the associated irrigation systems. Though the PDPA government proposed a sweeping land reform program, they were stopped in their tracks by landlord economic sabotage and terror combined with a mass reactionary insurgency.

But what drove the mullahs into a frenzy and to take up arms were the limited measures of equality for women introduced by the government—reducing the traditional bride price to a nominal sum and introducing compulsory education for girls and voluntary literacy programs for adult women. Even the *New York Times* in February 1980 admitted: "It was the Kabul revolutionary Government's granting of new rights to women that pushed Orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns." With social development somewhere between tribalism and feudalism, there was no *internal* social base for the relatively minimal reforms pursued by the PDPA, much less for proletarian revolution.

The institution of the family takes different forms according to the demands of the social system—a point that was perhaps most eloquently captured in a statement by the utopian socialist Fourier, which Marx often liked to quote. That is that the status of women in any given society reflects the general level of human emancipation and human freedom. In areas such as Central Asia, there was a strategic relationship between the bride price and polygamy, primitive agricultural production, sheep-herding, land and water rights.

Women were their fathers' means of exchange and their husbands' chattel; the right to control and inherit property rested on men. Most variants of local law gave a man access to land and water rights only if he married; more than one wife meant more land and water. On the other hand, marriage was so expensive (because of the bride price) that many poor men never married at all—and others turned to abduction and rape to get a wife.

There was a lot going on in the world and in the region in 1978-79. The Soviet high command watched as Iran slipped into near-total chaos after the U.S.-supported Shah was overthrown; as U.S. aircraft carriers lined up in the Arabian Sea; as the Soviet-allied Kabul government was threatened by a reactionary Islamic *jihad* (holy war). Seeing the U.S. at an impasse in Iran, the Kremlin bureaucrats seized the time to quell the uprising by the Afghan mullahs and khans, deployed thousands of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, and in the process extended their defense perimeter by several hundred miles around the eastern flank of Iran. The USSR was rightly worried about hostile Islamic fundamentalist governments on their border. As we wrote in *Spartacist* in the summer of 1980: "Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of détente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state."

Lashing out against so-called "Soviet expansionism," Democratic Party president and born-again Christian Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II against the Soviet Union. Like Cold War I in the 1950s, this anti-Soviet war drive was accompanied by a massive increase in military spending, in this case a five-year, trillion-dollar program. At the same time, millions of U.S. dollars began flowing to the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists via the CIA.

The lengthy civil war was a decisive event in the history of the region. When opponents of the Soviet intervention cried crocodile tears about the so-called "Afghan right to self-determination" and the "trampled rights" of the Afghan nation, we pointed out that in fact there is no Afghan nation. We didn't discover this. As historian Louis Dupree observed in his book *Afghanistan* in 1980: "Afghanistan is an artificial country, created out of tribal kingdoms as a buffer state by the British and Russians in the nineteenth century." There was no common language or nationality. Afghanistan was composed of many different nationalities, tribal and ethnic groupings and languages—Pushtuns, Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, Baluchis and others.

In the 1920s, the British sought to foster Afghanistan as an anti-Soviet force in the area after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. As colonialists, the British had long cultivated backward layers in the administration of their empire, backed up by their army, of course. Leon Trotsky, in a speech to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow in April 1924, said:

> "Afghanistan is at present the scene of truly dramatic events: the Great Britain of Ramsay MacDonald is fighting there against the left national-bourgeois wing, which aims at the Europeanization of an independent Afghanistan. It endeavors to place in power in that country the most unenlightened and reactionary elements, imbued with the worst prejudices of pan-Islamism, of the caliphate."

If you substitute the U.S. for Britain in this quote, this could have been written in 1979.

The Russian Revolution inspired the only attempt at significant social reforms in Afghanistan prior to 1978. The "national-bourgeois wing" referred to by Trotsky was led by Amir Amanullah Khan, who took the throne in 1919 and attempted to implement a broad range of reforms like Kemal Atatürk did in Turkey. The British continued to bolster the power of the Islamic clergy and sanctioned the *shariat* courts that ruled on questions of family, sex, inheritance and so on, as supports for their colonial rule. They supplied arms to the rebels and infested the area with their agents and spies. In 1929, Khan was overthrown and tribal and clerical "traditionalism" was restored to its position of power. Had the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky been in a position to go into Afghanistan in 1921, Afghanistan could have been incorporated into Soviet Central Asia, which would have brought Afghanistan rapidly into the 20th century.

As the leading imperialist power after World War II, the U.S., following in Britain's footsteps, consciously manipulated and cynically reinforced religious fundamentalism and pre-feudal reaction as an organized force for counterrevolution. Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles wrote in 1950: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us."

When the Soviet Red Army entered Kabul in 1979, U.S. imperialism was still smarting from its defeat by the heroic Vietnamese four years earlier. While the U.S. was bogged down in that losing war, the USSR gained nuclear parity with the U.S. Seeking to bury the "Vietnam syndrome"—the mass perception among working people and youth that the U.S. government and military tops were a

continued on page 6

Soviet tanks in Afghanistan. Uniquely on left, SL called for victory of Red Army, which fought on side of social progress, and defense of USSR.

Der Spiegel

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

bunch of liars and baby-killers—Jimmy Carter launched a hypocritical "human rights" campaign against the Soviet Union. The U.S. imposed a grain embargo so the people of the USSR could suffer for "human rights" and boycotted the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. Part of this anti-Soviet war drive was the biggest military buildup in human history, including a massive increase in nuclear weaponry aimed at the Soviet Union. The goal: the destruction of the Soviet workers state itself. Afghanistan, where American-supplied weapons were being used to kill Red Army soldiers, was the hottest hot spot of Cold War II.

The U.S. government's Afghan war was totally *bipartisan*. In 1984, under Republican president Ronald Reagan, the Democratic Congress *tripled* Reagan's proposed appropriations for the Afghan reactionaries. One House Democrat from Texas said: "There were 58,000 [American] dead in Vietnam and we owe the Russians one." By the time the Soviets left Afghanistan, the CIA's Afghan "freedom fighters" (as Reagan fondly called them) had received, by official estimates, more than *$2 billion* in military hardware, a figure reportedly matched by Saudi Arabia and supplemented by other U.S. allies like Egypt. At the height of the U.S. proxy war against the USSR, the *mujahedin* were receiving up to 65,000 tons of war materiel annually. This was to become the biggest CIA operation in history! Various estimates indicate that anywhere from 25 to 75 percent of the CIA's military aid was skimmed off by the rebel leaders and Pakistani officials and sold for huge profits.

To give you an idea of the ferocity of the CIA's "freedom fighters," according to *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*: "A 'favorite tactic' of the Afghan freedom fighters was 'to torture victims [often Russians] by first cutting off their noses, ears, and genitals, then removing one slice of skin after another,' producing 'a slow, very painful death'." Flinging acid in the faces of unveiled women and flaying alive Communist schoolteachers for teaching girls to read were also "favorite tactics."

From the beginning of the war, the *mujahedin* reserved its worst treatment for Soviet soldiers. The U.S. government had confirmed reports that the mullahs had drugged and tortured 50 to 200 Soviet soldiers, imprisoning them like animals in cages, where they lived lives of indescribable horror. Another account, by a reporter from the conservative *Far Eastern Economic Review* in 1984, said: "One [Soviet] group was killed, skinned and hung up in a butcher's shop. One captive found himself the centre of attraction in a game of buzkashi, that rough and tumble form of Afghan polo in which a headless goat is usually the ball. The captive was used instead. Alive. He was literally torn to pieces." For those who have never witnessed the game of *buzkashi*, I'd recommend the 1975 movie starring Sean Connery, *The Man Who Would Be King*, based on a story by Rudyard Kipling, the well-known propounder of British colonial rule.

Leftist Opponents of Revolutionary Marxism

All organizations claiming to stand for revolutionary Marxism were put to the test over Afghanistan: For or against the defense of the Soviet Union? For or against imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution? For or against the fight for women's liberation from the veil, isolation and illiteracy? For revolutionary Marxists, there is nothing tricky or ambiguous about the war. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies were fighting a CIA-backed, anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, moneylenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy and the subjugation of women. The gut-level response of every radical leftist should have been fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army. Not so.

Only those leftists poisoned by anti-Communism and bourgeois nationalism could deny that a social revolution such as the transformation of Soviet Central Asia after the Bolshevik Revolution, although imposed from without and bureaucratically deformed from the outset, would have an enormously liberating effect for the Afghan masses. The difference in social progress and economic development between Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan was measured not in decades but in centuries. For example, neighboring Soviet Uzbekistan had a nearly 100 percent literacy rate; the average life expectancy was 70 years. 45 percent of legislators and 18 percent of judges were women (as compared to 3 percent in the U.S.). There was one doctor for every 380 people, compared to one doctor for every 20,000 in Afghanistan.

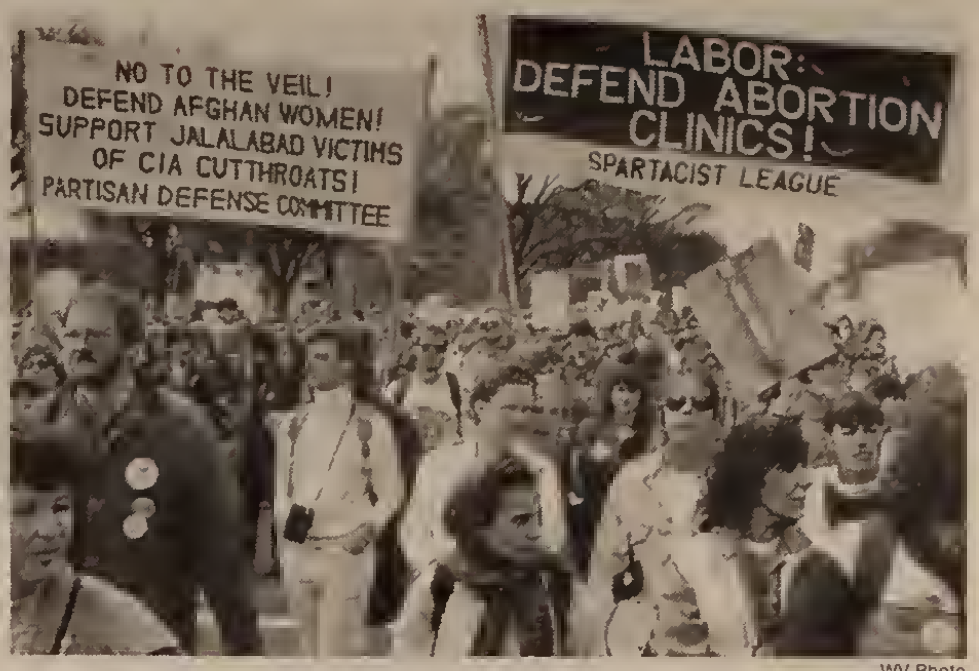
A number of the left groups from the time no longer exist, particularly the various Maoist groups who, along with China, supported the *mujahedin* as part of an anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism originally consummated in 1972. We warned then that China—a deformed workers state—would be the next target on the imperialists' hit list after the Soviet Union. Since the destruction of the Soviet workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the U.S. imperialists aim to reconquer and exploit China, the most populous country on earth. We fight for unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal attempts at counterrevolution.

Socialist Action did not yet exist; its members were still in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Initially, the SWP tried to pretend that the Russian question was not posed in Afghanistan, declaring in February 1980: "So the issue is not Soviet intervention, but a growing U.S. intervention—aimed at taking back the gains won by the Afghan masses—that finally forced the Soviet Union to respond." It didn't take them long to figure out that their line would alienate the bourgeois liberal milieu with which these "respectable socialists" have sought to ingratiate themselves since the Vietnam antiwar movement, as they and Socialist Action continue to do to this day. They made an about-face and called for Soviet withdrawal. Even if it meant disagreeing with Fidel Castro, these social democrats couldn't resist the pressure of the U.S. imperialists' anti-Soviet propaganda/military campaign.

The Cliffites—the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. and the British Socialist Workers Party (who have recently split)—both known for their anti-Communism, eagerly joined the imperialist chorus calling for Soviet troops out and whitewashed the *mujahedin*. The British Cliffites made a real contribution to the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive by making common cause with the right-wing Tories. In 1980, SWP leader Paul Foot, writing in his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror*, attacked the virulently anti-communist Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher *from the right*, decrying the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be going to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

When the Soviet bureaucracy said they were pulling out in 1988, the ISO wrote in *Socialist Worker* (May 1988): "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." How disgusting to compare the U.S. genocidal war to smash the Vietnamese social revolution with the USSR fighting on the side of social progress! In lockstep with imperialism, the Cliffites openly called for capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe. Indeed, the essence of the Cliffite tendency had always been to ally with their own imperialist rulers against the Soviet Union.

When the Taliban came to power in 1996, the ISO wrote: "But Taliban's success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week. Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country either." Would you say that Hitler had "no answer" for the crisis in Germany either, except for the destruction of all workers organizations and the extermination of the Jews? Today the Cliffites insist that Islamic fundamentalism plays a progressive "anti-imperialist" role around the world. The SWP proclaimed (*International Socialism*, August 1994): "Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries."



WV Photo

SL contingent in April 1989 abortion rights demo in D.C., where we launched international campaign to aid embattled city of Jalalabad against *mujahedin* cutthroats following Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Socialist Worker

Troops out of Afghanistan!

12 January 1980
(British SWP)

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.

But this does not mean giving

May 1988
(U.S. ISO)

But Taliban's success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week.

Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country either.

5 October 1996
(British SWP)

Cliffites of British SWP and U.S. ISO embraced imperialist anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan, "welcomed" victory of anti-woman Islamic fundamentalists.

Spartacist/SYC Regional Educationals—Saturday, April 28

East Coast—New York City

2 p.m.

Eyewitness Reporter from Quebec Anti-FTAA Protests

Beware the Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism!

From Seattle to Quebec: Anti-Globalization Protests Push Illusions in Rapacious U.S. Imperialism

West Coast—Berkeley

12 noon

Eyewitness Report

Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!

Castro Bureaucracy Undermines Gains of Cuban Revolution—
For Proletarian Political Revolution!
For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

East Coast—6 p.m. / West Coast—3:30 p.m.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Center for Worker Education of CUNY
99 Hudson Street, 6th Floor (north of Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

University of California at Berkeley, 60 Evans
For more information: (510) 839-0851 • (415) 395-9520
(213) 380-8239 • (604) 687-0353

In Britain, during the uproar over Afghanistan in 1979, a grouping called Workers Power that had split from the Cliffites made a step to the left. They formally adopted the Trotskyist position that the Soviet Union was a bureaucratically degenerated workers state—but on the ground, faced with a virulent anti-Soviet war drive, they denounced the Soviet intervention as "counterrevolutionary." (A decade later, ever-willing to denounce the USSR, they condemned the withdrawal of the Soviet troops as "counterrevolutionary.")

Of all the groups that laid claim to Trotskyism at the time, the Bolshevik Faction (BF) of Nahuel Moreno had the most grotesque position. In addition to demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops, they called for extending Khomeini-brand Islamic counterrevolution into the Soviet Union itself. In this country today, remnants of the BF are ensconced in the reformist Socialist Alternative.

The Bolshevik Tendency (BT), a motley group of embittered ex-members of the SL who found our Soviet defensism too hot to handle, fled during Cold War II. After insisting that they agreed with our line on Afghanistan, they showed their true colors by capitulating to the anti-Soviet hysteria. Disappearing the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a leading member of the BT declared, "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state.... The slogan 'Hail Red Army' is not a Trotskyist slogan." As a matter of fact, Trotskyists did hail the Red Army when they intervened on the side of progress—for example, in World War II when the Red Army smashed German fascism, freed Jews from concentration camps and took Berlin.

Heikes/U.S. News & World Report

Rabid Cold Warrior Ronald Reagan toasted by Gorbachev, who pursued policy of all-around retreat before U.S. imperialism.

In 1996, at a time when the U.S. had declared an anti-Islamic holy war against terrorism, the Feminist Majority Foundation started circulating a petition calling for sanctions against the Taliban to be imposed by the same U.S. imperialists that armed the Islamic reactionaries in the first place! In February at Madison Square Garden, a benefit performance aiming to call attention to violence against women was organized by playwright Eve Ensler around readings from her *Vagina Monologues*. Featuring dozens of stars like Jane Fonda and Oprah Winfrey, the show was sponsored by Hearst Magazines and Liz Claiborne, among others, with ticket prices topped out at $1,000 a seat.

Winfrey performed "Under the *Burqa*," which according to my daughter who saw it performed in San Francisco is a powerful description of the life of misery for veiled women. Thousands signed petitions for the Feminist Majority's Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan and wore "*burqa* swatches" as a symbol of remembrance for Afghan women and girls. One group speaking at the event and sharing in the funds raised was the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) which toured the U.S. last summer. The CIA-supported "Voice of America" broadcast reports from their demonstrations and interviews with RAWA members in Pakistan and the U.S.

Founded in 1977, this well-connected group is fiercely anti-communist, though even they admit that "the present conditions are even worse than those of the Soviet occupation period." RAWA also calls for UN intervention and hopes for the return of the king who was overthrown in 1973. They advocate education and employment for women, while remaining in the Islamic fold. Though they don't insist on women wearing the *burqa*, they do expect women to conform to an appropriately decorous form of dress.

Though Feminist Majority propaganda lists the gains for women in Afghanistan prior to the rule of the Taliban, there isn't one word about how this came about—which was through the extension of social reforms by the Soviet-backed government. In fact, some feminists grossly claim that communism was actually responsible for women's oppression in Afghanistan. For example, a *Ms.* magazine interview with Sima Wali, a self-described Afghan "human rights activist" and anti-communist, proclaimed (May/June 1997):

> "When the Communists took over, Afghan women were jailed, they were subjected to torture, especially the women who had ties to the Afghan resistance that took root in Pakistan. This was unheard of in Afghan history.... The Afghan Communists basically had a laissez-faire attitude toward Afghan women. The schools were not closed, they did not institute the veil, and they did introduce reforms. But they focused so much on the war that they did not actively upgrade the status of women."

Wali fled to Pakistan as soon as the Soviet Army entered Kabul. The "Afghan resistance" she's referring to is the CIA-backed mullahs. In the same interview, Wali called on former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to "take on the issue as a woman." Our youth comrades at UC Berkeley did the right thing last spring when they shouted down Albright as the "Butcher of the Balkans." Albright represents the capitalist class; she is not our ally in the fight for women's liberation.

AFP

Reuters

1996: Taliban launch missile near Kabul; reactionary Islamic fundamentalist censors burn videos in front of cinema.

In a sense Carter's "human rights" propaganda campaign worked, since most of the self-described left and almost all liberals supported the U.S. against the Soviet Union. And in the case of Afghanistan, this meant support for U.S.-armed, CIA-supported Islamic fundamentalists. ***All these self-styled "socialists" contributed to bringing about the horror which is today being inflicted on Afghan women!***

Marxism vs. Feminism

There is a wide historical gulf between Marxism and feminism. However, I do want to address the differences because various feminist organizations and campus women's groups now profess concern over the plight of Afghan women. The Marxist understanding of women's oppression as rooted materially in class society is diametrically opposed to the outlook of feminism, which is fundamentally a variant of bourgeois ideology, positing the main social division as one of sex and not class. Feminists see women's oppression as a set of bad ideas and policies stemming from male supremacy, not as something integral to class-divided society. Most feminists supported U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union no matter what the consequences were for Afghan women.

But how dare these bourgeois feminists, who regularly sponsor FBI and military tables at NOW conferences, posture as allies of the women of Afghanistan! Their appointed goddess and founder of *Ms.* magazine, Gloria Steinem, knowingly took CIA money as director of the "Independent Research Service," which actively recruited and paid hundreds of young Americans to attend and harass leftists at the communist-leaning World Youth Festivals in Vienna in 1959 and in Helsinki in 1962. Steinem said of the CIA agents with whom she collaborated: "I found them liberal and farsighted and open" (*Washington Post*, 18 February 1967).

Bourgeois feminists were perfectly aware of the social changes that were benefiting women in Afghanistan during the ten years of the Soviet intervention. When we kicked off our Jalalabad campaign on April 4, 1989 at the huge NOW-sponsored abortion rights demo in Washington, D.C., NOW goons tried to shut down *all* socialist literature tables and unleashed the park cops on militants, like ourselves, who declined to be segregated from the main rally in NOW's demeaning penned-in "ghetto" for left groups. Despite these attempts to censor communists, we distributed more than 25,000 leaflets for Jalalabad, as we marched with our banner proclaiming "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA Cutthroats!"

There were exceptions. One bourgeois feminist, Mary Williams Walsh, who was the *Wall Street Journal*'s principal correspondent covering Afghanistan and Pakistan, managed to slip some truth into her column in January 1989. In spite of her support of the *mujahedin*, she suggested that women's liberation was involved when she said:

> "The plight of Kabul's women is a poignant reminder that the West's vicarious victory over communist expansion here isn't without its ambiguities. In a backward country where the female peasantry still toils like medieval serfs, Kabuli women have managed to hold on to many 20th-century freedoms.... Instead of staying at home behind purdah walls, they emerge each day and work in offices, hospitals and schools."

But in 1990, when Walsh attempted to break the story that Dan Rather and CBS had broadcast fake TV footage about Afghanistan, the *Journal* refused to publish her article. Soon vicious, slanderous rumors began circulating to undermine her credibility, including that she was "sleeping with communist generals" in Afghanistan. In a rare show of journalistic integrity, Walsh resigned.

No Illusions in Bloody U.S. Imperialism!

Besides showering the *mujahedin* with millions of dollars of military equipment, the CIA's disinformation machine at Langley, Virginia cranked out the most blatant lies about Afghanistan. Dutifully, the U.S. mass media snapped to attention, churning out government-sponsored, imperialist war propaganda. Bloodthirsty tribesmen who skinned Communist teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching little girls to read and write were passed off as "freedom fighters."

Shots purportedly showing a Soviet jet bombing an Afghan village turned out to be of a Pakistani jet. And a shiny red "toy bomb" supposedly planted by the evil Soviets to lure Afghan children to their deaths was created by the same freelance photographer who had earlier provided faked battle scenes that Dan Rather aired. Ronald Reagan made numerous speeches accusing the Soviets of spraying "yellow rain" over Afghanistan, Laos and Cambodia, causing over ten thousand deaths. Dutifully, reams of press copy

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 17: ***The Bourgeois State***
University of California, Berkeley
179 Dwinelle Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.
April 16: ***State and Revolution—The Vanguard Party and the Fight for Communism***
Harvard University, Loker Commons
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
April 17: ***Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed***
Univ. of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 106
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
April 17: ***We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution***
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 609
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

were produced asserting that the USSR was using chemical warfare—this was later revealed to be pollen-laden bee excrement which, of course, had caused no deaths!

Like many other CIA clients, the Afghan rebels were financed as well by drug trafficking. In 1995, the estimated output provided one-third to one-half of the heroin used in the U.S. and three-quarters of that used in Western Europe. Profits from heroin have provided one of the largest sources of income for the Taliban. Despite the thoroughly unsavory image of the Taliban, last October Dan Rather, up to his old tricks, ran a special report for CBS called "Inside Afghanistan," in which the Taliban "freedom fighters" are depicted as heroically trying to rebuild their country. The report whitewashes the Taliban's vicious treatment of women as necessary to "protect women" and offer them "peace and security."

The Feminist Majority recently claimed a victory when the U.S. imposed sanctions against the Taliban. In reality, the ongoing sanctions by the U.S. are aimed at pressuring the Taliban to hand over Saudi fundamentalist Osama bin Laden. Four of his alleged associates are currently on trial in a federal courtroom in Manhattan, where they face the death penalty or life imprisonment for an alleged terrorist conspiracy over the last ten years, including the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Washington responded to these acts by carrying out missile strikes against Afghanistan and devastating a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan. It's notable that the terrorism charges against bin Laden only go back ten years. That's because his "network" was armed, trained and financed by the CIA as part of the proxy war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union.

In an article entitled "Bin Laden Comes Home to Roost," from the MSNBC Web site in 1998, bin Laden's *unclassified* CIA biography states that he ran a front organization known as Maktab al-Khidamar—the MAK—which funneled money, arms and fighters to Afghanistan. MAK was nurtured by Pakistan's state security services, the main CIA conduit for the covert war against the USSR in Afghanistan. The article quotes Republican Orrin Hatch, senior member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, saying that he would make the same call today knowing what bin Laden would do subsequently: "It was worth it," he said. "Those were very important, pivotal matters that played an important role in the downfall of the Soviet Union."

U.S. imperialism is the biggest terrorist in the world, from the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the murderous campaigns carried out by the CIA's Nicaraguan contras and Cuban *gusanos*, to the 1999 U.S./UN war of annihilation against the Serbian people which bombed that country back to the Stone Age, to the terror bombing of Iraq and never-ending starvation blockade that has led to at least 1.5 million deaths—to just name a few. Imperialism is not a "bad policy" that can be changed through mass pressure to be more humane, as the liberals, feminists and reformists contend. It is an organic outgrowth of the profit system and the "highest stage of capitalism," as Lenin defined it. Calling on bloody U.S. imperialism, NATO or the UN to intervene for "human rights" is a dangerous trap that builds illusions in this bloody imperialist system which enforces capitalist exploitation, mass poverty and national oppression the world over.

Ever since the 1979 Soviet intervention, the Western media labeled the civil war in Afghanistan "Russia's Vietnam," a characterization that is still used today. Mikhail Gorbachev, who came to power in the USSR in 1985, took up this insidious lie for his regime's own reasons. As Marxists, we judge what side we take based on what advances the interests of the working class and the oppressed. In Vietnam, the U.S. fought a genocidal war to smash a social revolution and was soundly defeated *on the battlefield*. We said, "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution—Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" The Soviet Army in Afghanistan fought on the side of social progress to stop the reactionary onslaught which imperiled not only the Afghan masses but the USSR itself. That's why we said, "Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan."

E P. Dutton & Co.

First meeting of young women's political group in Tashkent, Central Asia, following Russian Revolution of 1917. Bolshevik victory was giant step toward liberation of women throughout former tsarist empire.

But the Soviet bureaucracy didn't fight to win. From the outset of the war the Kremlin tops always held open the possibility of withdrawal as a bargaining chip in dealing with Western imperialism. Nonetheless, by 1984 the Soviet and PDPA forces had practically won the war. The CIA's "holy warriors" were shattered and demoralized. And the government's modest reforms, although scaled back from even the moderate program first offered by the PDPA, were winning support in the countryside.

When Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he faced economic stagnation aggravated by the intensified military pressure from the U.S. that had accelerated under President Ronald Reagan. Gorbachev pushed a series of policy changes: "restructuring" (*perestroika*) of the Soviet economy, "openness" (*glasnost*) in Soviet society and "new thinking" in international affairs. This "new thinking" amounted to Soviet *retreat* on a global scale: the cutoff of arms to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, aid cutbacks for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and one-sided nuclear arms reductions by the USSR. As part of this strategy of surrender in the hopes of striking a "peace" deal with Reagan, Gorbachev's Politburo decided in November 1986 to abandon Afghanistan within two years.

The withdrawal was completed on 15 February 1989. The *Washington Post* reported, "At CIA headquarters in Langley, operations officers and analysts drank champagne." The withdrawal of the Red Army was a cold-blooded betrayal of the Afghan *and* the Soviet peoples. Gorbachev's treacherous pullout of Afghanistan burnt out a whole generation of youth in the Soviet Union who did their internationalist duty serving in Afghanistan. One young Russian told our comrades in 1994 that he had fought in Afghanistan in 1986 when he was 18, "to fight for internationalism," but when he returned home he was reviled and said that he was "called a rapist by the same people who sent [him] there." Another Soviet veteran said in March 1988: "Our sacrifices were not for nothing. We have after all brought there the achievements of the civilized world."

We honored the Soviet veterans of the Afghan war who justly viewed themselves as fighters for revolutionary internationalism. The Soviet bureaucracy's attempt to trade Afghan blood for good will in Washington only whetted the appetites of the imperialists, intent upon the counterrevolutionary destruction of the entire Soviet Union. Inside the USSR, this move strengthened pro-capitalist forces. The Red Army pullout was *directly linked* to the final collapse of the USSR itself, a historic defeat for the working class and oppressed internationally. Gorbachev's foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, later said: "The decision to leave Afghanistan was the first and most difficult step. Everything else flowed from that" (*Washington Post*, 16 November 1992).

The Afghanistan intervention testified to the persistence—even after some six decades of Stalinist repression, lies and sellouts—of the contradiction between the collectivized foundations of the Soviet state and the parasitic bureaucracy which rested on top. It was the last time the bureaucracy ruling the Soviet degenerated workers state undertook a progressive act. Although undertaken purely for defensive geopolitical reasons, it did go against the grain of the Stalinists' abject pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

In the 1930s and heading into World War II, Leon Trotsky analyzed the character of the Soviet degenerated workers state and put forward the program of proletarian political revolution, noting that if the working class did not throw out the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy would strangle the workers state. Though it took longer than Trotsky anticipated, the final dissolution of Stalinist rule under the military and economic pressure of imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union conformed very precisely to his analysis. I would recommend, for those who haven't read it, our pamphlet *Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution: How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*.

Withdrawal from Afghanistan was followed by counterrevolution in East Europe: Solidarność-led capitalist counterrevolution in Poland in 1990, the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990, Boris Yeltsin's 1991 pro-capitalist countercoup in Moscow. This, in turn, led to a total cutoff of aid to Kabul, spelling doom for the fragile Afghan economy and central government. In April of 1992, the Kabul government, headed by Najibullah, fell to the feudalist reactionaries. The warring mullah factions then subjected the entire populace to a reign of terror and plunder.

The horrors being played out in Afghanistan today are the starkest expression of the choice which has been posed, with increasing sharpness and urgency, over the past century: socialism or barbarism. Young fighters against social oppression must study and learn the lessons of past struggles and defeats, including the world-historic defeat represented by the destruction of the remaining gains of the October Revolution, if they are to go forward to win new victories. We of the International Communist League fight for new Octobers, both in the U.S. and around the world. And we here in the U.S., in the belly of the beast, have a special responsibility to smash U.S. imperialism through workers revolution.

We fight to forge Bolshevik parties internationally to lead the workers—standing at the head of all the oppressed—to power and to a society in which capitalist oppression and enslavement of women are relics of a barbaric past. Women will be in the front ranks of such a revolutionary movement, understanding that their interests cannot go forward without a working-class perspective, and the workers movement cannot go forward without taking up the fight for women's liberation. I want to end with a quote from Trotsky in 1924 about the Muslim women of the Soviet East:

> "The Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits, and in creativity, the slave of slaves...she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of communism, than the awakened woman worker."■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

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National Office
Box 1377 GPO,
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Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
Public Office:
Tues. 6:30-8:30 p.m.
and Sat. 1-5 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 395-9520
Public Office:
Tues. 6-8 p.m.
564 Market St., Suite 718

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Vancouver
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Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Horowitz...

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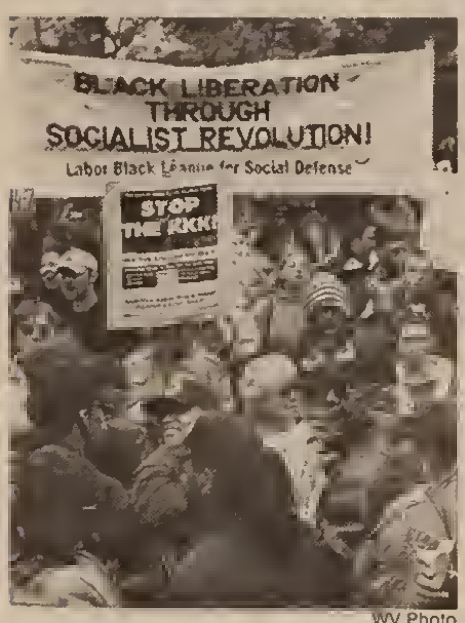
his own event in order to return to Israel to try and boost his electoral fortunes. We await the accusation that his lack of success in this endeavor was also the responsibility of what Horowitz calls "the intolerable left."

These incidents have been consciously lumped together in a false amalgam by the campus conservatives and AIA so they can posture as "defenders" of free speech. An article by Flynn in Horowitz's *Front Page Magazine* (14 March) whines, "As evidenced by last semester's student-mob action to prevent Benjamin Netanyahu from speaking in the city of Berkeley and the shouting down of a talk given by this writer and the subsequent book-burning of a booklet that I had authored, censorship is quite common at Berkeley."

There is a whole gamut of right-wing organizations and foundations who want to demonize the left as anti-free speech and drive black and minority students off the campuses. Horowitz and his Center for the Study of Popular Culture, which has an annual budget of $3 million, are heavily funded by ultraright-wing groups like the Olin, Scaife and Bradley foundations. According to *The Nation* (3 July 2000), the Bradley Foundation alone has given Horowitz more than $3.5 million since 1988. Among the Bradley Foundation's other funding projects is the American Civil Rights Institute led by Ward Connerly, the UC regent who along with Horowitz spearheaded California's Proposition 209 in 1996, eliminating affirmative action. Moreover, according to *Z Magazine* (April 2001), the Bradley Foundation provided more than $1 million for the writing of the notoriously racist tract *The Bell Curve*, which argued that poverty among blacks was the result of genetic inferiority. The book was co-funded by the Pioneer Society, a holdover from the white-supremacist eugenics movement of the 1930s. The Bradley Foundation helps fund the Berkeley Conservative Foundation, which invited Horowitz to speak at Berkeley, through the Leadership Institute, which receives funding from the union-busting Coors conglomerate.



WV Photo

23 October 1999: Labor/black mobilization against KKK race-terrorists in NYC. Fight for black freedom in the U.S. is central to the struggle for emancipation of labor and all the oppressed.

This sinister cabal includes AIA and AIM, which are tied to the Moonie-owned *Washington Times* and the World Anti-Communist League—now called the "World League for Freedom & Democracy"—an outfit that brings together fascists and rightists from all over the world. AIA/AIM are associated with Dinesh D'Souza, founder of the right-wing *Dartmouth Review*, whose motto was "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry." Not only are these groups vicious racists, they are also outright liars. AIA/AIM libeled the Spartacist League, claiming we "urged...the killing of police officers." We took this sordid outfit to court in 1987 and forced a full retraction of their deadly lies.

Library of Congress

Heroic black troops in Civil War played key role in smashing slavery and defeating Southern Confederacy. We say: Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

For his part, Horowitz, whose parents were members and later fellow travelers of the Communist Party, began his career as a New Left activist in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and eventually became editor of the leftist publication *Ramparts*. After a brief stint around the Black Panther Party in the mid '70s, as it was splitting up in vicious factionalism under the pressure of the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign, he resurfaced in December 1979 with a *Nation* article denouncing the heroic victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism as "genocide." That was simply the opening shot of a viciously racist and anti-communist crusade. Lately, his sights have targeted everyone from *Nation* columnist Eric Alterman to black liberal intellectual Cornel West, as well as Noam Chomsky, Edward Said and liberal Berkeley professor and China expert Orville Schell. Borrowing grotesque lies from D'Souza's book *The End of Racism*, Horowitz's most recent book, *Hating Whitey*, essentially portrays black men as rapists of white women. This is a direct echo of the Klan incitements to racist lynchings in the name of "defending the honor of white women."

Marxism vs. Liberal Idealism

As Scott Sherman of *The Nation* (3 July 2000) put it, Horowitz has become "the right's very own Ahab." And just who is this guy's "great white whale"? Everyone from the "politically correct" crowd to Marxists to leftists to multiculturalists to liberals to those who defend black rights—basically anyone to the left of William Buckley, Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond.

Anyone who has set foot on an American campus lately knows they are hardly havens of Marxism or free speech. With token gains of the civil rights movement like affirmative action abolished, tuition fees escalating exponentially, and the imperialist triumphalism over the supposed "death of communism," the elite campuses have been turned into overwhelmingly lily-white institutions where racists and other retrogrades think they can act with impunity. It's a telling sign of the times that a racist like Horowitz feels comfortable stepping onto campuses like Berkeley, which were once known for their radical history. But this climate was not simply created with the inauguration of the Bush administration. Rather, it is a reflection of eight years of Democratic Party rule, which was marked by increasing attacks on the working class, black people and immigrants.

Grotesquely, the NAACP and the ACLU, which has long made a name for itself defending the "rights" of fascists to recruit to genocide under the rubric of "free speech," have condemned the outraged students who confiscated newspapers at Brown and those who have called on campus papers not to print Horowitz's ad. Boston University's NAACP president said of Horowitz: "I'm trying to encourage the NAACP to embrace what he has to say, but not necessarily accept it. He has the audacity to say what he feels and, quite frankly, I appreciate it."

On the other side of the coin, Horowitz and his right-wing cabal have had some success in portraying themselves as the defenders of "free speech." Their way was paved by liberals and putative leftists who have appealed to campus administrations to enforce restrictive "speech codes" and for "sensitivity training" as the means to supposedly combat racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry. The liberal left in this country has in fact created a no-free-speech zone. That's what's behind "political correctness," that's what laws against "hate speech" are for, and that's what the liberal left has demanded for years.

A whole "date rape" hysteria was promoted on the campuses during the 1990s by feminists and other liberals in order to strengthen the hands of the campus cops while demanding that the administration impose stifling rules to regulate sexuality. After the brutal 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard by anti-gay bigots, the liberals intensified the call for "hate crimes" legislation, which again meant more cops and even greater powers of prosecution for the courts.

Horowitz and his like are racist ideologues whose political ideas, themselves a product of decaying capitalism, must be combatted and refuted. Reducing the question of fighting oppression to a matter of circumscribing bad words or images, the liberals are unable to take on Horowitz politically. Instead, they lead anti-racist students to one of two paths: sitting on your hands while this racist rants, as students did at Boston University, or calling on the administration and the campus papers to refuse to print Horowitz's ad, and falling right into his trap. As we emphasized in "Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been...'PC'?" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August 1991):

> "The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed 'neutrality' of the racist university administrations and the cops. It gives enhanced power to those institutions to act against, for instance, leftists who might rightly protest Colin Powell or [Norman] Schwarzkopf and call these imperialist pigs 'imperialist pigs.' What's more, ***this strategy doesn't work***."

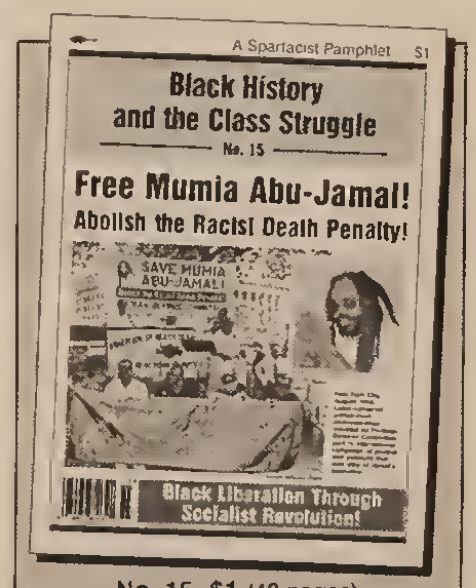
The organizers of "silent protests" by black students at Berkeley told students to *stay away* from the united-front protest we organized. It is a telling sign of the despair to which black youth have been driven by the racist atmosphere on the campuses and of the bankruptcy of the black liberal misleadership that such things could seriously be suggested.

Beholden to bourgeois liberalism, most of the left boycotted our Berkeley demonstration, demonstrating that they're a bunch of paper tigers. The International Socialist Organization (ISO) fervently raises the call to "fight the right," portraying the Democrats as an alternative to the Republicans. Yet when the right reared its head at Berkeley, these "fighters" were nowhere to be seen. In fact, the ISO attempted to sabotage the demonstration by using their leadership position in the campus group Students for Justice in Palestine to block its endorsement, and then called a meeting of that group the same night as the rally. Ever so craven, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (30 March) carries a tiny article titled "Protest Racist Ad" which claims to solidarize with the campus protests but dishonestly hides its role at Berkeley by neglecting to mention the SYC-initiated protest there. Now the ISO is calling an event to challenge Horowitz at Columbia University in New York—quite brave since the campus paper hasn't printed his ad and Horowitz isn't coming to Columbia. As for free speech, just try to enter a public ISO meeting with a few copies of *Workers Vanguard* in your hand, and you'll see how, for these reformists, free speech means nothing.

To its credit, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) came to the Berkeley protest and even put out a leaflet. PL also put out a leaflet in Boston titled "No Free Speech for Racists!" But by amalgamating Horowitz with Klan and Nazi race-terrorists, PL confuses the whole question. The fascists are paramilitary action gangs whose purpose is racial genocide and the destruction of organized labor. This is not a question of "free speech" but of mobilizing the working class to smash them as an elementary defense of itself and of the oppressed. Horowitz is a racist ideologue whose views need to be exposed and defeated as part of combatting bourgeois ideology. While their Boston leaflet did attempt to refute Horowitz, PL falls into the same trap as the liberals who simply see it as a question of suppressing racist ideas rather than fighting against the material basis of racial oppression.

Horowitz wants to turn back the clock to more reactionary times; the liberals merely want to maintain the status quo of racist American capitalism by trying to prettify it through "politically correct" verbiage. As Marxists, our aim is to change reality, not merely the perception of reality. We want to mobilize students behind the social power of a working class united in the fight against the oppression of black people, women and minorities. As we explained in a letter to Berkeley's *Daily Cal* (3 April), "Our protest against Horowitz was part of our effort to win youth to the cause of black freedom."

We fight to build a youth organization to intervene on the campuses with a revolutionary program and to combat every manifestation of racial oppression and discrimination. The battles at hand require the leadership of a multiracial workers party that will act as a "tribune of the people" in championing the cause of all the oppressed, fighting to achieve black liberation through integration in a socialist society. It is by joining such a struggle that radical-minded students and youth can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten system and open the door to human freedom. ■



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Defend China...

(continued from page 1)

Russia four Sovremenny guided missile destroyers, four Kilo-class submarines which are reputed to be as quiet as the most modern U.S. subs, SU-27 fighters and advanced missiles. The purpose of the EP-3E spy flight was to monitor the Sovremenny destroyers and subs and to test Chinese air defenses.

In a 1987 exercise, a U.S. guided missile cruiser sailed right into Soviet territorial waters near a top-secret naval base on the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Soviet Far East. Such "games," dubbed "Chicken of the Sea," were intended to trigger defensive actions and communications to be observed and analyzed. In 1983, U.S. intelligence had the civilian Korean Air Lines Flight 007 fly over Kamchatka while P-3 spy planes (the forerunner of the EP-3E) monitored Soviet defenses. This imperialist provocation cost the lives of more than 200 innocent passengers, as KAL 007 was shot down by Soviet forces who mistook

Xinhua

Courageous Chinese pilot Wang Wei

it for a U.S. military incursion into Soviet airspace. With their finger on the nuclear trigger, the leaders of U.S. imperialism constantly threatened the world with incineration in pursuit of their war drive aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Imperialist Rivalries Increase

In a front-page column in the Milano daily *Corriere della Sera* last week, Italy's former ambassador to the U.S. described Bush as "a young president who rules the world, but is only truly knowledgeable about Texas." The Bush administration is a truly scary gang, so packed with Christian fundamentalists and right-wing militarists that Secretary of State Colin Powell, architect of the massacre of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, comes across as a "voice of moderation." Many are veterans of the Reagan administration's Contragate schemes and bloody terror operations against leftist insurgents in Latin America. While taking aim at China, they are also increasingly provocative toward North Korea, capitalist Russia and even their European allies. This was exemplified by the recent wholesale

Xinhua

Chinese war heroes hailed by North Koreans celebrating 1953 cease-fire in Korean War. PLA entry into war was crucial in defeating U.S. imperialist onslaught against North Korea and defending Chinese Revolution.

expulsion of 50 Russian diplomats and the ultimatum to South Korea's Kim Dae Jung to halt negotiations with the North. Speaking for the virulent China-bashing wing of the Democratic Party, New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli is now mooting the recall of the U.S. ambassador to China as long as the EP-3E crew is held there.

Arguing that the U.S. should be trying to play Russia, China and North Korea off against each other, conservative strategist Edward Luttwak pointed to the recent American provocations against all three in a *Los Angeles Times* (28 March) column titled "Foreign Policy Crew Is Smashing the Crockery." Luttwak continued, "What cannot be explained in the context of a rational foreign policy is that all three things were done at once." A front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* (4 April), one of the most hawkish bourgeois mouthpieces, took aim against "Beijing-bashing hard-liners" on behalf of the "pro-business camp" in the administration, noting that "China is a lucrative market and manufacturing site."

While the former Reaganites who advise Bush Jr. may revel in memories of Reagan's crusade against the Soviet "evil empire," the world is not the same as it was in the 1980s. The destruction of the Soviet Union and East European deformed workers states removed the glue that kept the major capitalist powers united under U.S. leadership. Seizing on Bush's rebuff to North Korea, the European Union (EU) has moved to set up diplomatic relations with the North. The chilling of Washington's relations with Moscow has prompted the EU to announce a "strategic partnership" with Putin's Russia. Washington has bluntly opposed creation of a European "rapid reaction" force outside of U.S.-dominated NATO. On the eve of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder's visit, Bush provocatively announced that the U.S. was rejecting the Kyoto environmental accord favored by the Europeans, leading to a storm of criticism from the EU.

Growing tensions between the U.S. and Japan were underscored in February with the reckless sinking of a Japanese fishing vessel by an American submarine near Hawaii, touching off a furor in Japan intensified by the callous U.S. reaction. Recently, the U.S. flouted a 40-year-old agreement by sailing a nuclear aircraft carrier into a Japanese port without bothering to ask permission. This has all touched off renewed opposition to American military bases in Japan, particularly in Okinawa with its concentration of American troops, as well as demands long pushed by right-wing nationalist forces to bolster Japan's military.

The mounting tensions between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals highlight the inherent competition for control of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and cheap labor among the imperialist powers. These tensions will only be accentuated as the world economic recession deepens. As was demonstrated in World Wars I and II, such competition can ultimately only be resolved through war, in this case one that would threaten

Percy/Combat Camera Group Pacific Fleet

U.S. guided missile cruiser *Arkansas* invaded Soviet territorial waters off Kamchatka Peninsula in 1987 Cold War provocation.

the nuclear annihilation of humanity. In the interim, the capitalist rulers use such tensions to foster national chauvinism and to divert the attention of the workers from growing unemployment and immiseration.

Recapturing China for capitalist exploitation is currently the big "prize" for the competing imperialist powers. This would be a historic defeat for the workers and all oppressed peoples of the world, and would trigger an even more furious scramble among the major capitalist powers to carve up the spoils. It was largely over the "right" to exploit China that the 1941-45 Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan was fought.

Beijing Bureaucracy on a Tightrope

While the regime of Chinese president Jiang Zemin has scrambled to strike a deal with the U.S., the arrogance of America's imperialist rulers provoked outrage among broad sectors of the Chinese populace. "Of course, they will have to apologise in full," said one Beijing resident quoted in the London *Financial Times* (7 April) who continued, "If we let them push us around once, it will happen the whole time just like when China was weak." The article noted that this was "an almost ubiquitous sentiment."

The Beijing regime has banned any public protest on the mainland against the U.S. provocation, rejecting permission for demonstrations requested by more than 50 university and college groups. This is in good part because the regime does not want to upset the trade deals that are integral to its program of "market reforms." Above all, the bureaucracy fears that *any* protest against the imperialist provocation could draw in the combative and disgruntled working class. Even when the regime allowed protests against the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade during the 1999 NATO war against Serbia, it reportedly banned factory contingents from joining them. The bureaucracy lives in dread of the spectre of the 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into the student protests marked an incipient political revolution.

On April 5, police in Beijing arrested four men attempting to protest outside the U.S. embassy. One of the placards they carried read: "We Don't Want U.S. Dollars, We Want Dignity." But the Jiang regime does want U.S. dollars, and German D-marks and Japanese yen. "As the spyplane standoff has unfolded," observed the *Financial Times*, "national outrage has grown, and criticism of national leaders for being 'too soft' on the US has become a common refrain." There are increasing strains inside the bureaucracy itself between pro-Western elements and those, particularly in the military, who want to maintain a harder line against U.S. aggression.

"Great Power" Chinese nationalism cannot repulse the drive for imperialist subjugation, but would serve only to bind the Chinese proletariat to the bourgeoisie that was driven out of the country in 1949. We explained in "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997):

> "As an ideology emanating from capitalism's emergence from feudal society, nationalism is a *false consciousness* for the Chinese proletariat. It is, however, the proper ideology of the Hong Kong capitalists and nascent mainland Chinese bourgeoisie. Nationalism was a major political force in the counterrevolutionary wave that swept over the former USSR and East Europe—both the nationalism of the minority peoples, fostered for decades by the U.S. State Department and CIA, and the chauvinism of the ruling caste, which helped spin off elements who looked to capitalist rule as the road to great-power status.... Nationalism is already playing a similar role in China."

This is crystal clear in the bureaucracy's offer to the bourgeoisie in Taiwan to reunite on the basis of "one country, two systems." We call for *revolutionary reunification*, through socialist revolution in Taiwan and proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

The Chinese population is deeply conscious of its history of oppression by Western and Japanese imperialism, and of the long record of U.S. military belligerence against the 1949 Revolution. Ending the era of imperialist subjugation exemplified by the Opium Wars and the carving up of China by the colonial powers took the overthrow of the corrupt comprador bourgeoisie by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army in 1949, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The defense of this workers state can only be carried

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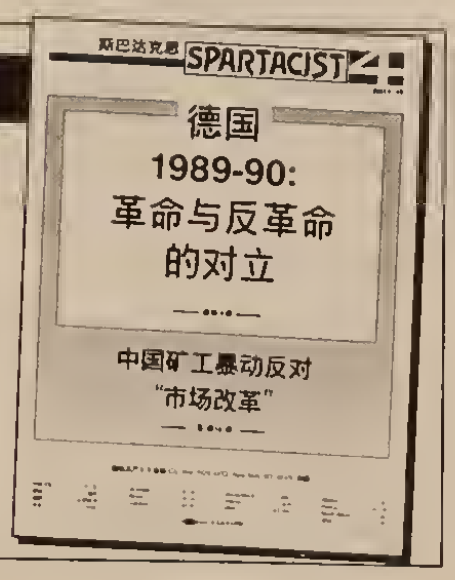


Magnum

DeChillo/NY Times

Mao's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, sealed by 1972 meeting in Beijing with war criminal Nixon, helped open door to imperialist penetration of China. Chinese president Jiang Zemin at New York Stock Exchange, 1997.

forward on the basis of proletarian internationalism—against both imperialist aggression and internal counterrevolution—seeking to mobilize the working people of South Korea, Japan, the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world for socialist revolution.

What Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, wrote about the Soviet Union in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" in May 1940 applies with full acuteness to the Chinese deformed workers state today:

> "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle....
>
> "We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

Mao's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

Reflecting widespread sentiment against the current Beijing regime for conciliating U.S. imperialism, one Internet posting in China read: "We miss Chairman Mao" and was signed, "New Force of Laid-Off Workers." But it was Mao who consummated the criminal alliance with the U.S. imperialists directed against the Soviet Union, signaled by Nixon's 1972 visit to Beijing while American bombs were raining on Vietnam. The anti-Soviet alliance sealed by Mao was deepened under Deng Xiaoping, from China's failed 1979 invasion of Vietnam to its aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* terrorists in Afghanistan and its setting up of CIA listening posts on its border with the USSR. In aiding and abetting the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Beijing bureaucracy helped place the Chinese deformed workers state itself directly in the cross hairs of imperialism. We warned in "Deng's China and Political Revolution" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88) that the Mao/Deng course of anti-Sovietism and nationalism would "ultimately threaten China with disaster, bloody counterrevolution and a new colonization subjugating the country to the yoke of imperialism."

While much of the barking back to Mao is couched in the language of Chinese nationalism, there is also a yearning for the relative egalitarianism of the Mao years as against the current regime's "market reforms" which have led to rampant corruption, increasing economic disparity, joblessness and loss of previously guaranteed benefits. But the policies of the Mao regime, which were premised on the anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country," were marked by economic autarky and insane economic adventurism, such as the 1950s "Great Leap Forward." At the same time, through its appeasement of imperialism in the name of "peaceful coexistence," the Mao regime laid the basis for the policies pursued by the current bureaucracy.

Mao's heirs have increasingly opened the country to imperialist penetration. This has been met with massive proletarian resistance, with tens of thousands of strikes and workers' protests every year. Reflecting the brittle and contradictory nature of the bureaucracy, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, who has spearheaded the deepening of "market reforms," announced last week a campaign against corruption and other forms of "commercial excess." In addition, the *Financial Times* (5 April) reports, "The official People's Daily newspaper carried an opinion piece last month excoriating capitalism and globalisation for the wealth imbalances that it promotes. Such sentiments have rarely, if ever, received such a prominent airing over the past three years."

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste. Resting on proletarian property forms, the bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the capitalist world market on the deformed workers state. But the bureaucracy also has to tread warily as it pushes pro-capitalist economic measures, out of fear of a working-class explosion. As we wrote in the first part of "Whither China? 'Market Socialism' and the Legacy of Mao" (*WV* No. 743, 6 October 2000):

> "As it pursues 'market reforms' and opens the door to exploitation by Western and Japanese imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. It is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). Such a political revolution is premised on ***unconditional defense of the planned, collectivized economy*** which is the social foundation of the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state."

The urgent task is to build a Trotskyist party in order to provide leadership to the combative proletariat and to link its fight for political revolution to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers.

For Proletarian Internationalism

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils issuing out of a proletarian political revolution would face virulent imperialist reaction. While doing what it could to aid the fight for socialist revolution internationally, not least in the U.S., a revolutionary workers and peasants government would have to undertake necessary economic and military measures in its own defense. This would require the reconsolidation of central economic planning based on state-owned industry. Under a government based on workers democracy and led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, a centrally planned economy would optimize economic growth while eradicating the extremes of rich and poor so evident in China today. The state monopoly of foreign trade should be utilized to promote imports and exports on the world market, taking full advantage of the international division of labor. We oppose the opening of China to the World Trade Organization (WTO) not because we favor Maoist economic autarky but because it would further undermine the monopoly of foreign trade and the collectivized economy.

Competition between the imperialists for markets would provide such a revolutionary regime a certain room for maneuver. The Soviet workers state under Lenin and Trotsky, erected through the October Revolution of 1917, took advantage of such rivalries to strike trade and military deals with Germany and other capitalist countries. But for the revolutionary-internationalist Bolsheviks, the aim was to buy time until the victory of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, which they worked to prepare by building the Third (Communist) International. The Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24 put forward the anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country," transforming the foreign Communist parties into bargaining chips in an illusory search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. That program led to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

The all-sided misery pervasive throughout the former Soviet Union today—the wholesale devastation of industry and social services, the massive unemployment, the shocking fall in life expectancy—starkly illustrates the superiority of a planned economy over capitalist chaos. This is a lesson not only for the proletariat of China but for the working class and minorities in the U.S. and other capitalist countries, who are already facing massive layoffs before a recession has even taken hold, on top of years of wage cuts, givebacks and the eradication of social benefits.

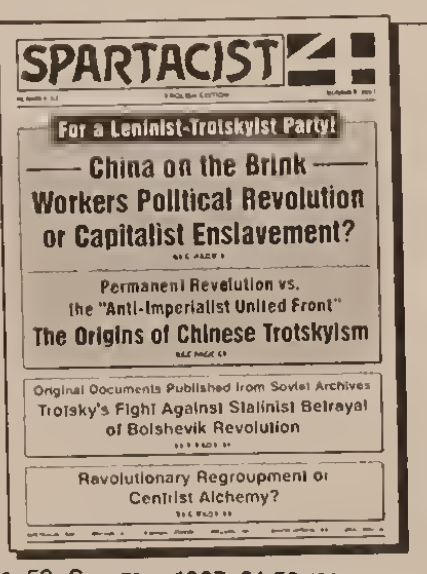
In the United States, the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy has simultaneously presided over the destruction of hard-won union jobs and benefits and promoted U.S. imperialism's attacks on the working class internationally. The AFL-CIO tops are in the vanguard of anti-Communist China-bashing. This is most virulently expressed by Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr., who issued an April 3 statement following the landing of the U.S. spy plane at Hainan ranting that "Communist China continues to violate international law at each turn." Railing against "slave labor" in China, the labor tops promote the virtues of the free market. But it won't be so easy to sell capitalist "democracy" to workers in China, many of whom have already experienced the miseries of free-market exploitation in the "Special Economic Zones" and other areas of capitalist penetration created by Beijing's "market reforms." Joining in the anti-China campaign is "progressive" AFL-CIO president Sweeney, who was in the forefront of the protectionist drive against China's entry into the WTO, a campaign that united right-wing Republicans with liberal Democrats.

WV Photo

AP

Left: Migrant workers outside Shanghai railway station. Right: Anti-U.S. protesters arrested in Beijing on April 5. Stalinist regime fears that protests could touch off explosion by disgruntled proletariat.

It is in the direct and immediate interest of working people in the U.S. to defend the Chinese deformed workers state against the American capitalist rulers. Just as happened in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, capitalist restoration in China would embolden the U.S. bourgeoisie, and the imperialists internationally, to ratchet up their assault on the working class and minorities at home. It would also make the world an even more dangerous place. The International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, as the indispensable instrument to lead the proletariat in the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world.■



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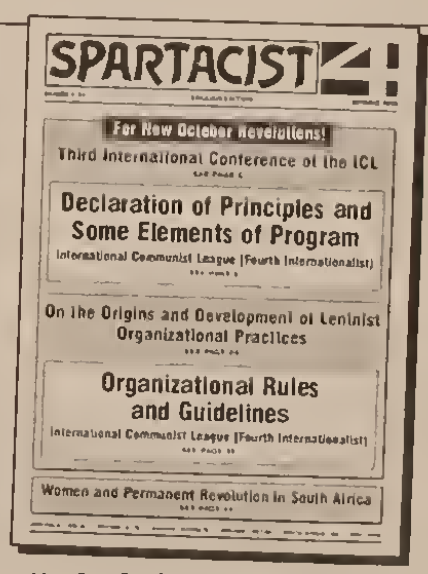

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WORKERS VANGUARD

David Horowitz: Reactionary Demagogue on Nationwide Offensive

Racism and Witchhunts On Campus

Young Spartacus

Racist ideologue David Horowitz is on a nationwide offensive to portray black people as indolent *untermenschen* who owe a "debt" to America for "welfare benefits and racial preferences...all under the rationale of redressing historic racial grievances." That is, Horowitz thinks that black people are lucky their ancestors were kidnapped and brought here to be slaves. Horowitz's campaign is part of an effort by forces of the far right to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off the campuses while black students were excluded altogether. And they're using the issue of "free speech" as a cover for this racist witchhunt.

In late February, Horowitz submitted an ad to some 50 campus newspapers, titled "Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea—and Racist Too." Obscenely claiming that slave labor "created wealth for black Americans...including the descendants of slaves," Horowitz all but argues that black people should pay the cost of being brought here as slaves. After pointing to programs like the "war on poverty" which were instituted to quell the anger of the brutalized and impoverished ghettos in the '60s, Horowitz asks, "Where is the gratitude of black America and its leaders for those gifts?" As *Nation* columnist Eric Alterman responded in a 22 March MSNBC Web posting: "One might just as appropriately ask Jews show their 'gratitude' to Germany because of all the gifts bestowed on them there, aside from that small matter of the Holocaust."

An op-ed piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 March) noted: "Horowitz is no more worried about the likelihood of reparations for slavery than he is about the possibility of owls taking over the government." The aim of Horowitz and his associates is to increase and intensify the atmosphere of racism and intimidation on the campuses. Students and professors who dared to protest against Horowitz's ad are already being threatened. At Brown University, where an entire run of the university's paper was confiscated by outraged students after it printed the ad, a black student received an anonymous letter with a picture of a mutilated black youth. And the Afro-American Studies Department has had a series of racist messages left on its answering machine, one spelling out the racist epithet "n-----."

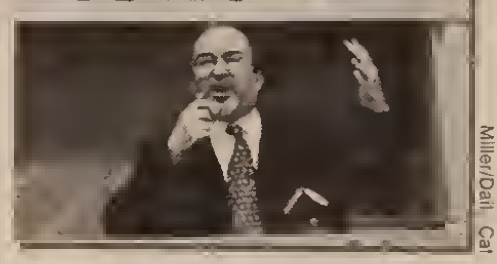
Horowitz is not some individual nutcase or a fringe element. He is well connected to and funded by some big-time right-wing forces, including in the upper echelons of the Republican Party. Just last year, prominent Republican Senators and Congressmen hosted a soiree for him in Washington at which some $40,000 was raised for his activities. His recent pamphlet, *The Art of Political War: How Republicans Can Fight to Win*, was endorsed by 35 Republican Party chairmen. Thousands of copies were distributed by the right-wing Heritage Foundation, and Republican House leader Tom DeLay provided copies to every Republican Congressman, with a cover note praising the contents.

With the inauguration of the Republican Bush administration whose attorney general, John Ashcroft, is an open sympathizer of the Confederate slavocracy, Horowitz and an increasingly militant campus right obviously feel the wind in their sails. Horowitz also fits well with the crew that Bush has resurrected from the basement of the Reagan White House who are particularly infamous for backing the sadistic torturers and murderers who made up the Nicaraguan contra forces in the 1980s. As noted in an article in the 3 July 2000 *Nation*, Horowitz himself was dispatched by Elliott Abrams, Reagan's assistant secretary of state, to assist the contras: "Horowitz found himself in Managua, Nicaragua, where, at the expense of US taxpayers, he offered tactical advice to anti-Sandinista labor unions, politicians and journalists, and, in the dining room of the Intercontinental Hotel, thundered, 'For the sake of the poorest peasants in this Godforsaken country, I can't wait for the contras to march into this town and liberate it from these fucking Sandinistas!'"

Young Spartacus

Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery is a Bad Idea — and Racist Too.

HOROWITZ


Miller/Daily Cal

UC Berkeley, March 15: SYC-initiated protest against reactionary ideologue David Horowitz. Racist ad by Horowitz is part of national drive by the right against black people and leftists.

Who Are These Racist Pigs?

At UC Berkeley, the stage for Horowitz was set last September by his ally Dan Flynn of Accuracy in Academia (AIA) and its parent group, Accuracy in Media (AIM). The Berkeley College Republicans and the Berkeley Conservative Foundation invited Flynn, author of the scurrilous tract *Cop Killer: How Mumia Abu-Jamal Conned Millions into Believing He Was Framed*. Their purpose was to propagate the lies of the Philadelphia police and District Attorney's office that were used to frame up this innocent man who had long been in the sights of the state for fighting against black oppression and racist cop terror. Flynn was met with protests by outraged students who burned his literature and shouted him down. As we wrote at the time, "It's too bad that the Berkeley protesters fell into Flynn's trap. It would have been much more effective to expose AIA's smear campaign against Mumia for what it is: a bunch of lies" ("SYC Defends Mumia Against Reactionary Smear Campaign," *WV* No. 745, 3 November 2000).

A couple of months later, when former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu was scheduled to appear in Berkeley, UC Berkeley's *Daily Californian* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* joined the Berkeley Conservative Foundation's *California Patriot* in denouncing the 300 peaceful demonstrators who exercised their democratic right to protest this war criminal, for "violating" Netanyahu's "freedom of speech." In fact, Netanyahu *wasn't even there*. He skipped out on

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SYC-Initiated Protest Refutes Horowitz's Lies

Horowitz used the publicity garnered by his racist ad to launch a nationwide speaking tour grotesquely titled the "Freedom Tour." When Horowitz brought his tour to UC Berkeley on March 15, courtesy of the Berkeley College Republicans and the Berkeley Conservative Foundation, he was met by more than 50 anti-racist protesters who joined the Spartacus Youth Club-initiated picket, which was endorsed by prominent Berkeley professors Waldo Martin Jr. and Robert Allen, editor of *The Black Scholar*.

Cynically playing the issue of "free speech" for his sinister purposes, the ad for Horowitz's speech featured a photo of a Free Speech Movement demonstration at UC Berkeley in the 1960s. To call this Orwellian only partly captures it. The quite well. His "Celebrate Free Speech" appearance at Berkeley was a calculated *provocation*.

The *only* place at Berkeley that night where there was any free speech was at our united-front protest, which fought to refute Horowitz's racist bigotry and to defend free speech rights for leftists, radicals and black and minority students. Protesters had to face down a howling mob of anti-communists and racists. Such a level of organized right-wing intimidation has not been seen on the campus since the 1930s when ROTC mobilized Berkeley students to scab on the 1934 San Francisco general strike. Meanwhile, on the inside, Horowitz pulled the plug on his own charade. When the third speaker in the discussion round, a black man, simply questioned Horowitz, the event's moderator shouted, "No debate!", cut the microphones and hustled Horowitz out of the building!

Newsweek (2 April) published a picture of a participant in our protest holding a sign which read, "Protest David Horowitz, Racist Ideologue!" The reference to our protest drove Horowitz to rant in his regular *Salon.com* column (2 April) that the article did not "explain that the protesters were members of the Spartacist Youth League [sic], a Trotskyist splinter group whose members also denounced me as a 'capitalist running dog.' The image was allowed to just stand there, making me appear to be a theoretician for the Posse Comitatus or some lunatic fringe group." As for calling Horowitz a "capitalist running dog," if the shoe fits, wear it. Horowitz also declared that his appearance at Boston University would be threatened with attack by "Maoists," which shows how divorced from reality he is. The truth of the matter is, there has been no significant Maoist organization in the U.S. since the late 1970s. A former New Leftist turned raving racist anti-communist, Horowitz is obviously caught in the time warp of his own warped mind.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 757 | 27 April 2001

Killer Cops on the Loose

Herppich/Cincinnati Enquirer

Stafford/Cincinnati Enquirer

Cincinnati erupted in angry protests, including one outside police headquarters on April 9 (left), following shooting of Timothy Thomas, fifteenth black man killed by cops since 1995.

Cincinnati: Racist Hellhole Boils Over

Drop All Charges Against Arrested Protesters!

When 19-year-old black laborer Timothy Thomas went out to buy a pack of cigarettes shortly after midnight, it was the last time his fiancée and three-month-old son would see him. Chased into an alley by a gang of cops, in the early hours of April 7 Thomas became the fourth victim in five months of the Cincinnati Police Department's war on the ghettos, and the 15th since 1995. The cops claim they went after Thomas because of outstanding warrants—for driving without a seat belt and other misdemeanors. Among the signs carried by hundreds of protesters who took over an April 9 City Council meeting was one reading, "No Seatbelt = Death."

The killing of Timothy Thomas touched off a long-simmering explosion of outrage, as protests swept across the city for days. Declaring a state of emergency and a dusk-to-dawn curfew, Democratic mayor Charles Luken flooded black neighborhoods with phalanxes of riot cops, including special units of the State Highway Patrol along with the thousand-strong city police force, and even threatened to call for a deployment of National Guard troops. SWAT teams barricaded off entire blocks, while helicopters swooped over the streets.

When a thousand protesters rallied outside police headquarters after the City Council meeting, the cops attacked them with tear gas and shotguns firing "beanbags" filled with lead shot. On April 14, the cops again fired beanbags into the crowd outside Thomas' funeral, which included children and the elderly. A white teacher who was shot twice said, "It was like a drive-by shooting. All of a sudden, out of the blue, several police cars screeched to a halt at that intersection, jumped out of cars and just immediately started shooting people with their shotguns. No warning. No nothing."

In a matter of days, some 850 people had been rounded up in the police dragnet, overwhelmingly for curfew violations. While the killer cop was given a paid vacation on "administrative leave," the local prosecutor set up a special task force to go after protesters. Over 60 people have now been indicted, including on felony riot charges which could mean years behind bars. In an April 18 protest letter to Luken and the prosecutor, the Partisan Defense Committee demanded: ***Drop all charges against anti-cop-terror protesters! Release all of those still held!***

The 1992 plebeian upheaval in Los Angeles triggered by the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King punctured the "New World Order" triumphalism of the American bourgeoisie following the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Coming as the bubble

continued on page 4

Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!

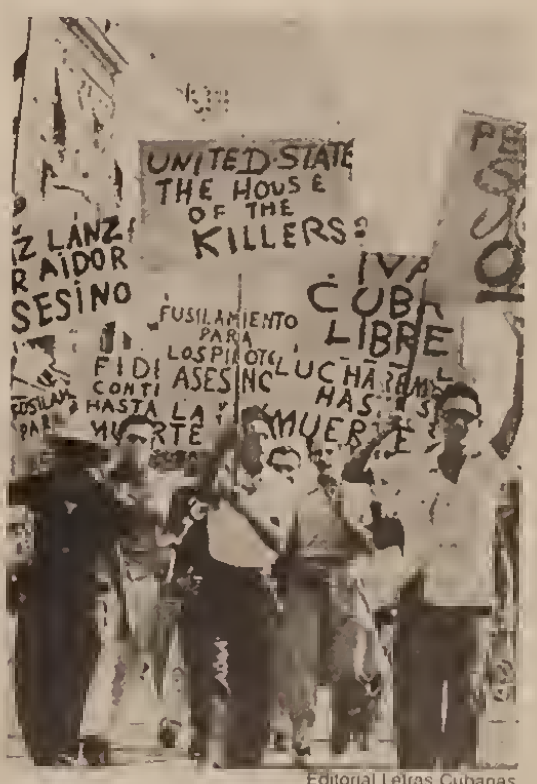
Bay of Pigs, 1961: U.S. Imperialists, You Lost!

We join the Cuban masses this month in celebrating the 40th anniversary of their victory over U.S. imperialism's mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs. The attempted invasion of Cuba by CIA-backed forces on 17 April 1961 was an early salvo in U.S. imperialism's drive to overturn the Cuban Revolution.

The CIA trained the invasion force of some 1,500 Cuban counterrevolutionaries in a Central American training camp, while scraping together a "government in exile" in Miami composed of reactionary *gusanos* (worms). But when "Brigade 2506" hit the beaches of Playa Girón and Playa Larga in the Bay of Pigs, they didn't trigger the popular uprising against Fidel Castro that they had expected. Instead, the invasion sparked an upsurge of support for the revolution by the Cuban working people who heroically defended their country. While the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier and warships that had escorted them remained offshore, the *gusanos*' landing boats and communications ship were smashed to smithereens by the tiny Cuban air force. The American air support that the CIA had promised never arrived. Within 64 hours, the invasion force was crushed.

It was during the Bay of Pigs attack, at a funeral demonstration for the victims of an American air strike that preceded the landing, that Castro for the first time proclaimed the "socialist" character of the Cuban Revolution. When Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces marched into Havana on

continued on page 5



Editorial Letras Cubanas

Cubans protest U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion by gusano counterrevolutionaries, 1961.

Mass Protests Against "Free Trade" Confab

Drop All Charges Against the Quebec City 400!

The following letter was sent by the Canadian Partisan Defense Committee to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Quebec premier Bernard Landry on April 23.

The Partisan Defense Committee—the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—denounces in the strongest terms the brutal police violence orchestrated and unleashed by your governments against protesters at the Quebec City Summit of the Americas on April 20-22. We protest the arrest and detention of more than 400 protesters, including of CLAC spokesman Jaggi Singh, seized by disguised and unidentified officers and thrown into an unmarked van. We demand the immediate release of Singh and all the hundreds arrested. Drop all the charges!

Protesters have reported extreme police brutality both at and well away from the "security wall" which encompassed much of Old Quebec. One protester is in critical condition in hospital after being shot in the throat with a plastic bullet. Another suffered eye injuries after being struck in the face by shrapnel from an exploding tear gas canister. Riot police tear-gassed and shut down a medical center, forcing everyone out at gunpoint and stripping them of their medical supplies. Many of those held in Orsainville prison report being denied contact with lawyers.

Reuters

Cops attack anti-globalization protester in Quebec City.

The massive police onslaught in Quebec City has ripped away capitalist Canada's mask of "tolerance" to reveal the naked dictatorship of the bourgeois ruling class. It has shown how the capitalist state is not neutral, but is the armed and dangerous defender of bourgeois property and order. If the scales fell from the eyes of many protesters with illusions in "Canadian democracy" this weekend, that is all to the good.

In what does your democracy consist? Lethal force, in the form of plastic bullets! Tear gas canisters fired into medical aid stations! Water cannon, bloody beatings, arbitrary arrests. All this to protect your discussions toward a Free Trade Area of the Americas, i.e., the "free trade" rape of workers and the poor throughout Latin America by U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner. This is the "freedom" you and your bourgeois friends hold out to the working masses of Cuba—excluded from the summit because uniquely in this hemisphere it threw off the imperialist yoke through social revolution. We will continue to oppose all your efforts to destroy the gains of the Cuban, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions through bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

The repressive onslaught in Quebec City is unequalled in this country since the armed occupation of Montreal by Canadian troops in October 1970, which was aimed at quelling widespread struggles for national and social liberation in Quebec. Today, we note the natural solidarity between the Anglo-chauvinist Canadian government and the sovereignist Parti Québécois when faced with a challenge to bourgeois order and property. For too long have the struggles of the working people of English Canada and the oppressed nation of Quebec been crippled by the reactionary logic of Anglo chauvinism and the Québécois nationalism which it has fueled. The brutal state attacks on workers and youth this weekend show concretely the need for the working people to break from their "own" bourgeois rulers and enter on the road of internationalist class struggle. For our part, we advocate Quebec independence so that the workers in both nations can come to see you, the capitalist rulers, as the enemy, and not one another.

Once again, we demand the immediate release of all protesters and the dropping of all charges against them. In the proletarian internationalist tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all" we will help to publicize these atrocities to the working classes throughout the Americas and beyond. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Proletarian Revolution to Smash Imperialism!

In commemorating May Day, the international workers holiday, we publish the following excerpt from a May Day speech by James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), given shortly after his release from prison. Along with 17 other Trotskyist leaders, Cannon had been imprisoned for the SWP's revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II. Today, the Spartacist League/U.S. seeks to forge the revolutionary workers party needed to render the working class conscious of its task as the gravedigger of U.S. imperialism, reactionary bastion of the international capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and war.

We are approaching the one-hundredth anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*, the first great document which proclaimed the coming downfall of capitalism and the inevitable victory of the proletariat. Today, ninety-seven years later, it remains our program and our banner. Nothing is clearer in the world today than this: that the failure of the workers to carry out the historic mission imposed upon them by the decline of capitalism does not and cannot bring any relief or prosperity for them but only a continuation of enslavement and devastating wars which in the present period of the death agony of capitalism grow ever more monstrous in devouring mankind....

Out of the imperialist war that lasted nearly six years, the people of the whole world are the victims. And they are the victims not of a mistake of this or that statesman or general and not of this or that bad will of some maniac in power. They are fundamentally the victims of the capitalist system, which is in its death agony, and which is incapable of maintaining peace or prosperity in the world and cannot but continue to plunge the world into one holocaust after another until the masters of the future take control of society and institute a rational system....

This is the revolutionary epoch and we, as the heralds of the revolution, have every right to confidence in the future. Power will decide it. The two greatest powers in the world today face each other on the continent of North America, in the United States of America which, as Trotsky once expressed it, is the foundry where the fate of mankind will be forged. Two powers face each other: one, the power of American imperialism, the present master of the world, and the other is a still greater, although not yet conscious power, the American proletariat, whose power is greater than that of American imperialism and greater than that of any force in the world, once it becomes conscious of its own social position and potentiality.

—James P. Cannon, "The End of the War in Europe" (1 May 1945), reprinted in *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century"* (1977)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 24.

No. 757 **27 April 2001**

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forums

Down With Protectionism, Canadian Nationalism—The Main Enemy Is the Capitalist Class at Home!

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

Including reports from the Quebec City anti-FTAA protests

Saturday, May 12, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. W. (west of Spadina Sta.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138
TORONTO

Friday, May 18, 7 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4,
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial Dr.)
For more information: (604) 687-0353
VANCOUVER

The Chinese Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek and U.S. Imperialism

22 January 2001

To the Editorial Board:

Joseph Seymour's piece on imperialism in *WV* No. 750 is as usual a marvelously instructive and entertaining tour de force. I just have one criticism. He characterizes Chiang Kai-shek at the end of WW II as a "puppet" of the U.S. I disagree. It was precisely because Chiang refused to be a puppet that the U.S. declined to risk upheaval in the military and at home by sending him enough military assistance to resist Mao's People's Liberation Army. During the last phase of WW II, Chiang's hope was that the U.S. and Britain would conduct the final drive against Japan by building up forces in China and moving against Japan from the west, instead of the Pacific approach from the east, thus allowing the Guomindang to be supreme in postwar China. But there was great distrust of Chiang on the part of the American command, particularly on the part of George Marshall, who was constantly irritated by Chiang's refusal to kowtow to his American big brothers. After the Japanese surrender, the Soviet-armed People's Liberation Army began its rapid ascendancy. As the threat of civil war loomed, the Americans pressured Chiang to make compromises with Mao, the Americans being willing to settle for a coalition government of both the nationalists and the Stalinists (talk about utopian!), thinking the Stalinists were really just left-talking Nationalists and unable at any rate to sovietize China. When Chiang resisted American recommendations for compromises, Marshall threw in the towel, advocating a "pox against both houses" approach. As the sinister Madame Chiang and her many wealthy American friends desperately but unsuccessfully campaigned for U.S. intervention, the ever more popular People's Liberation Army swept over northern and eastern China, driving the capitalist government off the continent to Taiwan. Once having bloodily established its grip over the Taiwan population, Chiang settled into a tight relationship with the U.S., becoming a true puppet, because the U.S. was his only defense against conquest by the People's Liberation Army and his only hope for eventual counterrevolution. Had Marshall and the Truman government been confident in Chiang's subservience in 1946-47, they would have risked popular protest at home to seize China, one of the main prizes of World War II. Douglas MacArthur, for his part, counted on a future war to grab China, a plan foiled, at least temporarily, by the Chinese and Koreans' heroic resistance to imperialism in the Korean War, and then again later by the Vietnamese.

Jim M.

***WV* Replies:**

The statement Jim M. objects to is in the following paragraph from our article "U.S. Imperialism: Deadly Enemy of World's Working People" (*WV* No. 750, 19 January):

> "The Second World War in East Asia was fought between the U.S. and Japan basically over which of the two imperialist powers would subjugate and exploit China. When the U.S. defeated Japan by A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, America's rulers believed they had won China. They had a puppet regime, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. But a few years later, Chiang's forces were defeated by the peasant-based 'red' army of Mao Zedong."

Jim M.'s argument that Chiang Kai-shek, the bourgeois-nationalist dictator of China before the 1949 Revolution, was not a U.S. puppet until he and his Guomindang (GMD) cronies fled to Taiwan is more than a matter of correcting historical inaccuracies. There are important programmatic ramifications as well. As we explained in "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), the International Communist League maintains that in World War II Chiang's nationalist forces became subordinated to U.S. imperialism's war to conquer Asia. There was, therefore, no basis for Trotskyists to continue giving military support to Chiang's armies against the Japanese occupation forces. If Chiang *was not* a U.S. puppet and *was* fighting Japanese imperialism, then the working class was duty-bound to give military support to the struggle to defeat China's imperialist oppressors.

Wide World

General Stilwell, commander of U.S. forces in China, awards medal to Chiang Kai-shek, 1943.

Camera Press

Mao Zedong's People's Liberation Army attacks Guomindang forces in Manchuria in civil war during late 1940s.

Before the U.S. entered World War II, Trotskyists did militarily support China's war against the Japanese occupiers, which had broken out in 1937. Trotskyists gave no *politicol* support to the GMD, instead seeking to prepare the working class to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's shaky dictatorship and replace it with proletarian rule. But Trotsky had already noted in 1940, in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the War and the Proletarian World Revolution," that "the war in eastern Asia will become more and more interlocked with the imperialist world war." The Trotskyist position was one of revolutionary defeatism toward all the imperialist powers in World War II, a war over who would get to subject, oppress and exploit the world. At the same time, Trotskyists fought with every means at our disposal for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. This also meant giving no political support to the bureaucratic regime and opposing Stalin's alliance with the "democratic" imperialists. In practice, that alliance meant subordinating the interests of the proletariat to those capitalist governments.

After the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, the military victory of Chiang's China would no longer be a victory for China's independence from imperialist domination but rather merely a factor in deciding *which* warring imperialist power would conquer China. Put differently, Japan's defeat would not be China's victory, but America's victory over Japan *and* China. The day Pearl Harbor was bombed, Chiang ran to the American military representatives in his capital city of Chongqing (Chungking) to propose joining with the Western imperialists in defense of Singapore, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Burma, the Dutch East Indies and, of course, China—all areas the U.S. wanted. Chiang wanted maximal American involvement and moved *closer* to the U.S. after its entry into the war, aiming to avoid rousing the peasantry and the working class in the struggle against Japan and to free up his troops against the peasant guerrilla forces of Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

The U.S. Called the Shots

To say that Chiang was not a U.S. puppet during World War II amounts to saying that he was fighting Japan independently of U.S. control. But the chief of staff of the Chinese armed forces was the American general Joseph Stilwell. Chiang's warplanes were supplied and manned by Americans, and China's air bases served as bases for U.S. imperialism. In Burma, Chiang's troops fought under the British general Alexander.

The issue of whether the Chinese war against Japan had been subsumed by the interimperialist World War II was debated in the Chinese Trotskyist movement at the time and was the subject of a series of polemics in the U.S. in 1942 between the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Max Shachtman's Workers Party (WP). The SWP argued for a continuation of the previous line and repeatedly asked: "Does [China's] struggle play an *independent* role? If it does, we support it." They implied that "independent" was a function of how many troops the U.S. happened to have on the ground. Their polemic avoided the decisive issue: it was the U.S. that determined strategy and how the Chinese forces were to be used.

Shachtman had broken from Trotskyism in 1939-40 by renouncing unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. During WW II, the WP was a left-centrist formation which, having abandoned Soviet defensism, would later move sharply to the right with the onset of the Cold War. But in 1942, the WP was able to note that the SWP, through militarily supporting Chiang, was defending an ally of its "own" bourgeoisie. While the SWP took a revolutionary defeatist position in WW II, its line that Japan was the main enemy in China could not help but imply that the U.S. was a lesser evil. The SWP position was a step in the direction of

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Spartacist/SYC Regional Educationals—Saturday, April 28

East Coast—New York City

2 p.m.

Eyewitness Reporter from Quebec Anti-FTAA Protests

Beware the Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism!

From Seattle to Quebec: Anti-Globalization Protests Push Illusions in Rapacious U.S. Imperialism

West Coast—Berkeley

12 noon

Eyewitness Report

Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!

Castro Bureaucracy Undermines Gains of Cuban Revolution—
For Proletarian Political Revolution!
For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

East Coast—6 p.m. / West Coast—3:30 p.m.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Location Changed: CWA Local 1180 Union Hall
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For more information: (212) 267-1025

University of California at Berkeley, 60 Evans
For more information: (510) 839-0851 • (415) 395-9520
(213) 380-8239 • (604) 687-0353

Cincinnati...

(continued from page 1)

bursts on the "boom" economy—which saw the rich getting richer and the poor getting even more desperately poor—Cincinnati reveals the social tinder building up in the ghettos, the barrios and the factories. It also serves to expose the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism's "democratic" pretenses as it seeks to impose its diktats around the world. In the wake of the recent U.S. spy plane provocation, Cincinnati was big news in the Chinese media, with a front-page headline in *People's Daily* reporting, "Curfew Hits Cincinnati After Riots."

Cincinnati Enquirer

Keating/Cincinnati Enquirer

Angela Leisure with picture of her son, Timothy Thomas.

"Johannesburg on the Ohio"

An article in the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* (15 April) observed, "Behind the riots is a discord between police and blacks that dates to the Civil War, when Cincinnati became a hotbed for runaway slaves." In the early 1920s, the city was the bridgehead for the northward expansion of a resurgent Ku Klux Klan, and Ohio was arguably the strongest bastion of the genocidal "Invisible Empire," with an estimated 400,000 members and control of almost every city administration. In recent years, the KKK has tried to erect a cross in downtown Fountain Square every Christmas. In 1992, anti-fascist protesters tore down and trampled over this symbol of lynch mob terror. Last Christmas, the KKK cross was erected with the implicit backing of the Democratic mayor, claiming he wanted to avoid a "free speech" fight in the courts.

Such racist reaction is buttressed by a climate of all-sided social bigotry, from rampant anti-abortion violence and clinic bombings in the 1980s to the pro-Hitler ravings of Cincinnati Reds owner Marge Schott. Simon Leis, the sheriff who led the 1990 police raid shutting down an exhibit at the Contemporary Arts Center by the late gay photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, and enforced a ban on selling *Playboy*, is still around.

Cincinnati is a racist hellhole where the intersection of race and class is starkly evident. The Kerner Commission Report on the 1968 ghetto upheavals after Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination noted: "Almost one out of every eight Cincinnati Negroes was unemployed. Two of every five Negro families were living on or below the border of poverty." Since then conditions have only gone downhill. The one big plant in the area, Norwood GM, shut down in the 1980s. Around the same time, the GE plant in Evendale, which once employed over 20,000 people, started shifting its manufacturing and assembly operations for jet engine components to non-union facilities in the South. Most of the remaining manufacturing jobs in the city are in small, non-union factories. Unemployment among black people is now three and a half times that among whites. In the Over-the-Rhine neighborhood where Thomas was gunned down, over 90 percent of residents live below the poverty level, and nearly half depend on paltry government handouts to survive.

This "northern-most Southern city" is one of the most segregated in the U.S. This, too, has only gotten worse since '68. As whites moved to the suburbs, the black proportion of the city's population jumped from 27 percent to 43 percent today. Fully 90 percent of public school students are black. One black resident calls Cincinnati "Johannesburg on the Ohio"; another, a retired Air Force officer, wrote in a letter to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (13 April): "Of all the places my career has taken me—and having spent five years in the South as a college student—Cincinnati is the most covertly and many times overtly racist city and community at large I know." Notably, the upheaval spread beyond Over-the-Rhine, Walnut Hills and other impoverished areas to middle-class black neighborhoods like Pleasant Hill and Bond Hill.

Addressing local officials at an April 17 City Council meeting, one woman exclaimed, "When I look at you, I think you may be the KKK in disguise," "the same old slave masters," "the Gestapo of Hitler's regime." This is barely an exaggeration. On April 18, Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) chief Keith Fangman met with Mississippi "Nationalist Movement" Klansman Richard Barrett, who then held a press conference in which he called on Cincinnati residents to "stand by your policemen" and urged the cops to adopt the motto, "You loot, we shoot" (*Cincinnati Post*, 19 April). Cincinnati cops hardly need this "advice." In the midst of the upheaval, Fangman denounced black protesters as "terrorists" and defended five years of police lynchings by ranting, "We can't help it that these suspects committed violent acts." Fangman charged that Luken had "inflamed this community" with his tepid criticisms of "racial profiling," underlining the cops' bonapartist appetite to slip the leash of even nominal civilian control.

Break with the Democrats!

In a column on Cincinnati in the *New York Times* (19 April), Bob Herbert wrote of "an explosive expression of the rage among blacks that had built up from years of hateful treatment at the hands of the police, public officials and other influential figures." Herbert concluded: "It's time for everyone to recognize the need for a smarter, more effective response to these evils than a riot." Smashing a few downtown windows and looting a handful of stores will, indeed, not ameliorate the plight of the ghetto masses. But what Herbert means by a "smarter, more effective response" is the shell game of Democratic Party electoral politics which have long been used to try to contain the anger of the inner cities and chain the power of the multiracial working class to the capitalist class enemy.

The outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist class that cops "serve and protect," but one which would provide a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the ghetto. The multiracial proletariat had a direct and immediate interest in championing the defense of Cincinnati's black populace against the police onslaught. Notably, the only other times the Highway Patrol was called out was in efforts to break truckers strikes in December 1973 and February 1974, and the National Guardsmen who killed four Kent State antiwar protesters in 1970 had originally been deployed against a Teamsters strike. In the face of the police invasion of the ghettos, a labor leadership worth its salt would have fought to mobilize organized protest action centered on the city's 90,000 unionized workers, many of them black, drawing in contingents of labor from around the region and standing at the head of the ghetto masses and all opponents of cop terror.

But the trade-union bureaucrats, who are already out on the hustings for the Democrats for the 2002 Congressional elections, maintained a criminal, if all too typical, silence. And the powers that be called on the black Democrats, preachers and liberals to try to keep a lid on things and restore capitalist "order." Typically, a 17 April statement by the American Civil Liberties Union, which had just joined with the Cincinnati Black United Front in a federal lawsuit documenting three decades of police racism, urged "calm and restraint" on the black populace and denounced "violence, looting and random acts of mayhem."

A bevy of black Democrats like NAACP head Kweisi Mfume and New York City's Al Sharpton came to Cincinnati with the same purpose. Mfume "appealed to rioters to end their violence," reported the *Cincinnati Post* (13 April). Sharpton called on George Bush to get personally involved, while Mfume boasted that Attorney General John Ashcroft "has assured me it is a priority for him." For years, Mfume, Sharpton & Co. issued similar appeals to the Clinton administration, even as it put tens of thousands more cops on the streets. But nothing could more starkly highlight the bankruptcy of the black liberals' reliance on the federal government to put an end to police racism than the fact that they now look to an attorney general who openly embraces the slaveholding Confederacy!

On the eve of Thomas' funeral, a meeting of local black politicians and preachers called on the city to put "community resource workers" on the streets "to assist in calming frustrations and possible civil disobedience" (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, 13 April). A day earlier, as several dozen black officials and clerics tried to contain an outraged crowd in the face of blatant police provocations, one young man screamed, "I'm getting tired of getting up every morning and finding out someone else I knew has been murdered by the police! Then they send you and the ministers down here to try to talk to us!"

Enlisting as auxiliaries to the black Democrats were fake leftists like the International Socialist Organization, Refuse & Resist, Solidarity and Anti-Racist Action (ARA). An 11 April statement, "Position on Cincinnati Police and Protests," signed by these self-styled "Marxists" or (in the case of ARA) "anarchists," openly peddles the lie that the cops are some kind of neutral agency which should represent the will of the people. Asserting that the police department "is supposed to be an agency of civilian government," the statement appeals for an end to the cops' "military-style operations not only against the African American community, but also against any other citizens who engage in peaceful protests." Along with the usual appeals for "an absolutely Independent Citizens' Police Review Board," they say: "The Cincinnati Police Department is sick with racism, violence and irresponsibility, and it needs to be revamped from the top down. New people and ideas should be brought in."

The whole history of the Cincinnati police department is testimony to the absolute absurdity of the notion that the cops can be reformed into operating as anything other than the armed enforcers of capitalist class rule against the working class and oppressed. Even the bourgeois *New York Times* (16 April) noted in an article headlined "Despite Report After Report, Unrest Endures in Cincinnati" that the city has had any number of federal investigations of its police force and nothing has changed.

Herppich/Cincinnati Enquirer

Some 850 people were rounded up in police state of siege in Cincinnati ghettos. Drop all charges now!

Eleven years after the Kerner Commission, a 1979 mayoral panel concluded that police and city officials "neither really care nor are willing to do anything about reported incidents of misconduct." That May, after cops had gunned down four black people and four white cops had also been killed, police "protesters" surrounded City Hall with 60 cruisers, locked the doors and threw the keys into a pile outside police headquarters. In the upshot, the city armed them with .357 magnums and "hollow point" bullets.

The 1979 "review" was followed by two federal consent decrees in 1981 and 1987 and yet another "review" in 1995. Black cops were brought in—"new people with new ideas"—and now make up a quarter of the force. Cincinnati has also had two black mayors since 1968, and Democrat Luken earlier served as mayor in 1984-90, while his father was elected to a term in 1971. Cincinnati already has a "review board"; racial profiling was "outlawed" last March. None of this has stopped the cops from carrying out their bloody reign of terror, nor could it, for the fundamental reason that the violent repression of the working class and oppressed is what the cops are hired to do.

SYC Class Series

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Feds Uphold Frame-Up of Militant Miner

Free Jerry Dale Lowe Now!

On March 30, a U.S. District Court in Charleston, West Virginia turned down an appeal by United Mine Workers (UMWA) militant Jerry Dale Lowe, who has served more than five long years in an Ashland, Kentucky prison. Lowe is behind bars for only one reason: he stood with his union brothers and sisters and defended their picket lines during a seven-month strike at Arch Mineral's Rufner mine in 1993. For this he was framed up and sentenced to eleven years on bogus charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" stemming from the shooting death of a scab contractor. When a U.S. magistrate granted a motion two years ago allowing Lowe to show that he had had ineffective legal counsel in his trial, Lowe and his family held a glimmer of hope that he might be granted a new trial. "Jerry and I are almost totally devastated by this latest ruling," wrote Lea Lowe, his wife, in a letter to the Partisan Defense Committee.

Lowe's September 1994 trial was a complete farce. When prosecutors realized that they had no evidence to convict Lowe under state law, the Feds concocted the "interstate commerce" charge, even though one appeals judge later acknowledged that there was no evidence that the scab truck had ever been used outside the state. As Lowe told *Workers Vanguard* at the time, the "interstate commerce" charge was a sledgehammer aimed against any effective picketing: "You won't even be able to stand on the side of the road to talk to anybody, not even to ask them to honor a picket line. That would be affecting interstate commerce according to them and you're just liable to go to jail."

WV Photo

Lea and Jerry Dale Lowe, before his imprisonment for defending his union.

Before the shooting, Lowe had sold the gun that prosecutors said he had used to kill the scab, and professional strikebreakers from Elite Security had been firing their guns on the day of the shooting. But Lowe's lawyer failed to call three ballistics experts who were prepared to testify that there was no evidence to match the bullet that killed the scab to the gun in question.

Lowe's frame-up was a blow aimed at the entire labor movement, and it should have been met with a mobilization of union power from the moment of his arrest. As he pursues his fight for freedom, mass union protests should be organized in the streets of Charleston to demand: Free Jerry Dale Lowe now!

An injury to one is an injury to all! That is the watchword on which the UMWA was built. Working below ground, miners know just how their work and their very lives depend on fellow miners, just as effective union struggle requires ironclad solidarity. A picture of Jerry continues to hang in his UMWA Local 5958 union hall, and delegates at last year's UMWA national convention applauded in a strong show of support when Skeeter Lowe made a speech to the convention about the case of his cousin.

But the top UMWA leadership—both under Richard Trumka, who was president at the time of the Rufner strike, and under current president Cecil Roberts—has not lifted a finger to mobilize the union's power in Lowe's defense. The union bureaucrats' failure to wage a fight to defend union jobs, conditions, work rules and benefits has led to the continual erosion of the UMWA, forcing the sons and daughters of union miners to take jobs in non-union mines. Instead of the hard class struggle which built the UMWA and the CIO industrial unions, the "new" AFL-CIO bureaucracy under John Sweeney pursues the same old losing policy of class collaboration, crawling to the capitalist politicians and throwing union support behind the Democratic Party. Emboldened by the bureaucracy's capitulations, the capitalist state is now going after Trumka, currently secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, as part of a Justice Department vendetta against former Teamsters president Ron Carey and other union officials initiated by the Clinton administration.

The latest ruling against Lowe—like his conviction—underlines that the cops, courts and prosecutors are part of an entire machinery of frame-up repression. The same machinery of repression that put Lowe behind bars also threatens five black Charleston, South Carolina longshoremen with five years in prison for a militant picket line last year and regularly consigns hundreds of thousands of black men to lives of prison hell in a racist "war on drugs." The persecution of Lowe and the Charleston Five point to the purpose of the capitalist state as an instrument for defense of the profits and rule of the capitalist class against the working class. We urge all opponents of anti-labor repression to take up the cause of Jerry Dale Lowe and all class-war prisoners.

Jerry Dale Lowe is one of 17 class-war prisoners in the stipend program of the PDC. Please write to him at: Jerry Dale Lowe #044-93-088, L Unit, Federal Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 6001, Ashland, KY 41105.

The 11 April statement also calls on the city government to "investigate" and "take action to ameliorate" the "economic and social needs of the African American community." The conditions faced by the black population are built into American capitalism, which is premised on the segregation of black people as a race/color caste at the bottom of this society. The absurd notion that the government, locally or nationally, can or would do something about this speaks to the depth of the illusion promoted by the opportunist "leftists" that the capitalist state can be made to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. The police cannot be reformed. They are at the core of the capitalist state, hired thugs whose job is to protect the property, profits and rule of the bourgeoisie against the working class. And in America, where black oppression is the cornerstone of the system of wage slavery, that necessarily means terror against black people. The truth is that there can be no end to police terror until the capitalist system it serves is uprooted through a socialist revolution.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Speaking of the 15 black men killed since 1995, Angela Leisure, Timothy Thomas's mother, said: "These people might have been insignificant in y'all's life, but they were significant in our lives" (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, 10 April). In the eyes of the capitalist rulers, the better part of a generation of black people has indeed become insignificant, and dispensable. Behind the capitalists' bipartisan war on black people is the calculation that large swathes of the ghetto population, formerly used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for industry, are no longer needed, deemed a "surplus" population to be brutalized, terrorized and blown away by the rampaging cops. As we stated in the Spartacist League/U.S. Programmatic Statement, "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!":

> "In racist America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. Today, the desperate conditions of life—rotten schools and rotting housing, no health care, low-wage jobs—that were visited first on blacks and immigrant workers are increasingly a reality for the working class as a whole.
>
> "As long as workers are pitted against each other in competition for a limited pool of jobs, the necessary consequence will be a divided and weakened labor movement. We seek to unite employed and unemployed—black and white—workers in common struggle around common demands. We call for union hiring halls, with special union-run programs aimed at reaching out to and training minorities, linked to the fight for jobs for all, demanding that the available work be divided at no loss in pay among all those capable of working. Against 'workfare' schemes which undermine municipal unions by drafting the ghetto and barrio poor to work as slave labor in formerly unionized jobs, we demand equal pay for equal work—union wages with full union protection. We demand a massive program of public works at union wages—for quality, integrated housing and schools, for free quality health care for all, for the reconstruction of deteriorating urban infrastructure and social services."

Black workers still constitute a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat, more heavily unionized than white workers. Under the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, black workers can provide a living link to join the fuming anger of the ghettos to the social power of the proletariat and will play a vanguard role in the fight for socialist revolution which will eliminate the whole system of class exploitation and racist repression which the cops "serve and protect."■

Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

New Year's Day, 1959, they were not intending to carry out a social revolution. But a workers state was consolidated, though bureaucratically deformed, in the summer and fall of 1960, as the Castro regime responded to economic sanctions by the Eisenhower administration with the expropriation of property owned by U.S. and Cuban capitalists. The creation of a collectivized economy brought enormous gains to the Cuban people, such as free medical care, jobs, housing and education—gains which are today increasingly threatened. The Cuban Revolution delivered a massive blow to racist discrimination against black people, who had been the lowest of the low under the U.S.-backed, mafia-infested Batista puppet regime. As Trotskyists, we call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state—just as we defend China, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution.

The Bush administration, which is packed with Reaganite Cold Warriors, has pledged to pursue a tough line on Cuba, including maintaining the economic embargo strangling that country. The embargo against Cuba was imposed under Democrat Kennedy in 1962 and was deepened under Clinton. We say: Down with the imperialist starvation blockade! But ending the embargo is not the answer to Cuba's problems. Indeed, many bourgeois liberals argue to end the embargo as a step on the road to restoring capitalism in Cuba. With Canadian and European firms investing heavily in Cuba, growing sections of the American bourgeoisie are arguing for a less belligerent line toward the Castro regime. These imperialists seek to flood the Cuban economy with U.S. dollars and strengthen the forces of counterrevolution from within. A grotesque reflection of this was a recent delegation to Cuba of former Kennedy aides, ex-CIA agents and *gusano* veterans of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, who met with Castro and other Cuban officials.

Today, Playa Girón is the site of a battlefield museum marking that historic defeat of U.S. forces, where visitors can view the wreckage of downed planes and captured U.S. war matériel. A billboard on the approach road blazons, "Playa Girón—The First Imperialist Defeat in Latin America." At a recent mass rally in Havana, Castro declared, "We dare to predict that a gigantic Girón awaits the imperialists." In reality, the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy under Castro, wedded to the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," has consistently worked to block the spread of revolutions that could have ended Cuba's isolation as the only workers state in the Americas.

Particularly since the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, once Cuba's economic lifeline and chief international ally, the Castro regime has increasingly opened the country to imperialist economic penetration. This has meant a large increase in inequality, particularly targeting the black population. We call for workers political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and put political power in the hands of the working class. Key to the defense of the Cuban Revolution is the struggle for proletarian power throughout Latin America and internationally, especially in the belly of the imperialist beast, the U.S. Above all, we fight to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the American proletariat to victory in that struggle.■

1963 Birmingham Church Bombing: We Will Not Forget!

Feds Abetted Klan Terrorists

During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, some 60 bombings rocked Birmingham, Alabama as it acquired the name "Bombingham." There is one bombing in particular burned into public consciousness in this country. The date: 15 September 1963. It was a little past ten in the morning when Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson and Addie Mae Collins, all age 14, and 11-year-old Denise McNair left their Sunday school class in the 16th Street Baptist Church and went downstairs to put on their choir robes. Fifteen sticks of dynamite exploded and ripped through the church. The four young girls were killed and mutilated and 22 others injured by the blast, the murderous work of the Ku Klux Klan.

The trial of Klansman Thomas Blanton Jr. for the bombing is now underway in Birmingham. The trial of his fascist cohort, Bobby Frank Cherry, has been postponed because of a medical report declaring that he is mentally unfit to stand trial. The bombing of the church, which had been the headquarters for mass protests in the struggle for integration, was coldly calculated murder, aimed at terrorizing black people into submission. That this trial should come 38 years after this heinous crime is itself an indictment of racist American capitalism. The truth is that the federal government, FBI and local law enforcement knew who the killers were the whole time.

The FBI knew because *their* man, well-paid FBI informant Gary Rowe, led the notorious Eastview "Klavern" in Birmingham. The *New York Times* wrote in 1978 that Rowe was involved in "most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the bureau's payroll." Rowe aided Robert Chambliss—"Dynamite Bob"—in the church bombing. Yet it was not until 14 years after this act of racist terror that the Klansman Chambliss was convicted and sent to jail. Gary Rowe's FBI-sanctioned reign of terror included the murder of white civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, cut down on the Selma-Montgomery highway in 1965.

Gary Rowe was not an exceptional case but representative of the symbiotic relationship between government forces and fascist organizations. As Patsy Sims relates in *The Klan* (1978): "In the mid-sixties FBI informants held top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups and headed one state organization. At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers." These "informers" acted as loyal dual agents of both organizations, keeping the Feds well informed of Klan activity while perpetrating race-terror. In fact, evidence against Thomas Blanton will be given by "former" Klansman and FBI informant Mitchell Burns, to whom Blanton said after the bombing, "They ain't gonna catch me when I bomb my next church."

New York Times

Plaque memorializes four young girls murdered in Ku Klux Klan bombing of church which served as organizing center for Martin Luther King Jr. in Birmingham civil rights struggle.

The acknowledged mastermind of the 16th Street Church bombing was Georgia fascist J. B. Stoner, who served a minimum sentence beginning in 1983 for the bombing of the Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham 25 years earlier. He shared a prison cell with Robert Chambliss until the latter's death in 1985. It is regrettable that the two were never integrated into the heavily black mainstream of the Alabama prison population—so the cause of genuine justice would have been quickly served.

A new book by Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home—Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (Simon & Schuster, 2001), thoroughly documents the "long tradition of enmeshment between law enforcers and Klansmen" during the turbulent period of the civil rights movement of the '60s in Birmingham. As far back as the 1920s, the coal and steel barons of Birmingham utilized the Klan to promote hostility between the immigrant Catholic and American-born Protestant workers to ensure that "there was no danger of union solidarity even among whites, let alone across color lines." Faced with union organizing and growing Communist influence, the Klan "redefined its mission during the 1930s as a union-fighting organization. It had built up its largest membership in fifteen years during the CIO's organizing drives of 1937."

The collaboration between the Feds and the fascists did not end in the '60s, nor was it limited to Birmingham. In the November 1979 massacre of five leftists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, the government from the outset aided and abetted the KKK/Nazi death squad. An agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms helped train the killers and plot the assassinations; a "former" FBI informer rode shotgun in the motorcade going to the murder site; a Greensboro cop brought up the rear.

Black Democrats and liberals promote the lie that the federal government under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson waged a fight for black rights in the South. But FBI collusion with the KKK is not and was not a matter of aberrant rogues directed by reactionary throwbacks like J. Edgar Hoover. It was *government policy*, directed by the likes of liberal darling Robert F. Kennedy, attorney general at the time. In 1963, he authorized wiretaps on Martin Luther King Jr. as part of a years-long FBI campaign, which included spreading gossip about King's personal life in an attempt to drive him to suicide.

The liberal civil rights leadership represented by King subordinated the fight for black equality to their strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party and the federal government, even though the Feds were up to their necks in Klan terror and COINTELPRO disruption of the civil rights movement. In the 1966 Spartacist League document "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9), we wrote that "the struggle for black freedom demands the total break of the Negro people from the Democratic Party" and raised the call for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party to link the fight for black freedom with the class struggle of the proletariat. We advocated organized armed self-defense against the racist nightriders, publicizing and materially supporting such groups as the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana, and opposed the intervention of federal troops, whose purpose was to put down militant black struggles.

That purpose was on full display in the aftermath of the 16th Street Church bombing. Horrified black residents rushed to the church past riot police armed with shotguns. The Commissioner of Public Safety, Bull Connor, and his forces of racist "law and order" moved in with a 16-wheel "riot tank." A black teenager, Johnny Robinson, was shot in the back by police for allegedly being among a group that had hurled stones at racists driving through the area flying Confederate battle flags. Another black youth was shot by racist thugs while riding his bicycle. Five hundred National Guardsmen were sent to Birmingham that night by segregationist governor George Wallace to intimidate and terrorize the black population.

The black community rose up in outrage. Armed street patrols and observation posts sprang up. Black people took up sticks, rocks, knives and bottles to defend themselves against the racists. It was the spectre of armed black self-defense which motivated President Kennedy to deploy troops in Birmingham...in the black areas only. As Malcolm X said at the time, "They didn't send those troops in to protect Negroes. Because Negroes had been the victims of brutality for several weeks. They sent troops into Birmingham, Alabama, only when the lives and the property of the white racists and segregationists in Alabama were being threatened" ("Malcolm X Speaks Again," recorded in April 1964).

The current trial is one of several, beginning with the 1994 conviction of Byron De La Beckwith for the 1963 assassination of Mississippi civil rights leader Medgar Evers, to revisit the rampant Klan terror of that period. These trials reflect a desire by the racist rulers to close the book on a history of Klan terror which to this day clouds the image of the "New South." A *Washington Post* (22 May 2000) columnist wrote that what has changed in part is that "white and black business leaders are trying to

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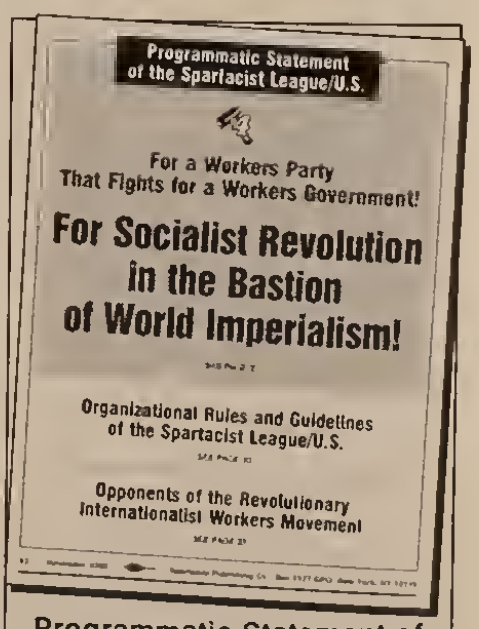
UPI photos

Feds were complicit in KKK terror: FBI "informer" Gary Rowe worked with Klan in bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church.



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Zionist Murder Machine

Defend the Palestinians! Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

AFP

APRIL 22—On the very day Jordanian emissaries arrived in Tel Aviv on a "peace" mission last week, Israeli warplanes attacked a Syrian radar site in Lebanon—the first such attack in five years—killing three soldiers. Hard on the heels of this war provocation, on April 17 Israeli troops and tanks briefly occupied the northern chunk of the Gaza Strip, which is under the supposed control of Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority. Three days later, Israeli police staged a provocative raid at one of the holiest of all Muslim shrines, the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount) in Jerusalem, as Palestinians were leaving Friday prayer services.

These latest incitements, aimed at drowning in blood the eight-month-old uprising in the Occupied Territories, are only to be expected from a government headed by Ariel Sharon, the genocidal butcher of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon in 1983. But from the "selective elimination" of leading Palestinian militants by Israeli death squads to the expansion of fortified Zionist "settlements" in the West Bank, Sharon's policies are a continuation of those carried out by the government of "Labor" prime minister Ehud Barak. In fact, Sharon's foreign minister is foremost Labor Party "dove" Shimon Peres. In his own brief stint as prime minister in 1996, Peres launched "Operation Grapes of Wrath," a terror-bombing campaign against Lebanon whose victims included some one hundred civilians incinerated by missile strikes on a United Nations refugee camp near the village of Qana.

Over 400 Palestinians have been murdered since September, many of them children, and well over 10,000 wounded, many of them permanently paralyzed. Earlier this month, Israeli tanks systematically demolished over 30 homes in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis, killing two people, in a pre-dawn attack grotesquely named "Operation Enjoyable Song." Augmenting this bloody repression, which has failed to cow the Palestinian masses, Israel's rulers have escalated their longstanding "closures" of the Occupied Territories in an effort to ***starve*** the population into submission. Arab towns and villages have been sealed off with troops, barricades and trenches, while the army and rampaging mobs of fascistic settlers destroy Palestinian farms and olive groves. As if to underscore this starvation policy, Zionist troops yesterday brutally beat a group of liberal Israelis who had brought contributions of food and supplies to one West Bank village.

The Zionist rulers are fully capable of carrying out a massacre of Palestinians on a genocidal scale. It is urgently necessary for working people around the globe, especially here in the U.S., Israel's chief imperialist patron, to rally to the defense of the Palestinians. As the Zionist butchers bleed the Palestinian people, U.S. imperialism continues to bomb and starve the Iraqi people. ***Down with the bombing and storvation blockade of Iroq! U.S. imperialism out of the Near East! All Israeli troops ond settlers out of the Occupied Territories!***

Intent in their own way on quelling the Palestinian uprising, Arafat and the Arab bourgeois regimes have appealed to the U.S. to pressure its Israeli junior partners back to the bargaining table. As well, they have sought intervention by the European imperialist powers and the United Nations. Such calls have found an echo among Palestinians desperate in the face of the murderous Zionist juggernaut.

They have also been cynically promoted by self-styled "anarchist" and academic guru Noam Chomsky. In a 26 October 2000 posting on the Independent Media Center Web site, Chomsky stresses the need to remove "doctrinal blinders" in "the most important country" as "a prerequisite to any constructive reaction to the mounting chaos and destruction" in the Occupied Territories. What this typically opaque and obscurantist passage by the learned professor means was made crystal clear soon after, when Chomsky joined with others in a statement whining, "We are appalled by the lack of action by Western governments to stop the slaughter" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 13 January).

Joining Chomsky in signing this appeal were Paul Foot and Alex Callinicos, prominent leaders of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In France, the SWP's cothinkers explicitly called for "sanctions against the state of Israel by the French and European governments" in a leaflet signed by them and others for an October 28 demonstration in Paris last year. On the part of European leftists, such calls for Britain and France to play a more aggressive role in the Near East as against U.S. imperialism are directed to the very powers who were once the colonial overlords of the region and who waged a war in league with Zionist Israel against Nasser's Egypt in 1956 in order to reclaim the Suez Canal.

In the U.S., the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), which was allied with the British SWP until recently, has played a prominent role in organizing campus groups demanding "divestment" from Israel by U.S. universities and corporations, while itself raising the demand: "End All U.S. Aid to Israel!" (*Socialist Worker*, 2 March). A 27 February flyer by one of these campus groups, Students for Justice in Palestine at UC Berkeley, included a barely veiled call for direct U.S. imperialist intervention: "The US has done too little for justice and human rights for the Palestinian people." In fact, the U.S. has done plenty—arming the Zionist butchers of the Palestinian people to the teeth! This appeal to the mass murderers responsible for the slaughter visited on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Korea and Vietnam speaks volumes about the ISO's faith in the democratic pretensions of U.S. imperialism.

In fact, these social democrats are the political godchildren of "democratic" imperialism's counterrevolutionary crusade against the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. In an interview in the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (December 2000-January 2001), a supporter of the left-nationalist Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) observed (without comment from the ISO), "Just like everywhere else, what happened in the Soviet Union, what happened in the Eastern Bloc affected us." The collapse of the Soviet Union removed the props from under Palestinian and other petty-bourgeois nationalist movements which were given diplomatic and material support by the Kremlin. As long as the Soviet Union existed as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism, Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (including the DFLP) and the Arab bourgeois regimes were able to jockey for advantage between U.S. imperialism and the USSR.

But the ISO ***hoiled*** counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. When Washington's man Boris Yeltsin took power in August 1991, the British *Socialist Worker* (31 August 1991) cheered, "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing." Indeed, these social democrats aided the victory of imperialist-backed capitalist counterrevolution to the extent that their small forces allowed—from supporting Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan to lining up with the Pope and CIA in support of Solidarność clerical reaction in Poland.

The collapse of the Soviet Union paved the way for the ignominious U.S.-sponsored 1993 "peace" accord between Israel and Arafat. With the heroic *Intifada* (uprising) of the Palestinian masses

continued on page 11

AP

Reuters

1993 Rabin-Arafat "peace" accord sponsored by Clinton set stage for intensified Zionist repression. Gaza house destroyed by Israeli troops.

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California

U.S. Spy Plane Provocation Spurs Anti-Chinese Racism

Imperialism abroad means racism at home. The U.S. spy plane provocation against China and the holding of the American crew on Hainan for eleven days unleashed an orgy of China-bashing in the American media reminiscent of late 19th century "yellow peril" xenophobia. The intensification of anti-Chinese bigotry accompanying Washington's increased belligerence toward the Chinese deformed workers state in recent years was exemplified by the vicious frame-up and imprisonment (until the government's "case" collapsed) of Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee.

Earlier this month, talk show hosts at radio station WQLZ in Springfield, Illinois called for interning Chinese Americans the way the government locked up Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II, or sending anyone of Chinese descent back to "their country." In San Francisco, radio talk show host Don Bleu at Star 101.3 FM followed an anti-Chinese diatribe by calling a restaurant in China and mocking the person who answered. And it wasn't just "shock jocks." A convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors opened with a grotesquely racist skit by the Capitol Steps satirical troupe, while "the room full of top editors, predominantly Caucasian, laughed heartily" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 April). The most graphic example of this racist filth was a cartoon by the nationally syndicated Pat Oliphant chock-full of bigoted anti-Chinese stereotypes. The cartoon was run by the *Oakland Tribune* and a number of other San Francisco Bay Area newspapers.

Anti-Asian bigotry has an especially sharp edge in California, with its large Asian population and its long history of racist restrictions and attacks against Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos and others. As Philip Ting, president of the Organization of Chinese Americans in San Francisco, pointed out in a letter protesting the racist Don Bleu which was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (14 April), "Xenophobic climates lead to persecution, hate crimes and murder." Only months ago, five Korean American students at the University of California's Davis campus were assaulted in their apartment by 15 white thugs. Earlier this month, KKK flyers appeared on campus targeting members of a multiracial slate in student government elections.

Joining in the anti-China frenzy are U.S. imperialism's labor lieutenants. The misleaders of the United Association of Union Plumbers, Pipefitters and Sprinkler Fitters poured $500,000 into radio ads during baseball games urging a boycott of Chinese products "until the servicemen and women are released." Combining protectionist chauvinism with anti-Communist China-bashing, the pro-capitalist labor tops from AFL-CIO president John Sweeney on down promote the interests of the U.S. capitalist ruling class and betray those of the workers they claim to represent. This is poison to the struggles of the working class in the U.S. and internationally. In contrast to the chauvinist, pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy, the Labor Black Leagues, which are fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

We print below an April 12 letter by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense to the *Oakland Tribune* protesting Oliphant's cartoon.

* * *

The disgusting anti-Chinese cartoon strip on your April 11 Opinion page uses every racist stereotype to smear Chinese people. It is of a piece with a long and sordid history of racism against Asians in California, from the "anti-coolie" pogroms which culminated in the Anti-Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to the incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II. Just last October, five Korean Americans were beaten up at UC Davis.

This kind of chauvinism and bigotry has always been used to perpetuate divisions in the working class which keep us from fighting the exploitation and oppression of American capitalism and lays the basis for attacks on *all* nonwhite people in the U.S.

Your cartoon appears in the context of the American spy plane provocation against China. The increased bipartisan belligerence toward China is not in the interests of workers here. The Chinese ripped their own country out of the hands of warlords, capitalists and foreign powers in 1949. Despite the bureaucratic deformities that deprive the Chinese workers of political power, the planned, collectivized economy puts the wealth of society in the hands of the workers. Workers in the U.S. must join our call for unconditional military defense of this critical gain of the Chinese Revolution and protest against attempts by the U.S. ruling class to reconquer China for imperialist plunder. ■

On Maoism and the Peasantry

The following is a contribution, edited for publication, by a supporter of the International Communist League.

Many leftist Chinese youth who are critical of the pro-capitalist "reforms" promoted by the current regime under Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji look back to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Mao Zedong as revolutionary. Upholding Mao's peasant-guerrilla strategy, many express the view that after the defeat of the 1927 Revolution, Mao and the CCP had "no choice" or "did the right thing" in abandoning the proletarian centers and organizing the peasantry. This is not a tactical or military question but a fundamental difference with our Trotskyist program.

L'Illustration/Sygma

JAF

Left: Workers militia in Shanghai on eve of 1927 Guomindang massacre. After defeat of 1925-27 Revolution, CCP abandoned urban proletariat. Right: Mao Zedong reviewing peasant guerrilla forces.

It is the ABCs of Marxism that the peasantry, because it is scattered, backward and internally divided into different layers, cannot play an independent role but must follow either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Only the working class, due to its numbers, organization and discipline given by its relation to the means of production, has the ability and interest to overthrow capitalist rule internationally and end all forms of exploitation. Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was proven by the victory of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia and, in the negative, by the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. Trotsky explained that in countries of belated capitalist development, such tasks as agrarian revolution, modernization and national emancipation, which resulted from the bourgeois revolutions in an earlier period, cannot be resolved in the epoch of imperialism except through the dictatorship of the proletariat leaning on the peasantry. Furthermore, development toward socialism cannot be sustained without extension of the revolution to the imperialist centers.

A commonly heard argument is that Mao led a successful revolution, so doesn't that prove that he was right? We are often baited by Stalinists who say that Trotskyists never led a revolution. In fact, we did: the October Revolution. The Bolsheviks were animated by a proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist perspective, quite different from that of Mao's Stalinist party.

Mao didn't intend to overthrow capitalism. Up to the 1949 Revolution, he was for "New Democracy" and sharing power with the bourgeoisie. Despite these intentions, China became a workers state. The capitalist state collapsed and the bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan and elsewhere. The proletariat, without a party, was not a contender for power in its own right. And the Soviet Union existed as a lifeline. It was only under these conditions that a peasant revolution could overthrow capitalism. Even then, the workers state was deformed from its inception. With the counterrevolution in the USSR, the narrow historical opening in which petty-bourgeois forces were able to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed. We need to explain why we fight for new October Revolutions and don't take the Chinese Revolution as our model. From the beginning, the bureaucratic caste sitting atop the Chinese deformed workers state was an obstacle to the necessary extension of the revolution.

Mao was not an original thinker; the victory of the revolution was not due to any creativity on his part. "New Democracy" was simply Menshevism, i.e., the class-collaborationist program of political support to the bourgeoisie. Nor was Mao without responsibility for the defeats of 1925-27. Mao was the head of the Peasant Department of the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, into which the CCP had liquidated on the orders of Stalin's Comintern. Mao was responsible for holding back the peasants from land seizures. This was consistent with the CCP's later advising the Indonesian CP to carry out a course of "two-stage" revolution which led to bloody defeat in 1965.

Just as nationalist in its outlook as the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the Beijing regime joined with U.S. imperialism in an anti-Soviet alliance sealed by Nixon's meeting with Mao in Beijing in 1972. Mao's nationalist policies were rooted in the anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country," which was antithetical to the Marxist understanding that a socialist—i.e., classless—society could only be constructed on an international basis. Mao's successors are also wedded to the framework of Chinese

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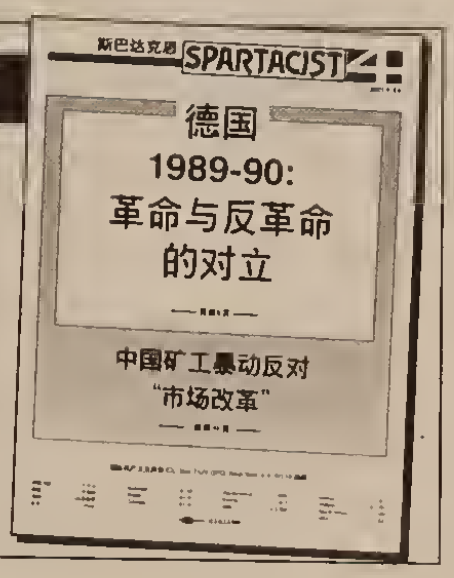

Chiang...

(continued from page 3)

social-patriotism, linked to its advocacy of a "proletarian military policy" (PMP) in WWII. Initiated by Trotsky, the PMP involved the call for the trade-union movement to control military training during the war. The PMP was at best a utopian appeal for workers' control of the bourgeois state; at worst, it provided the basis for accommodation to the "democratic" imperialists in the "war against fascism" (see Prometheus Research Library, *Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'").

Shachtman's *New International* (June 1942) correctly stated "that with the spread of the World War to the East, the just struggle for national independence of China has been decisively ***integrated*** into and ***subordinated*** to the reactionary inter-imperialist war and that it can therefore no longer be supported by the revolutionary Marxists." But Shachtman nowhere mentioned the one military force in China which was fighting Japan independent of imperialist command and control: the CCP armies. In opposition to the Stalinophobic Shachtman group, a correct Trotskyist position was to call for military victory to the CCP guerrilla forces.

The Pacific War and the Chinese Revolution

What of Chiang's "refusal to kowtow" to his American patrons? There certainly were conflicts, but these must be seen in the context of Anglo-American war aims. British strategy was to defeat Germany before Japan. U.S. strategy was to use Chinese troops under American command and with American air power and logistical support to tie Japan down in China while the U.S. took islands in the Pacific as a basis for a future invasion of Japan. This strategy depended on the GMD army to do the actual fighting on the ground.

The GMD, however, wanted to deploy its best divisions not to fight the Japanese army but to surround CCP-controlled areas. For Chiang, emerging from the defeat of Japan as "Supreme Commander" of an American-dominated China depended on the CCP's peasant armies being wiped out. It is true, as Jim M. writes, that Chiang hoped for a Normandy-style Allied invasion of China, and from there an assault on Japan. The point is that Chiang wanted the *U.S.* to fight the Japanese. He avoided using his own troops, endlessly called for a full-scale U.S. invasion of China and complained of inadequate American military commitment. Wrangling with Washington because it hasn't invaded your country enough does not constitute an independent struggle! Stilwell continually complained that Chiang refused to commit his troops to battle. But U.S. president Roosevelt upheld Chiang, feeling that his troops were usefully tying down the Japanese army in China, and Stilwell was eventually dismissed. What was important is that it was Roosevelt who decided.

One can be a puppet of the U.S. and still cause the master some trouble. No one would doubt that the Thieu-Ky regime in South Vietnam before the triumph of the Vietnamese Revolution in 1975 was a puppet of U.S. imperialism. But that regime was also a constant source of irritation to its Washington paymasters, not least due to its utter venality, and one of Thieu's predecessors, Ngo Dinh Diem, was assassinated while in office courtesy of the CIA.

Jim M. correctly states that China was seen by the U.S. as one of the main prizes of World War II. But he also writes that U.S. plans to assert control of the country, including through a GMD-CCP coalition government, were waylaid when the Truman administration did not adequately back Chiang because it was not "confident in Chiang's subservience." This greatly underestimates factors that constrained U.S. imperialism in that period, not least the fear of "upheaval in the military and at home" to which Jim M. refers.

Following Japan's defeat, the U.S. was simply not in a position to support Chiang with the kind of military force needed to defeat the CCP armies and mainly hoped to avoid a civil war which the GMD might lose. The American military was already occupying Japan and parts of Europe. But the main constraints were political. The U.S. population had just been mobilized to fight in what was called a "war against fascism." How were the U.S. rulers now going to mobilize for a war against ravaged, impoverished China, one of its "allies" against Japan? In some areas, U.S. troops kept overseas even after Japan's surrender carried out mass demonstrations—including one of 4,000 soldiers in Manila on Christmas Day, 1945 and another of 20,000 there two weeks later—demanding that they be sent home. It was also not possible at that juncture for U.S. imperialism to drum up support for invading China on the basis of anti-Communism. It would take a good three years of virulent Cold War campaigning against the "red menace," along with the purging of Communists and militants from the unions, for Washington to wage such a war in Korea beginning in 1950. And that war was none too popular on the home front.

THE MILITANT

WORLD-WIDE GI DEMONSTRATIONS SHOUT DEMAND: "GET US HOME!"

Truman Pressures Murray Into Steel Strike Delay

Government Offers Price Boost, Limits Wage Concessions

Strong Blow Dealt Imperialist Plans

19 January 1946

U.S. Trotskyist newspaper reports postwar protests by American troops kept in Philippines and elsewhere.

The U.S. urged Mao to submit to Chiang, and urged Chiang to invite Mao to Chongqing for talks, which took place in August 1945. The U.S. offered to oversee a coalition government led by Chiang. Chiang had no objection to the American role in this scheme. Mao, for his part, had no objection to this component either. Mao was more than willing to assure the Chinese bourgeoisie of its continued class rule, under Chiang's leadership, but was unwilling to relinquish his armies to Chiang, who continued attacks on CCP positions. Mao explicitly called for the formation of a bourgeois coalition government with the GMD in his 1945 essay "On Coalition Government." But Chiang, at the head of a corrupt and tottering regime, dared not risk a coalition with the CCP.

In China, even as the U.S. mediated talks between the CCP and GMD, Washington continued providing military support to Chiang. Herbert Feis captured the negotiations well:

> "The Communist leader stayed in the Chinese capital about a month, arguing the Communist cause. While he was there, American planes and ships were moving government troops and officials into the vital ports and cities of east and central China; and government and Communist forces were engaged in frantic skirmishes all over the provinces of North China."
>
> —*The China Tangle* (1953)

Earlier in August 1945, the U.S. imperialists had incinerated 200,000 people in the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order to demonstrate to the world—above all to the Soviet Union—that they would stop at nothing in their drive for global domination.

With the onset of the Cold War, the U.S. soon discarded the notion of a negotiated settlement in China. As civil war broke out in late 1947, the CCP began land distribution to strengthen mass support for its People's Liberation Army (PLA). The PLA had been hugely assisted by the Soviet Army, which swept Japan out of Manchuria in 1945 and handed over captured armaments to Mao's forces. As the cities fell in the last phase of the civil war, the bourgeoisie fled, mainly to Taiwan with Chiang. The result was a social revolution, but one that was bureaucratically deformed from its outset with the proletariat excluded from political power.

No one ever said that all puppets serve their masters equally well. Stilwell would not have considered Chiang a proper puppet at all. But in the crucial matter of whose interests Chiang served, there is no question of who pulled the strings.■

Life

In treacherous pursuit of coalition government, Mao toasts Chiang at 1945 talks brokered by Washington.

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nationalism as they pursue pro-capitalist "market reforms," as we point out in "Whither China? 'Market Socialism' and the Legacy of Mao" (*WV* No. 743 and 745, 6 October and 20 October 2000).

Claiming that abandonment of the proletariat was correct because the peasant revolution was successful liquidates the revolutionary role of the proletariat and the need for a vanguard party. The CCP, under the direction of the degenerating Comintern, did not admit that the smashing of the 1925-27 Revolution was a defeat. After having refused to lead the proletariat to build organs of dual power in a revolutionary period, they flopped to being fatuous optimists and claimed it was only a trough in the revolutionary wave. The defeated and demoralized proletariat didn't rise to the call of the CCP, again inspired by the Comintern, to take power in the Canton Commune in December 1927. Not having a sober assessment, the CCP chased other forces and abandoned the struggle for the working class entirely. The peasantry can at times be more volatile than the proletariat, but that doesn't change its class nature.

Had the Bolsheviks reacted with the same impressionism to the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, October would not have been possible. Instead, they knew how to retreat, preserving their cadres and organization and preparing for the revival of the labor movement which they knew would come. Trotsky fought for this in China after the defeat of 1927. The Left Opposition opposed the CCP's abandonment of the cities and fought for leading the proletariat in defensive struggles, using democratic demands such as for a national assembly based on universal suffrage, the eight-hour day, etc. As Trotsky wrote in his September 1932 letter, "Peasant War in China and the Proletariat":

> "The Chinese Stalinists have acted otherwise. During the revolution of 1925-27 they subordinated directly and immediately the interests of the workers and the peasants to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. In the years of the counter-revolution they passed over from the proletariat to the peasantry....
>
> "The party actually tore itself away from its class."

The Chinese Trotskyists fought heroically to maintain the revolutionary program and proletarian orientation under Guomindang tyranny, Japanese occupation and Stalinist repression. Under these pressures, they did suffer political erosion, for example Chen Duxiu's abandonment of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism during World War II.

The Chinese proletariat never really recovered from the defeat of 1925-27. Had there been a recovery of trade and industry, as Trotsky had hoped for, things might have been very different. This was an entirely reasonable perspective in 1928-29. Trotsky didn't have a crystal ball. Revolutionary opportunities necessarily come, but not always in the country and time you happen to be in. That's why we have an international. The bitter lessons of the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution were instrumental in winning over a section of American Communists to Trotskyism, centrally including James P. Cannon.

Trotsky pointed out in his 1932 letter that the proletariat and peasantry have radically different consciousness. The working class is potentially internationalist, under the leadership of a Leninist party; the peasantry is parochial. Trotsky uses examples from the history of the Russian Revolution to illustrate this: peasant guerrilla armies which had fought well to defend their land against a return of the landlords came into conflict with the Soviet power. They had to be disbanded, with their best elements assimilated into the Red Army. The CCP's liquidation into the peasantry is reflected in the nationalist policies of the Chinese deformed workers state.

Those educated under Stalinist tutelage have been schooled in a very distorted version of "Marxism." Stalinism dissolves the difference between the proletariat and peasantry into "toilers" or "the people." It teaches collaboration between the workers and their oppressors, the "national bourgeoisie." This is all in the service of "building socialism in one country," an anti-Marxist program. In order to win militants to the program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism, we have to fight very hard against these conceptions.■

South Africa...

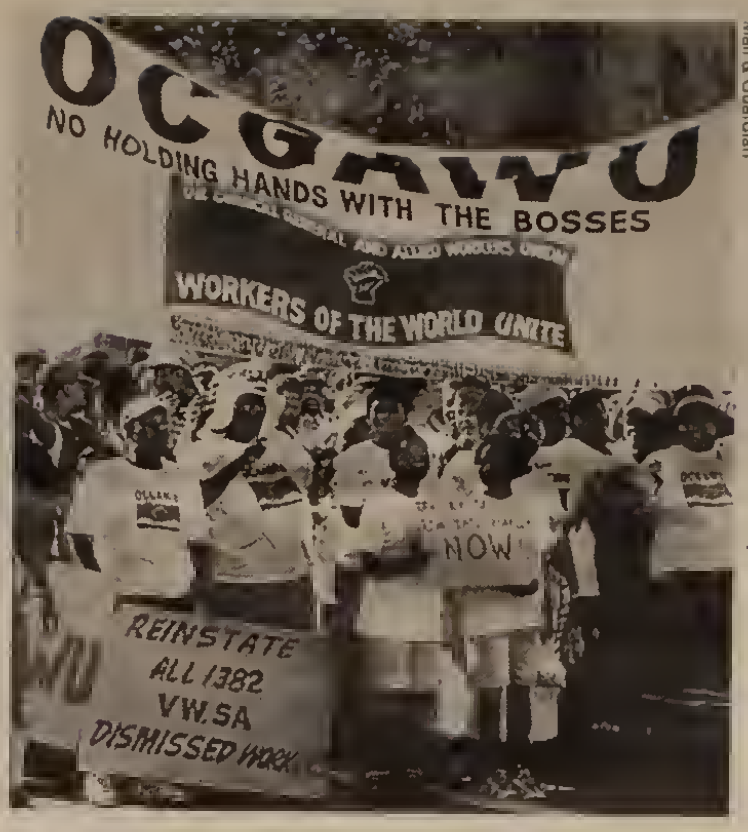
(continued from page 12)

to 1913-1916 laws to reserve 87 percent of the land to white ownership. Worried that hostilities on the land may explode, the haughty *New York Times* (31 March) recently advised a review of the 1997 "rural protection plan," because it relies on "a network of armed, mostly white commandos, many of them police and army reservists from the apartheid era, who have been implicated in vigilante crimes against blacks, including murder."

For many South Africans, there's plenty of similarities between the repeated police sieges in Alexandra and the days of grand apartheid [the legal underpinnings of the apartheid system, e.g., the Pass Laws and Group Areas Act], when anti-apartheid activist Moses Mayekiso (now ex-SACPer turned "black empowerment" capitalist) was jailed under the pretext of leading a township revolt in Alex. Forced evictions and forced removals are burned into the memories of the nonwhite masses of South Africa. Among the most brutal crimes committed by the apartheid regime were forced removals like those carried out in Johannesburg's Sophiatown and Cape Town's District Six. By some estimates, 3.5 million South Africans were forcibly removed from urban and rural land by the apartheid government between 1960 and 1982. The apartheid government moves to level squatters and unwanted residents produced major battles with the black masses. This was a key element in the 1984-86 township revolt, which also sparked the biggest and longest rent strike in South African history. For good measure, black township dwellers also stopped paying property taxes, electricity bills and municipal service fees.

As communists, we defend the struggles of the township residents and squatters on the land against the capitalists and their state. However, such struggles in themselves offer no solution to the desperate need for housing for the black masses. But there is a social force with the social power, numbers, organisation and immediate interest to defend the struggles of the townships where they live and die—the predominantly black working class. Especially under conditions in which 40 percent of the black labour force is unemployed, the working class cannot improve or even defend the economic conditions simply at the level of trade-union struggle.

It is urgent that the workers movement fight against all forms of social oppression such as the murderous attacks on squatters. To implement this revolutionary perspective, class-conscious workers led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party must struggle to oust the labour lieutenants of capital—whether in COSATU or rival NACTU and FEDUSA federations—replacing them with a revolutionary leadership fighting for socialist revolution. This requires a break with bourgeois nationalism—the illusion that all black African people have *common* interests. The SACP, long a part of the core bourgeois-nationalist ANC leadership, today encompasses everything from leading elements of the capitalist state



Mail & Guardian

At labor rally earlier this year, trade unionists demand reinstatement of strikers fired by Volkswagen South Africa last year.

apparatus and outright bourgeois nationalists to labour bureaucrats and militant workers looking for a revolutionary perspective. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we seek to break the working-class base of the SACP from its reformist misleadership. Key to this strategy is forging in South Africa a Leninist vanguard party that champions the interests of all the oppressed and exploited.

Black Oppression and Nationalist Demagogy

Now 100 years old, Alexandra is one of the oldest townships on the Witwatersrand. It covers a one-square-mile pit shrouded by a blanket of heavy smog from thousands of lung-choking paraffin fires. For many, episodic floodings during summer rains, where shacks are washed away, is part of life. There is no real sewage system in place. Many people are still subjected to the bucket system, where faecal matter sits in bins awaiting erratic collection. Hunger, cold and poverty make fertile ground for death and diseases like cholera.

Yet the outbreak of cholera was of little concern to the neo-apartheid rulers in August last year with the first reported cases in the eastern part of KwaZulu-Natal province. Residents there were given a bottle of bleach and counselled to boil water. With the imminent spread of the disease throughout the country, the ANC responded with a string of criminal denials. After the first cases were reported in Gauteng, the ANC further denied it, until a girl died at Thembisa Hospital on the East Rand. After positive test results for cholera bacteria in the Jukskei River, authorities cordoned off the river, but not one resident was notified of cholera, regardless of the fact that children play in the waters of the contaminated Jukskei and churches conduct baptisms there. Since August, over 183 people in the country have died and more than 86,400 cases have been reported, with many more going unreported because people lack access to clinics for treatment.

Cholera is caused by bacteria which lodge in the intestine; it is spread by the contamination of water supplied with human faeces. It is a preventable disease—control sewage and make the water safe and you have effectively stopped the scourge of cholera. In this desperately poor country, you can't fight cholera without the material resources to build river dams and water purification plants. But there's no incentive for the bourgeoisie of Sandton and Houghton who have access to clean drinking water to fund safe water for the black masses. Capitalism is interested in the protection of public health in so far as is necessary for its own profit and safety. For example, while AIDS ravages millions in southern Africa, the Mbeki government denies the disease is caused by HIV. Yet as protests

UPI

Alexandra, 1986: funeral march for three youth killed by apartheid forces during township revolt led by militant unionist Moses Mayekiso, now a "black empowerment" capitalist.

increase, the ANC-led regime hypocritically postures as taking on the imperialists and giant drug manufacturers who refuse to provide the treatment and money to assist those infected with AIDS.

Like capitalist regimes everywhere, the ANC resorts to repressive measures and divide-and-conquer policies to pit the oppressed against each other. Alexandra residents dumped into Braamfischerville were greeted with placards reading "Go back to Alexandra" as thousands from Soweto who'd already been promised houses since 1996 found themselves still waiting on some housing ministry list. Armed police now surround the area in the guise of "protecting" Alexandra people from Sowetans. Different layers of the oppressed are put at each other's throats to deflect anger from the real enemy: neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority is kept in desperate poverty and blacks remain on the bottom.

This was demonstrated in Alex as government police thugs lined up South African citizens against recent immigrants from Zimbabwe. Cops demanded proper identity documents, deporting those who could not prove citizenship. Housing ministry spokesman Dumisani Zulu ranted about unruly "invaders" causing housing delays in order to play residents against this layer of squatters. Immigrants from neighbouring states are used as scapegoats for the lack of decent housing and jobs, with many assaulted and sometimes even killed by raving mobs. At the same time, the migrant workers are a living link between the South African proletariat and workers in the region and have long made up a sizeable component of labour, especially in the mines and on the land.

To defend the interests of workers and the dispossessed masses, it is necessary to challenge and politically combat the anti-immigrant poison pushed by the divide-and-rule policies of the white racist bourgeoisie and its black political front men. It is crucial that the labour movement take up the defence of immigrants against state repression. We Trotskyists fight for the forging of a Leninist party that acts as a tribune of the people, defending all of the oppressed and exploited in the struggle for proletarian state power. Only such a revolutionary party can cut through the rising ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation. Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fights for full citizenship rights for all immigrants! We fight for a socialist federation of southern Africa, in which there will be an equal place for all the myriad peoples of the region.

"Left" Apologists for ANC Government

Weeks after the Jukskei forced removals, Keep Left!, affiliate of the British Cliffite Socialist Workers Party, ran a picture of the brutal attack with a caption asking: "Why is a people's government treating people this way?" (*Keep Left!*, March 2001). Keep Left!, which has always pushed a vote to the ANC in elections, seeks to refurbish them as representing "the people." In their article, they obscenely call on the very ANC regime that attacked the poor to come to their rescue: "The cholera crisis in Alex will require the government to clean the river and build proper roads and houses for people, a promise that the government has so far failed to carry out." So far? The Mbeki government has, in fact, dispensed its promise—to defend the property rights of the white capitalists. The Cliffites' role is to deflect growing anger away from the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and channel it into "pressuring" *their government* to fight for the oppressed.

Elsewhere the article opines, "It was shocking to see a democratic government responsible for scenes that reminded us of apartheid removals. How did this turn into such a confrontation?" Leninists ask: Democratic for whom? Capitalist democracy worldwide is a democracy for the rich. Keep Left! seeks to reform neo-apartheid capitalism and is an obstacle to militant struggles for the basic needs of the working masses because this necessarily means politically confronting the ANC-led bourgeois state.

Just prior to the brutal cop violence against Alex squatters and residents, Keep Left! printed without comment a "Red Reports" dispatch about battles over housing (*Keep Left!*, February 2001) from

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Israel...

(continued from page 7)

that erupted in late 1987 threatening to destabilize the region, the U.S. seized on the PLO's isolation to broker a deal between the Zionist state and an acquiescent Arafat for a sham "autonomy" in the Occupied Territories. We wrote at the time that this accord placed "the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). Eight years down the road, the immiseration and national humiliation resulting from that treacherous agreement has become so widespread that Arafat's own Fatah organization and even his police forces—trained by the CIA and Israel to repress Palestinian militants—have been exchanging fire with Israeli occupation forces. As Zionist terror has become ever fiercer, even Palestinian Authority spokesman Mohammed Dahlan was compelled to comment recently: "As I speak now, I realize that Israel can assassinate me as I leave this building."

It is a measure of how flimsy the ISO's pretensions to socialism are that it stands to the right even of "left" Palestinian nationalists. The DFLP activist interviewed by the ISO asserted, "We want to have our own state. Then, we can be equals, join together, and have one state where the working class will rule." This is an expression of the Stalinist-influenced DFLP's rhetorical support to "two-stage revolution," holding up some variant of "socialism" as an ultimate goal while in practice pursuing a bourgeois-nationalist perspective no different than that of Arafat's Fatah. But in more than 20 pages of coverage in *International Socialist Review* the ISO does not even once pay lip service to the fight for workers rule in the Near East, going no further than to call for "connecting workers' struggle in the region to fight for a secular, democratic state in Palestine."

Reuters

"Labor dove" Shimon Peres joins with right-wing hawk Ariel Sharon in "national unity" government aimed at crushing Palestinian masses.

In fact, there can be no democratic resolution of the conflicting national rights of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples within the framework of a "secular, democratic"—i.e., capitalist—Palestine. And the ISO's vision of a "democratic, secular" Palestine is none too secular either. An article in their journal titled "Standing Up to Goliath" speaks breathlessly of the "inspiration" Palestinian fighters have drawn from the Islamic fundamentalist Hezbollah militia in Lebanon and enthuses over the "unprecedented unity between factions inside the PLO and Islamists outside the PLO." This is in line with the ISO's support to Islamic reactionaries from Afghanistan and Algeria to Iran and Indonesia in recent years. While we militarily defend them against Zionist state terror, Hezbollah and Hamas are anti-woman, anti-Semitic reactionaries who are deadly enemies of the proletariat and all the oppressed. The cause of social and national emancipation requires that Palestinian workers and leftist militants break with Islamic reaction and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

The Zionist garrison state must be shattered from within, through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Only through the overthrow of the Israeli bourgeoisie as well as the Arab ruling classes can the right of national self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples and the many other peoples of the region be equitably realized. We have no illusions that it will be easy to shatter the intense anti-Arab chauvinism of the Hebrew-speaking working class. But it is the task of revolutionaries to exploit every opportunity, every strike, every action that pits the working class against the Zionist capitalist rulers to emphasize the necessity for joint struggle by the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers. In the course of such struggles will be forged the internationalist Trotskyist party which champions the national rights of the Palestinians as part of the fight for proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Alexandra SACPer Godfrey Lenin Kgaphola, which read in part:

> "There is a sinister plot by shadowy forces that encourage the storming and occupation of unused empty houses. A group of criminal thugs conniving with the Democratic Alliance, who preach an anti alliance government message, always undermine government programmes.... This shows that there are some counter-revolutionary forces determined to bring about anarchy in Alexandra."

Keep Left!—staunch defenders of the ANC and the anti-working-class, anti-poor alliance—has been buried head and foot inside of the SACP for years. While their members try to dodge responsibility for the SACPer's politics, their own article on Alex removals blames "the failure of all Alexandra residents to unite and fight" for allowing the attacks. The Cliffites blame the victims of the brutal government onslaught to amnesty the ANC neo-apartheid rulers whom they tail. Thus, it's completely in keeping with their line that when armed thugs beat up Alex people, Keep Left! prints an SACP "comrade's" denunciation of the oppressed as "criminal thugs."

While the fake left peddle illusions in a stable neo-apartheid bourgeois order, the ANC is responding to roiling discontents at the base of society with increasing use of police, army and private security companies, such as the Rooigevaar ("Red Ants") in Alex. This can be seen with the crackdown in Pretoria and from mounting raids on immigrants under "Operation Crackdown," with over 18,000 arrested so far. The ANC government is pushing a draconian Anti-Terrorism Bill aimed at silencing working-class militants, leftists and the oppressed. Meanwhile, the barbaric execution of a South African white woman, Mariette Bosch, in neighbouring Botswana, has brought renewed fervour to debate over bringing back the racist death penalty. As Marxists, we oppose the death penalty on principle. We don't accord the state the right to decide who lives or dies. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the oppressed but must be overthrown and replaced through socialist revolution.

For Permanent Revolution!

Today, similar rhetoric from the apartheid regime justifying forced removals now echoes in the corridors of the ANC capitalist government. As the vicious "redevelopment plan" for Alex seized international attention, Gauteng housing minister Paul Mashatile scoffed at comparisons to apartheid-era removals claiming "we are moving people into areas where they can have a better life" (*Reuters*, 13 February). In the days of apartheid, it was Dr. Piet Koornhof, head of Ministry of Cooperation and Development, who wrote in 1981 that blacks were "resettled" to "improve their living conditions and standard of life."

Seven years ago, when Nelson Mandela came into power, the ANC's much-touted Reconstruction and Development Programme promised a million housing units in five years. This was cynical demagogy as a mere 11,000 houses were built. Many blacks, however, believed a new era of freedom had dawned and began constructing "informal housing" at a furious pace, extending far beyond proscribed township locations.

Significantly, in 1994 the hot seat of housing minister went to SACP leader Joe Slovo (now deceased). It was Slovo who declared the government was "committed to respect constitutional rights in land against any infringement and unlawful occupation. Squatting cannot be condoned." Denouncing the "culture of nonpayment," the ANC and SACP cadre who once led township revolts now collect rent for the Jo'burg banks. For example, state-run Eskom has cut off electricity in Katlehong, Randfontein and Vereeniging demanding payments going back to the late 1980s. Soweto residents have launched "Operation Khanyisa (to Light)" in response to Eskom's aim to disconnect *75 percent* of the country's largest township.

The struggle for housing and basic services is intensifying. As protest placards in Alex put it: "We are not going anywhere. We want houses." ***What's needed is a fight by the proletariat to nationalise all urban land while launching a massive construction programme for racially and ethnically integrated, quality housing.*** The bourgeois nationalists, who are tied by a million threads to imperialism and fearful of the proletariat, cannot even begin to address the burning democratic and economic demands of the oppressed masses. Economic and social modernisation and genuine national liberation can be achieved only through a proletarian revolution that proceeds with socialist construction as an immediate measure. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, linked to international socialist revolution, can lay the basis for realising agrarian revolution, equality for women and tribal/ethnic minorities, breaking the yoke of imperialism. This is the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution. In South Africa, we fight for a black-centred workers government in which there would be full democratic rights for whites, Indians and coloureds who accept the rule of the black proletarian majority. A workers government would begin by expropriating and collectivising mines, factories and land in order to produce what is needed, rather than for profit.

We stand in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party that led the working class of backward Russia to state power in 1917. The Bolsheviks conducted a campaign to mobilise all medical workers to combat epidemics like cholera and typhus. The Russian Revolution for the first time opened the road to get rid of oppression and inequality that pose obstacles to the applying of rational approaches to disease. The gains of the Russian Revolution could only hint at what a worldwide planned economy could do. The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky understood that while the October Revolution laid the basis for socialist construction, its ultimate success required the international extension of the revolution to wealthy and advanced industrialised capitalist countries to lay the material basis for free medical care and other vital needs. Today, the struggle for world socialist revolution must be waged as part of the fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. This is the purpose of Spartacist South Africa, section of the ICL. ■

Contents include:

- South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis
- South African Workers Battle ANC Union-Busting, Austerity
- South Africa ANC Regime: Enforcer for Imperialist Plunder

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Birmingham...

(continued from page 6)

remove all barriers to investment." Thus Democratic Mississippi governor Ronnie Musgrove supported removing the Confederate stars and bars from the state flag for the purpose of "attracting good jobs."

In reality, the corporate chiefs and capitalist politicians are trying to build a facade to mask brutal racist reality. All the talk about the "New South" is pure claptrap. Bomb threats against the 16th Street Baptist Church have increased in the years since the case was reopened. In Mississippi this month, the referendum to remove the Confederate emblem of slavery and Klan terror from the state flag was defeated. After the election of Selma, Alabama's first black mayor last year, a statue of Confederate general and KKK founder Nathan Bedford Forrest was erected on city property (since removed) as a racist provocation. And to keep integrated unions out of the low-wage South, the employers use "right to work" laws, enforced not only by the cops but by their Klan auxiliaries.

Like the current trials of aging Klansmen, the purpose of movies like *Mississippi Burning*, about the Klan murder of civil rights workers Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman, and *Ghosts of Mississippi*, concerning the assassination of Medgar Evers, is to obscure the manifest complicity of the federal government and the FBI throughout years of KKK terror. The occasional exceptional conviction of some Klan terrorist is meant to burnish the image of capitalist "democracy." The essential truth is that this government was and is the deadly enemy of the fight for black liberation and human progress.

The true nature of the capitalist state is revealed with brutal, swift and deadly force when the capitalist class feels its rule challenged by a revolt of workers and the oppressed. It will take a workers revolution in this country to avenge the murder of four black girls in September 1963 and the countless other victims of racist terror before and after, so that black people can walk the streets of this country without fear and in dignity and freedom. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

South Africa

ANC Government Iron Fist in Alexandra Township

Nadine Hutton photos

Neo-Apartheid Cops Evict Thousands

As government security thugs marched into Alexandra in February, township residents fought back to prevent demolition of their homes.

We reprint below a leaflet issued by Spartacist South Africa on April 19.

As dawn broke over Alexandra township in northeastern Johannesburg on February 12, thousands of squatters and residents battled hundreds of cops to keep their homes. This brutal attack by the African National Congress (ANC)-led capitalist government brought to mind scenes of apartheid-era forced removals and police crackdowns. Cops backed by security thugs wielded crowbars to demolish shacks, throwing possessions onto the streets and relocation trucks. Women were dragged through the mud in desperate attempts to hold on to their goods. At least one man was shot and scores were injured as police fired rubber bullets, stun grenades and tear gas at scrambling residents. Dumped into transit camps in Diepsloot and Braamfischerville 30-40 kilometres away from their jobs and schools, the families crammed into makeshift shacks amid rubbish heaps, without sanitation or clean water. One resident of Alex bitterly remarked to the *Johannesburg Star* (13 February): "We voted for this government because it was black and we thought it would look after us, but look how it is treating us—like animals, throwing us into the veld [open grassland]."

Homes of squatters and 20-year residents alike were destroyed under the pretext of public health concerns along the cholera-infested Jukskei River. The big lie pushed in the bourgeois media was that residents were being protected from cholera and that they'd be removed to better homes. These forced removals had nothing to do with stopping cholera and everything to do with stopping the expansion of Alex, which the bourgeoisie has long viewed as a menacing "black spot." A mere two kilometres away lies plush Sandton, which hosts the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and leading banks.

Why did this come about? The answer came in President Thabo Mbeki's "Throne Speech" to open Parliament, where he announced that the government will proceed with its "urban renewal programme," starting immediately with Alexandra. The government decided to push through relocations long before any signs of cholera. Mbeki's [Rand] R13-billion "greater Alexandra redevelopment programme" promises at minimum *clearing of 34,000 shacks* in Alexandra, which he claims will open the way to new housing, roads and sanitation. This was touted in his usual "African renaissance" refrain as he concluded that "no African child should ever again experience hunger, avoidable disease and ignorance."

Who believes any of this now? Last year, the government showed how much it cares about Alexandra squatters in the events surrounding the All Africa Games allocation of houses. The government promised that houses built to accommodate athletes from the Games would be allocated to poorer Alex residents. This was a cruel hoax as no Alex residents qualified for the necessary bank loans. Then the government auctioned the houses off to petty-bourgeois landlords and profiteers able to dish out between R15,000 and R50,000. Alex residents who occupied empty houses were driven out by heavily armed police.

The bourgeois-nationalist ANC is incapable and unwilling to provide the basic material needs like housing, health care or proper sanitation since it's committed to the maintenance and development of South African capitalism, and within that building up a layer of black exploiters on the backs of the toiling masses. While there have been fundamental changes to the political superstructure, the economic basis of apartheid—a system of superexploitation of black labour by white owners of the country's factories, mines and agricultural land—remains intact. This is a system of *neo-apartheid* ruled by black front men of the bourgeois-nationalist ANC at the behest of the white capitalist class. Mbeki's government is a *nationalist popular front* ("tripartite alliance")—a coalition with the exploiters in which workers organisations are tied to the ANC-led capitalist government by the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP), which dominates the leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Backed by British and U.S. imperialism, the ANC in power suppresses the just aspirations of the oppressed masses.

The housing question remains a burning issue in South Africa as *one of four black people* lives in "informal settlements" or squatter camps. The figure is much higher in the urban areas. In places like Alexandra, amongst squatters you'll find recent immigrants, migrant workers from rural areas and urban workers moving from one piece job to another, crowded in the tens of thousands in tin shacks and cardboard hovels to which they've been relegated. Meanwhile, the white neighbourhoods in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban resemble the most affluent suburbs of North America and West Europe.

In the rural areas, more than five million blacks still live and work in slavery-like conditions, terrorised by white racist farmers. Frustrated expectations that housing and land would be returned to black people evicted in the apartheid-era land grab by whites has fuelled the volatile land issue in South Africa. Fearing Zimbabwe-styled land occupations, white farmers have systematically evicted tenants. Since 1994 when the ANC launched a "land reform" scheme, of more than 65,000 claims lodged for land restitution, only 0.81 percent have been transferred. Land restitution claims are only a small part of the land question when talking about genuine restitution for the black masses. The land question predates the apartheid regime removals and goes back

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Len Kumalo/Sowetan

Soweto residents in recent demonstration against threatened cutoff of electricity. Nonpayment of electric bills was part of township struggles against former apartheid regime.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 758

11 May 2001

For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!

U.S. Targets China

Taiwan: U.S.-supplied warships, artillery target Chinese deformed workers state. Bush administration is laying basis for war against China.

AP photos

MAY 7—The Bush administration is laying the basis for a war against the People's Republic of China, a war that would be nuclear in scope. That was the import of Bush's April 25 statement that the U.S. would militarily intervene with "whatever it took" in an armed conflict between its Taiwanese client state and China and that "the Chinese must understand that." This provocative declaration, tearing the veil off Washington's longstanding policy of "strategic ambiguity" toward the question of war with China over Taiwan, came only a day after Beijing warned that the U.S. had crossed a "red line" by offering Taiwan an array of advanced weaponry. Today, the U.S. resumed spy flights off China's coast for the first time since the EP-3E provocation last month.

On May 1, Bush told the world to "rethink the unthinkable" as he announced that the U.S. was planning to tear up the 29-year-old Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in order to proceed with a vast missile defense system. Beijing official Sha Zukang said, "Once the United States believes it has both a strong spear and a strong shield, it could lead them to conclude that nobody can harm the United States and they can harm anyone they like anywhere in the world" (*New York Times*, 29 April). No one believes Washington's flimsy claim that it is prepared to shell out $100 billion or more to deal with a nonexistent threat from Iraq, North Korea or other "rogue states," i.e., small countries without nuclear weapons. The clear purpose of such an elaborate scheme—should the Pentagon ever get it to work—is to carry off a successful nuclear *first strike*. The *New York Times* (6 May) noted, China's "nuclear deterrent—20 or so ICBM's—now stands at most risk of being negated."

New Pentagon war plans to be completed this summer, according to a report

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All U.S. Troops, Bases Out of Puerto Rico!

Free All Vieques Protesters!

MAY 5—At least 180 protesters were arrested on Vieques last week as U.S. Navy fighters and warships staged a four-day training exercise barely two years to the day since a bombing run killed a local resident. Angry protesters repeatedly tore down security fences and surged onto the firing range to force a halt to the bombardment. As military security forces kicked people to the ground and fired pepper spray at demonstrators—even some who had already been arrested and handcuffed—a Navy spokesman had the gall to denounce the demonstrators as "violent." Some of those arrested were held for several days in a former dog kennel stinking of urine, forced to sleep on the concrete floor.

Vieques is integral to the U.S. military presence on Puerto Rico, which has long been key to American military designs. Vieques served as a training base for the terror bombing of Iraq in 1991 and of Serbia in 1999. Puerto Rico was a launching pad for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic and the 1983 occupation of Grenada. The U.S. military presence is aimed at enforcing the imperialist subjugation of Puerto Rico and the rest of Latin America and is a dagger pointed at the Cuban deformed workers state in particular. We say: All U.S. troops and bases out of Puerto Rico! U.S. military out of the Caribbean! For unconditional military defense of Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

The Navy presence in Vieques exemplifies the colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico from the time it was seized by an emerging U.S. imperialism during the Spanish-American War of 1898. The U.S. military controls almost one-eighth of Puerto Rico's scarce land, including

continued on page 3

Reuters

Arrest of protester on Vieques as resumption of military exercises provoked broad anger.

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Mexico: Protest Cop Killing of Worker on May Day

We reprint below a May 3 statement by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), Mexican section of the ICL, protesting the heinous police killing of a trade unionist on May Day. This action by police under the control of the bourgeois-nationalist PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) underscores that the PRD is no alternative to the ruling clerical-reactionary PAN (National Action Party) or the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party).

* * *

On May Day, PRD-controlled Mexico City Metro police beat to death Daniel Osornio Cruz, a 22-year-old member of the Independent Union of Graphic Arts Workers. Osornio and six fellow unionists were entering the Hidalgo Metro station after attending the May Day demonstration when they were set upon by Metro police in a vicious attack which included the use of tear gas. Osornio died instantly of massive brain trauma. The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), condemns this police killing and solidarizes with the fellow unionists, friends and family of Daniel Osornio. Earlier on May 1, Mexico City police also arrested four demonstrators, two of them known UNAM student activists. We demand all charges be dropped!

Close to half a million workers demonstrated on May Day, in three different concentrations led by different union groupings. But at none of these demonstrations did President Vicente Fox escape the anger of the working class, which showed its discontent with his economic plans. From privatizations and layoffs, to 15 percent taxes on food, medicine and books, to further opening of the economy for exploitation by American imperialism—it all spells increased misery for Mexican toilers. This murderous display of police brutality is yet another indication that the PRD and its police will stop at nothing to keep workers and the oppressed under control. Indeed, from Chiapas to Tepito and elsewhere in the country, the PAN, PRD and PRI are united in immiserating the masses and then terrorizing them to try to keep the lid on growing discontent.

The murderous police have also taken their cue from the reactionary Fox, who in the five short months of his term has overseen attacks on labor, peasants, the indigenous population, women and homosexuals. In the new "democratic" Mexico, student strike leaders have been expelled from UNAM for defending public education, and Alejandro Echevarría ("El Mosh") faces ten months in prison under bogus charges of "robbery." We say: Down with all charges! Rescind the expulsions!

While it is common for labor strikes to be declared legally "nonexistent," the Supreme Court has now declared the "closed shop" law unconstitutional. A union's right to demand that all workers at a particular shop be union members is an important tool in labor's arsenal against the bosses who seek to divide the working class and weaken their organizations by hiring non-union labor.

The police, the armed forces and the courts exist to defend the interests of the capitalist class; that is, their ability to extract profit from the labor of others. It is the proletariat which has the power to stop the increased impoverishment of the working class by leading all the oppressed in the struggle to eradicate capitalism, which is part of the fight to construct a world socialist society in which production is not for the profits of the bosses but to meet the needs and desires of the masses.■

TROTSKY

For Non-Sectarian Class-Struggle Defense!

LENIN

As Mumia Abu-Jamal's fight for freedom enters a new and critical stage on the legal front, it is all the more urgent that Jamal's many supporters around the world mobilize in powerful labor-centered protest action to save the life of this innocent man. In advancing this strategy, the Partisan Defense Committee follows in the class-struggle tradition of the International Labor Defense of James P. Cannon, who was later founding leader of the U.S. Trotskyist movement. In a 1927 article on the frame-up of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, who were ultimately executed, Cannon explained that illusions in capitalist "justice" are counterposed to a class-struggle defense strategy.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is no private monopoly, but an issue of the class struggle in which the decisive word will be spoken by the masses who have made this fight their own. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss openly the conflicting policies which are bound up with different objectives.

One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions. This is what has prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti so far. Its goal is nothing less than their triumphant vindication and liberation.

The other policy is the policy of "respectability," of the "soft pedal" and of ridiculous illusions about "justice" from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the "vulgar and noisy" demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them. It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an "unfortunate" error which can be rectified by the "right" people proceeding in the "right" way. The objective of this policy is a whitewash of the courts of Massachusetts and "clemency" for Sacco and Vanzetti, in the form of a commutation to life imprisonment for a crime of which the world knows they are innocent.

The conscious proletarian elements with whom we identify ourselves unconditionally, are for the first policy. The bourgeois elements, and those influenced by them, are for the second....

Only the organized and united protest movement of the masses can save them. In this movement the class conscious workers—the militants—are the driving force. Let those who hamper this movement or endanger its unity pause lest they unconsciously become the executioners of Sacco and Vanzetti.

—James P. Cannon, "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?", *Labor Defender*, January 1927, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

Gary Mayor Tries to Criminalize Anti-Klan Protest—Defend Kevin Quirk!

All opponents of the Ku Klux Klan's racist terror have a vital interest in fighting the prosecution of Kevin Quirk, a member of Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, for his role in the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Gary, Indiana last January 20. On that day, Gary mayor Scott King banned any and all protest. When we successfully defied that ban, the police cited Quirk, a PDC representative, for "parading without a permit." Quirk faces a hearing at 1:30 p.m. on May 16 at the Gary Circuit Court, 1301 Broadway.

The Klan's threat to march at the Lake County Courthouse on January 20 was a direct and deadly threat to the overwhelmingly black population of Gary and to the unions that are based there. The PDC's united-front call—"All Out to Stop the KKK!"—won widespread backing from labor organizations and trade-union officials in northwest Indiana, Chicago and across the country, as well as internationally. When King denied the PDC's permit application for an anti-Klan demonstration and threatened to arrest anyone who showed up, protest letters from unionists across the country helped to stay his hand. Over 150 trade unionists, black people, students and socialists turned out to stop the Klan provocation, chanting, "KKK, no way! You didn't march today!"

King's Democratic administration is trying to criminalize the elementary act of self-defense against KKK terror—indeed, *any* protest against racism and injustice. Last year King even refused a permit to Local 73 of the Service Employees International Union to hold a rally for a decent contract. Just as an outpouring of protest letters and calls helped stop King from staging a mass arrest at the January 20 mobilization, a similar effort is urgently needed now. Protest letters demanding that the charge against Kevin Quirk be dropped should be faxed to (219) 881-1263 or sent to: Corporation Counsel Hamilton Carmouche, Law Department, Gary City Hall, 401 Broadway, Gary, Indiana 46402. Please mail copies of protest letters to the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099.■

Spartacist/SYC Events

Castro Bureaucracy Undermines Gains of the Cuban Revolution—For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution!

Saturday, May 19, 4 p.m. ***Eyewitness Report***
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, 4607 Prospect Ave., Hollywood (one block east of Vermont)

LOS ANGELES For more information: (213) 380-8239

From Seattle to Quebec: Anti-Globalization Protests Push Illusions in Rapacious U.S. Imperialism

Beware the Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism!

Oefend China Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

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Eyewitness Report from Quebec Anti-FTAA Protests

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Cops Unleashed Against NYC Transit Workers

As they tighten the screws on the workforce, New York City Transit (NYCT) bosses are now using NYC cops as enforcers against Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. TWU members told *Workers Vanguard* that cops were called in to the 207th Street subway maintenance barn in late April against union officials when they came to the defense of a victimized worker. Management threatened to fire the worker after a confrontation with a security guard. They proceeded to interrogate him behind locked doors in a manager's office without a union rep being present. When the officials demanded to see the worker, the superintendent called the NYPD cops to evict them from the facility.

A few weeks earlier, on April 1, NYCT management at the Jackie Gleason Bus Depot in Brooklyn's Sunset Park called in the NYPD to prevent union safety reps from checking on potentially deadly gas leaks. These repeated leaks of high-pressure natural gas are so serious that a couple of weeks later the Fire Department shut down a nine-block area, including a public school. TWU secretary-treasurer Ed Watt reported in a letter to the NYC *Chief-Leader* (4 May): "On more than six occasions Transit Authority management called or threatened to call the police to remove some of our highest-ranking officers. Even when natural gas leaks were being reported on a daily basis, our members were ordered to work under armed guard, with no respect for their safety and well-being. Some might insist that labor relations at gunpoint is no problem. Our members would disagree."

"Labor relations at gunpoint" aptly describes the massive cop mobilization deployed against Local 100 on the eve of a threatened strike in December 1999, as Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer teamed up in an attempt to bust the union with draconian Taylor Law injunctions criminalizing even use of the word "strike." Both wings of the Local 100 bureaucracy, the "old guard" under then-president Willie James and the New Directions (ND) opposition that has since taken control, capitulated in the face of this assault, even enforcing the state's dictates against their own members. This was a signal to the transit bosses that they could declare "open season" against TWU members.

Only months after this capitulation, management at the 240th Street subway maintenance facility in the Bronx called in the NYPD to bust up a shopgate union meeting, firing 18 cleaners (who were eventually reinstated) for "insubordination." Reporting "TA Sics Cops on Union Meeting," we wrote: "The union should have immediately made clear to the arrogant TA bosses that not a single train would pull in or out of the station unless all 18 cleaners were reinstated on the spot with full pay and no disciplinary action" (*WV* No. 732, 24 March 2000).

Now, at the East New York bus maintenance facility in Brooklyn, workers are engaged in an overtime boycott to reverse the firing of two probationary mechanics on bogus charges of not finishing a job in the allotted time. "They try to get the probationaries to work harder and faster to show it can be done," one young mechanic told *WV*, "then they try to make the rest of us do it." The union must fight to abolish the "probationary" and "provisional" classifications which deny workers full union rights and protections.

What is needed to beat back the wave of company victimizations and cop assaults, as well as escalating speed-up, safety violations and attacks on the union's health benefits fund, is a concerted effort by the union as a whole. But while ND makes a pretense of being more militant than its predecessor, ND president Roger Toussaint took pains to assure NYCT management that he was not "strike happy" even during his election campaign. More recently, when asked if management's threats to cut off health benefits or massively increase co-payments might lead to job actions, Toussaint replied, "You'd love to have me say that, wouldn't you? I think there are lots of other ways for us to do that within the Taylor Law, whether it's legal action, member mobilization or educating the community and the riders" (*Chief-Leader*, 6 April).

What Toussaint means by "other ways" was clear at a March 28 TWU rally in defense of health benefits, which was turned into a Democratic Party election rally, with every Democratic mayoral hopeful in the city on the platform and Jesse Jackson as the featured speaker. Since taking office, Toussaint has trumpeted his intention of channeling union resources into a "political action committee" for the Democratic Party. This is in keeping with the strategy of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which is devoting even greater efforts to getting Democrats elected now that Bush is in the White House. ND's flagrant subservience to the racist Democratic Party was to be expected given its longstanding strategy of using the agencies of the capitalist state—the courts, the District Attorney and the Labor Department—against the union in its efforts to win control of the local.

The union tops hide behind the state Taylor Law outlawing public workers strikes to cover up their own craven class collaboration. Even founding TWU president Mike Quill himself, a pro-capitalist bureaucrat, understood that collective bargaining without the right to strike is just "collective begging." Quill *tore up* a court injunction based on the Taylor Law's predecessor, the Condon-Wadlin Act, on the eve of a 1966 strike and went to jail for it—but the strike won.

The same cops who are deployed against TWU members are also used to occupy the ghettos and barrios. Yet ND, as did the previous James leadership, supports the presence of management's "property protection" security cops in the union. The cops, as well as the courts, are direct agents of the class enemy; they have no place in the labor movement. Cops out of the TWU!

To defend and advance the rights of labor requires a class-struggle leadership that seeks to mobilize labor's power in its interests and those of all the oppressed. Such a leadership will be forged as part of the struggle for a workers party counterposed to all the parties and agencies of the capitalist class and committed to the proposition that those who labor must rule. ■

WV Photo

New York City, March 28: TWU workers rally to defend health benefits fund against management.

Vieques...

(continued from page 1)

the Roosevelt Roads naval station, the hemisphere's largest. In the case of Vieques, the Navy took over *two-thirds* of the island during World War II, throwing thousands out of their homes and ordering impoverished farmers whose families had occupied the land for generations to leave the area within 48 hours. Eastern parts of Vieques have been bombed so heavily that no soil remains, just the underlying rock broken into small pieces. With farming devastated, fishing restricted and tourism gutted by decades of live bombing, fully 70 percent of the population lives below the poverty level. Unemployment is 50 percent, two and a half times the rate on Puerto Rico itself.

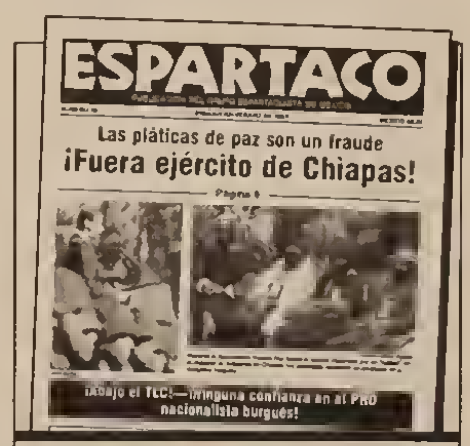
As nominal citizens of the U.S., Puerto Rican youth serve as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism's wars of domination. But residents of Puerto Rico are politically dispossessed—denied the right to vote in federal elections—and discriminated against economically, linguistically, racially and culturally. The island's working people are exploited as a low-wage labor pool by U.S. capitalists seeking to maximize their profit margins. The imperialists have met any challenge to their colonial domination with brute terror, from the 1937 Ponce massacre to the assassination and imprisonment of countless independence fighters.

The April 1999 killing of a local security guard and the wounding of four other residents by an American jet that missed its bombing target made the Vieques base a focus for national indignation among Puerto Ricans. Opposition to the bombings has become so widespread that even a legislator from the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, linked to the Republican Party, got arrested in the recent protests, as did Chicago Democratic Congressman Luis Gutierrez, actor Edward James Olmos and a member of the Kennedy clan. Popular Democratic Party candidate Sila Calderón was elected governor last November largely on the basis of her vow to end the bombing runs. Seeking to calm popular outrage, Clinton pushed through a deal offering Vieques residents a referendum on the Navy presence—to be organized *by the Navy* by next February—and suspending the use of live ammunition in training exercises until then. Washington hopes to bribe the population with promises of a $40 million aid package if the vote goes in its favor. As part of the deal, the Navy last month gave up a chunk of the island being used for ammunition bunkers, which one resident accurately described as a "waste dump."

The Spartacist League fights for the right of self-determination—that is, *the right of independence*—for Puerto Rico, the principal remaining colony of the U.S. We seek to mobilize the U.S. proletariat to combat all manifestations of national chauvinism, and we defend the right of advocates for independence to organize and agitate for secession. At the same time, we warn against illusions in the nationalist lie of "*el pueblo unido*" (the people united), which disappears class conflict in the interest of "unity" of the oppressed with the capitalist class enemy. The two-day general strike in 1998 against plans to sell off the state-owned telephone company illustrated the massive popular opposition to national subjugation as well as the power of the Puerto Rican proletariat. But that power was derailed by labor bureaucrats who chained the working class to the program of bourgeois nationalism and tied the unions to bourgeois political and right-wing religious elements through a class-collaborationist front called CAOS (Greater Committee of Trade-Union, Civic, Religious, Cultural, Political, Student and Environmental Organizations).

That there is today little mass support in Puerto Rico for the perspective of independence is due not least to widespread fears that this would mean an end to unrestricted travel to the U.S. and a sharp drop in what is now the highest standard of living in Latin America (albeit much lower than in even the poorest state on the mainland). Moreover, despite calling for the "demilitarization of Puerto Rico," the Puerto Rican Independence Party has made it amply clear that an independent capitalist Puerto Rico would be quite willing to maintain U.S. bases if the price was right.

The only road to breaking the stranglehold of imperialist domination, and exploitation and grinding poverty lies through proletarian revolution in Puerto Rico and above all in North America. Puerto Rican workers on the mainland can play a key role in linking the struggles of the multiracial U.S. proletariat with those of the combative proletariat on the island, many of whom work for U.S. subsidiaries. Only socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere, laying the basis for international planning with massive assistance from the victorious proletariat in North America, can open the road to genuine economic development for the countries which are today under the imperialist boot. ■



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Young Spartacus

Imperialist Killers in Training

ROTC Off Campus!

SYC at UC Berkeley

Every year the Berkeley Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) rappels down a building at the center of UC Berkeley's campus in a bid to recruit incoming college students to the officer corps of the U.S. imperialist military. On April 21, the Spartacus Youth Club led a demonstration opposing this deadly arm of the bourgeoisie.

Our protest got the attention of hundreds of students who came to Cal Day (the open house when prospective students tour the campus). We passed out 200 to 300 leaflets and sold our flaming red communist literature. We planned on first having a demonstration on Sproul Plaza, but that was thwarted by the circus we encountered there (it's hard to have a demo when you're competing against Ricky Martin at 120 decibels). We instead marched with our signs straight to Wheeler Hall, where the 25 or 30 ROTC recruiters were quite taken aback. Immediately after our appearance, the campus police started following us, with one cop filming us from minute one. ROTC was also filming us—at one point they set up a surveillance post from the second floor, but quickly abandoned it. Our protest drew supporters from the crowd, and included students from local high schools. We then marched through campus and chanted slogans like "ROTC is an imperialist tool—Workers must smash bourgeois rule!" and "ROTC recruiters—Imperialist looters—Off campus now!"

Shenanigans abounded. After about 10 minutes, a marching band strategically relocated to within feet of us and played bad '80s tunes to the scattered cheers of soldiers and pro-ROTC civilians. A middle-aged woman started screaming "Go ROTC!" but quickly left. Later a team of utterly untalented women started singing the "Star Spangled Banner" like madmen. While a guy in a Nixon mask tossed a globe into a toilet labeled "FTAA," a motley group of weird anarcho- "deep ecologists" started hovering around us with pictures of animals being tortured and signs that showed their displeasure with American imperialism—this based solely on the fact that American soldiers mistreat monkeys in labs!

What really attracted the attention of many students and parents were our signs in Chinese and English that said: "Protest U.S. Spy Plane Provocation! Defend the Chinese Deformed Workers State Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!" One Chinese student asked a comrade if there is a third way between socialism and capitalism. Upon getting her firm negative, he exclaimed, "Me too! I'm for pure communism!" Today China is the main target of all the imperialists. For revolutionaries, defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states is a basic act of opposition to our "own" bourgeoisie.

Our demonstration against ROTC comes in the context of increased bellicosity across the board by the American bourgeoisie. A right-wing Republican administration in the White House is brashly asserting American hegemony around the globe by waving its military fist at North Korea, Russia and China. Clinton's policy of genocidal starvation and bombing of Iraq proceeds unabated. The troops of U.S. imperialism still occupy the Balkans in a situation fraught with scarcely suppressed all-sided communalist fratricide which is still tearing apart south central Europe. Bush is continuing Clinton's funding and arming of the murderous war against the Colombian peasant insurgents.

With Bush in the Oval Office, many left-leaning workers and students will look toward the liberal Democrats as a lesser evil. As the SYC warned in our speeches at the protest, the Democratic Party is no alternative. It is a capitalist party of racism and war, loyally serving the same ruling class as the Republicans. From World War II to Vietnam to the terror bombing of the Balkans, the Democrats have been the traditional party of imperialist war. As for the FTAA, the Clinton/Gore administration implemented NAFTA and intensified the "free trade" rape of Mexico, while backing to the hilt the murderous war against the Chiapas peasants.

Where was the rest of the campus left when ROTC staged its recruitment stunt? Progressive Labor not only refused to come to our protest, they also physically excluded an SYCer from their meeting earlier in the week when we went to invite them to participate in this elementary act of opposition to U.S. imperialism. During a time of increasing U.S. hostility against the Chinese deformed workers state, it is not so surprising that PL refuses to come to an anti-ROTC demo. PL writes off the gains of the Chinese Revolution by labeling the deformed workers state as a capitalist imperialist country. A lone PL supporter sulked at the edge of our ROTC demo, watching us mournfully from the shadows. We approached him and asked if he could justify PL's refusal to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal for well over a decade, PL's bizarre claims that the 1997 UPS Teamsters strike was a "dogfight" between two wings of the bosses (*Challenge*, 3 September 1997), and their utterly disgusting position that the gay rights movement and anti-gay violence are "both faces of fascism" (*Challenge*, 4 November 1998). He alternated between claiming ignorance and protesting that he did not agree with their positions. He then tried to brush aside the enormity of these betrayals by explaining that PL is fighting opportunism in its own organization!

The International Socialist Organization also refused to come to our protest. The ISO's theoretical and organizational progenitors broke with Marxism long ago by abandoning defense of the USSR and China in 1950, after the U.S. and British imperialists invaded Korea. Following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the ISO declared that the counterrevolution was a great triumph that "should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). The ISO spent much of the last year campaigning for capitalist politician Ralph Nader, whose protectionism and anti-Communist hatred of the Chinese workers state goes hand in hand with his trumpeting of American "democracy." No wonder these groups don't take a basic stand against the agents of imperialism on campus. Given that they look to the self-same U.S. bourgeoisie to play a progressive role internationally, it is logical that they won't protest and expose the crimes of American capitalism from the perspective of the international working class. Now that the Republicans are swinging back through the White House, the ISO's paper, *Socialist Worker*, runs headlines like "We Won't Go Back!" (read: "please bring Clinton back") and "It's Time to Send Bush a Message" (i.e., unite with the liberals to "fight the right"). The ISO consciously rejects the struggle to mobilize the proletariat in its own interests to smash the capitalist system and instead preaches the counterrevolutionary strategy of putting pressure on the "progressive" members of the ruling capitalist exploiters, i.e., the racist Democratic Party.

We reprint below the leaflet issued by the SYC in building this protest.

* * *

On April 21, "Cal Day," prospective Berkeley students may well wonder if they have applied to a police state rather than a college. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) plans to showcase the United States armed forces on campus by rappelling down Wheeler Hall. ROTC trains the next generation of men and women who will carry out slaughter for the most rapacious imperialist power in the world. But ROTC has not always enjoyed the right to herd students into the blood-drenched armed forces. Organized outrage over atrocities committed by American imperialism's armed forces in Vietnam successfully drove ROTC off campuses all over the nation. When ROTC reintroduced itself in academic garb in the mid-seventies, we led a campaign against its return to the Cal campus. The Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) today calls on students outraged by U.S. imperialist rampages—from increased belligerence against China to the terror bombings of Iraq to the "drug war" on Colombia—to demand: ROTC Off Campus!

Wars like the 1999 U.S./UN/NATO war on Serbia that murdered civilians and bombed Serbia's infrastructure back to the Stone Age are endemic to the capitalist system. Imperialism is not a policy, but the highest stage of capitalism in which the world powers wage ruthless warfare over markets in order to improve their relative competitive positions, ravaging the colonial and semi-colonial countries at the expense of their rivals. Witness the proposed FTAA, which extends NAFTA's "free trade" rape of Mexico to further the domination of American capital over the economies of all Latin America. But a contract is only worth as much as the guns that back it up. ROTC is the direct appendage of the bloody military machine that defends the interests of the American ruling class. The SYC says: No to the FTAA! Down with NAFTA! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!

The organizers of the April 21-22 protests to "Stop the FTAA," however, consciously push the deadly lie that U.S. imperialism can be pressured to fight for the "human rights" of the Third World. But, from WWI's "war to end all wars" to the war against Serbia on behalf of Albanian Kosovars, the U.S. has always draped its imperialist adventures in "human rights" clothing. The "anti-globalization" movement propagates the illusion that the U.S. must combat "undemocratic" multinational trade bodies like the WTO—but such agreements are just conveniences that various nationally-based bourgeoisies work out when they're not actually shooting at one another to divvy up the world. The AFL-CIO union bureaucracy has made racist protectionism a theme of the anti-globalization movement, peddling the lie that U.S. workers have a common interest with their bosses. These protests and their fake-socialist cheerleaders, like the ISO and Socialist Alternative, obscure the fundamental truth that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the working and oppressed people of the world, and actually mobilize workers and youth behind the American imperialist behemoth.

Young Spartacus

SYC anti-ROTC demo at UC Berkeley. Demanding "ROTC Off Campus!", SYC called on students to oppose U.S. imperialism.

Bob Kerrey, Vietnam War Criminal

Almost as obscene as the slaughter of 21 women, children and elderly men perpetrated by Bob Kerrey's Navy SEAL death squad in Vietnam in 1969 is the hand-wringing concern in the American capitalist media over the "psychological damage" done to the *killers*. Responding to sickening editorials like "The War Within Bob Kerrey" (*New York Times*, 26 April), one letter to the *Times* (30 April) rightly protested, "It's almost as if those who were killed have become mere stage props in some morality play.... The famous photo from World War II of the little boy in Warsaw held at gunpoint by a German soldier puts the situation in the right order: it is the child we focus on, not the soldier."

All the "war is hell" pontificating by pundits and politicians is a coverup for *mass murder*. Many GIs were sent to Vietnam and did not become torturers and murderers. Hugh Thompson, who as a helicopter pilot in Vietnam threatened to fire on Lieutenant William Calley's troops when he saw them raping and murdering villagers in My Lai in 1968, told the *New York Post* (27 April), "If [Kerrey] did what they say he did, he should go to jail."

Kerrey was the head of a specially trained killer commando unit. Their assignment in the village of Thanh Phong on the night of 25 February 1969 was to assassinate a local "Viet Cong" leader. Not finding the man they wanted, Kerrey and his killers rounded up and systematically slaughtered any villagers they found. Bui Thi Luom, who was 12 years old when she witnessed the massacre, said last week, "At the time, I was too small. If I could, I would like to get my revenge on them. If I could kill them, I would."

Despite persistent complaints at the time of a U.S. massacre, Pentagon brass awarded Kerrey a Bronze Star whose citation reads, "twenty-one Viet Cong killed" (*Washington Post*, 27 April). In the eyes of the U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese henchmen, any villager not penned up in "strategic hamlets," i.e., concentration camps, was presumed to be Viet Cong. Some 100,000 Vietnamese liberation fighters were assassinated under the CIA's "Operation Phoenix," while countless others were tortured in tiny bamboo "tiger cages." It is because of such criminal acts and others that the U.S. refuses to sign the treaty for an international war crimes tribunal, even as it demands that every tinpot strongman who falls out of Washington's favor be tried for "war crimes."

Kerrey went on to receive a Medal of Honor, the highest U.S. military decoration, and to pursue a career as a leading Democratic Party politician, cynically hiding this atrocity as a "private memory" until a reporter confronted him with the story in 1998, just days before he called off a planned presidential bid. Kerrey should be brought to justice before a workers and peasants tribunal in Vietnam! As the Spartacus Youth Club chanted at a May 3 protest outside New York's New School University, where Kerrey is now president: "Bob Kerrey shouldn't die of old age—Put him in a tiger cage!"

Tran Viet Duc/Sipa

Relatives and friends of family killed in 1969 massacre at Thanh Phong gather at the graves.

We print below a speech by an SYC spokesman at the protest.

* * *

Bob Kerrey is a war criminal, the head of a team of Navy SEALs in Vietnam, trained assassins who killed 21 civilians—mainly women and children—in Thanh Phong in 1969. This bloody butcher later came home as a decorated "war hero" for the crimes he perpetrated against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. We of the Spartacus Youth Club say: Bob Kerrey is a war criminal! Butcher of Vietnam!

Kerrey went on to become a Democratic Party Senator and was a liberal hopeful for the presidential candidacy. This is fitting. U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam started under liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy and was continued under the Democratic Party administration of Lyndon B. Johnson. This year is also the 40th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which was put down by the Cuban masses who fought in defense of their revolution. Democratic Party—party of war and racism! We say: Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!

The Democrats are pushed by the labor bureaucrats and black Democratic hustlers like Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton as the "friend of labor and blacks" at home and the purveyors of "human rights" imperialism abroad. But the war criminal Bob Kerrey is the true face of the Democratic Party. While they were raining down bombs and napalm on the Vietnamese people, they were waging a war of extermination against black militants at home, like the Chicago cops under Democratic Party mayor Daley who assassinated Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark while they were asleep in their beds. The same people who purvey the lie that the U.S. imperialists can be pressured to bring "human rights" and "freedom" to the oppressed masses of the world say, "No more Vietnams," echoing the imperialist rulers who were *defeated* by the courageous Vietnamese workers and peasants. We say: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three many defeats for U.S. imperialism!

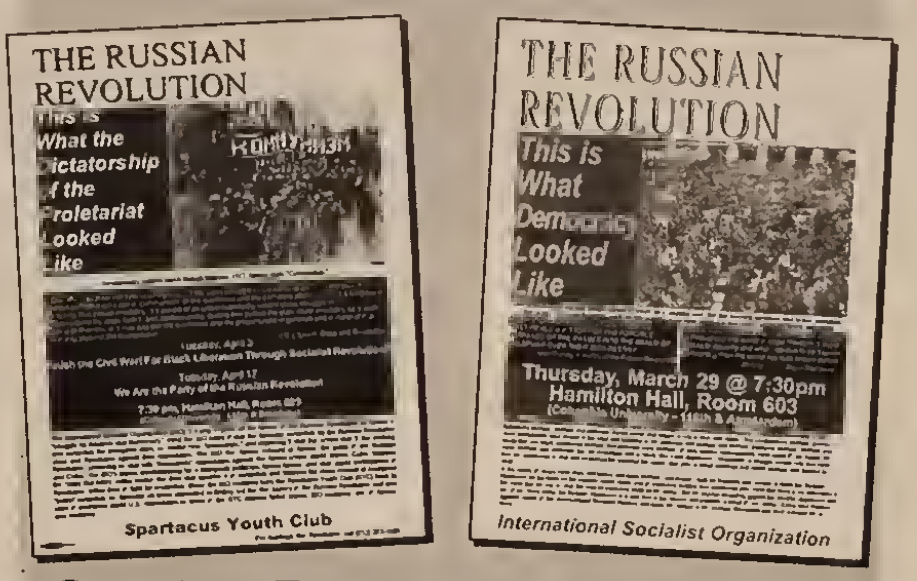
In the name of "human rights," the imperialist rulers are now trying to overthrow the gains of the Vietnamese Revolution; to crush Cuba under the jackboot of U.S. imperialism; to recapture China, which was ripped from the hands of the imperialists in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, for imperialist exploitation. The doors for renewed imperialist penetration, emboldening the internal forces of counterrevolution, are being opened by the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats of those countries. We say: 1,2,3,4—Workers rule is what we're for! 5,6,7,8—Defend the Chinese workers state! Defend the Vietnamese workers state! Defend the Cuban workers state! Defend the North Korean workers state!

What Kerrey did was no aberration. Mass murder of the heroic Vietnamese people was government policy. The workers of the world owe a huge debt to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, who defeated the most powerful imperialist war machine on the face of the planet. We are fighting to repay that debt by fighting for workers revolution here "in the belly of the beast" to overthrow U.S. imperialism. When the wealth of this country belongs to the working people that created it, then we can begin to redress the crimes committed by the rapacious U.S. rulers against the working people and oppressed masses of the world. We say: Capitalism means racism and war! Socialist revolution is what we're for!■

The recent U.S. spy plane provocation comes as part of a deliberate escalation of U.S. military pressure against the People's Republic of China. As proletarian internationalists in the heartland of world imperialism, we of the SYC declare our class solidarity with the Chinese proletariat and Chinese deformed workers state, with its socialized economy. The world economic downturn only makes the markets and resources of China more vital to the rapacious U.S. bosses, who seek to tear open its planned economy and turn it into one big sweatshop. Workers internationally must unconditionally fight for the military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. But the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy itself only defends the planned economy to the extent that it fears its own working class. The mighty Chinese proletariat must throw off this misleadership, and take control of its own state through political revolution. Even then the only ultimate safeguard against capitalist counterrevolution is through international class struggle to create socialism the world over.

While looking to the bloodiest imperialist power to clean up the world is an especially ludicrous idea, there are absolutely no routes to reform imperialism. Rather than prettifying American "democracy," as revolutionary Marxists in the U.S. we fight for a party to lead the working class in a victorious socialist revolution to smash capitalism for good. Join the SYC in protesting ROTC. ROTC off campus! Defend China! U.S. bloody hands off the world!■

SYC vs. ISO



On the Russian Revolution

When the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) distributed a leaflet for a talk on the Russian Revolution at Columbia University titled "This Is What Democracy Looked Like" (a play on the documentary about the Seattle anti-WTO protests, *This is What Democracy Looks Like*), the Spartacus Youth Club countered, "This Is What the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Looked Like" in a leaflet exposing both the ISO's pretentions to revolutionary politics and their distortion of the Bolshevik Revolution. The main text of our leaflet appears below.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) is trying to pass off the history of the Russian Revolution as merely a "struggle for freedom and democracy." What the ISO hides is that the program embodied by the Russian Revolution was smashing the bourgeois state, no matter how "democratic," and replacing it with the armed rule of the working class and oppressed against their oppressors. The ISO has always refused to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution, preferring to side with "democratic" imperialism against the Soviet Union, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and China. The ISO's recent electioneering for a bourgeois politician, Ralph Nader, and their eager participation in the "Gore Got More" rallies shows that their real appetite is to embellish and obscure the class content of *bourgeois* democracy rather than to fight for revolution. Since the ISO routinely bars the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) from its "public" meetings, we welcome all those interested in finding out the real history of the Russian Revolution and who want to overthrow racist U.S. imperialism to come to the SYC classes listed above. ISO members are, of course, also welcome.

Noam Chomsky: Radical Impostor, Anti-Communist Censor

The following is a leaflet produced by the Boston Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club, May 7.

Like the Wonderful Wizard of Oz, Dr. Noam Chomsky of MIT is not really what he pretends to be. Whatever Chomsky's radical rhetoric, he's nothing more than a liberal anti-Communist. As we pointed out last spring in a leaflet titled "Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's 'Armchair Anarchist'" (reprinted in *WV* No. 735, 5 May 2000):

> "Much is always forgiven those who, like Chomsky, line up faithfully with their own ruling class on the key loyalty test for Americans: better hate the Reds if you want to get ahead. The red-baiting professor and his ilk spit on every social revolution including the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. 'If the left is understood to include "Bolshevism," then I would flatly dissociate myself from the left. Lenin was one of the greatest enemies of socialism, in my opinion,' says the anti-Communist Chomsky."

While attendees at various Chomsky lectures eagerly grabbed our leaflet (perhaps looking for some break from the good professor's notoriously long-winded presentations), it obviously really got under Chomsky's skin. And ever since, the man who likes to posture as a radical muckraker who exposes the crimes of American imperialism has been on a vendetta aimed at silencing our exposés of him as nothing but a "radical" fraud and windbag. At meeting after meeting, Chomsky has given his audience a lesson in "manufacturing consent." Upon discovering that a Spartacist is speaking during the discussion period at these publicly advertised events, he immediately stampedes his followers into voting against our right to speak.

At the last meeting, however, it seems Chomsky's anti-Communist sensors suffered a brief malfunction. An SYCer was able to speak for a whole 30 seconds. But as soon as we mentioned the word "imperialism," he snapped to attention, asking if this was a "Spartacist intervention." One recalls stories from the McCarthyite witchhunt in the 1950s where if someone were to utter the word "imperialism" in a bar, people would immediately be getting out of their seats to phone the FBI and turn in the "Red." Having failed to shut us down, Chomsky sneered that revolutionary politics have no place at MIT. Although Chomsky, who teaches at MIT, would like to keep it that way, we are sure that there are students on campus—particularly black, immigrant and working-class students—who actually do burn with a hatred for the brutality of U.S. imperialism and are looking for a revolutionary alternative.

Chomsky's radical reputation rests on his pretensions to be some kind of anarchist socialist and his expositions on the hypocrisy of American imperialist machinations. Unlike official spokesmen for the U.S. ruling class who try to conceal the crimes of imperialism under the guise of "human rights," Chomsky strikes a more critical pose. A *Boston Review* (December 1993) article about "humanitarian intervention" is characteristic. There he wrote that "the category of 'humanitarian intervention' is vanishingly small" and only "means intervention authorized or directed by the United States." It doesn't take a brain surgeon to point out the tremendous "violence, impudence, and moral cowardice" of killing more than two million Vietnamese, of the almost daily bombing of Iraq for ten years accompanied by a starvation blockade that has killed one and a half million Iraqis, or of the recent Balkans War which pummeled Serbia to rubble. Nonetheless, Chomsky's exposés can seem refreshing against the Greek chorus of imperialist hawks.

But Chomsky strives to be the imperialists' rescuing *deus ex machina*. The professor's main problem with the U.S. rulers is that they act counter to "international law." In an article at the time of the U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia in 1999, Chomsky lectured: "There is a regime of international law and international order, binding on all states, based on the UN Charter and subsequent resolutions and World Court decisions" ("Crisis in the Balkans," *Z Magazine*, May 1999). But the United Nations, far from being a "neutral" body, has always been a den of the imperialist thieves and their intended victims. Its purpose is simply to give cover and sanction to the imperialists' wars of conquest, as it has done from the Korean War in the 1950s to the 1991 Gulf War and the continuing starvation blockade of Iraq. As for "international law," such as it even exists, it is nothing other than a thin veil to hide the hideous face of imperialist exploitation and aggression. Through his repeated invocations of the UN and "international law," Chomsky's purpose is to peddle the mythical idea that through pressure from the intelligentsia and good radical-liberals like himself, the imperialists will become good. This is based on his belief that capitalist democracy means that all citizens, regardless of their social class, could have equal influence over the state. In short, Chomsky wants to reform the system.

The capitalist system cannot be reformed. The capitalist state is not a neutral arbiter; it exists to maintain the rule of the capitalist class. Imperialism is not just a bad policy; it is the highest stage of capitalism, the organic outcome of the striving for ever more and larger profits and new markets and spheres of exploitation. This creates competition between the largest of the imperialist countries as they contend for domination of these markets. This competition inevitably reaches a crisis that can no longer be confined to diplomatic maneuvering, and it breaks out in war, wars against the smaller beholden nations for their acquiescence, like the bombing and occupation of Serbia, and finally wars between the major imperialist nations themselves, like World War I and World War II.

Chomsky believes that capitalist states can be made to be rational. We are not dealing with a rational system, but imperialism, which will lead humanity into another world war—this time using huge arsenals of nuclear weapons—if it is not stopped through international socialist revolution. In the wake of the collapse of the USSR, which plunged the former degenerated workers state into misery and all-sided bloodletting, rivalries between the major imperialist powers—primarily Germany, the U.S. and Japan—have increased, not decreased. The choice is, as communist revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg put it, socialism or barbarism. We struggle to get rid of capitalism altogether by overthrowing it through workers revolution.

Perhaps Chomsky fancies himself a modern-day Voltaire. While the latter schooled Frederick the Great, the professor evidently dreams of being an adviser to today's not-so-enlightened despots. However, Voltaire soon realized the naiveté of such an endeavor. Chomsky, on the other hand, like the Energizer bunny, keeps at it. He gives the game away when he writes, "Occasionally, the population has compelled the state to undertake humanitarian efforts" and cites as a "real example" the "protection zone that the Bush administration reluctantly extended to the Kurds in northern Iraq" after the Gulf War. Of course, Chomsky does not mention that the Kurds were "protected" by the very same U.S. and British military might which bombed Iraq into submission during the war and have imposed the starvation embargo ever since. Today, Chomsky weeps crocodile tears over the million and a half Iraqis—mostly children and the aged—who have died as a result of these UN-enforced sanctions. But Chomsky himself urged the imperialists in 1991 to use "the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy" to get Iraq out of Kuwait (*Z Magazine*, February 1991).

During the 1999 Balkans War, Chomsky, along with other prominent liberal

Israeli troops fire on fleeing Palestinian youth in Gaza Strip, October 2000. Chomsky and associates openly called for imperialist intervention against Israel to stop violence against Palestinians in statement published in *Socialist Worker* [Britain], 13 January (above).

AFP

Rick Reinhard/Impact Visuals

Baghdad Children's Hospital, 1991. In 1991 Chomsky urged that "sanctions and diplomacy" be used to get Iraq out of Kuwait—sanctions have caused deaths of a million and a half Iraqis to date.

Der Spiegel

Lech Walesa (left) prays in front of Gdansk shipyard in Poland, 1980. Solidarność, the force for capitalist restoration in Poland driven by CIA and Vatican, rolled back social gains. Chomsky supported capitalist restoration across East Europe.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at 5 June 1999 antiwar protest in San Francisco. SL opposed imperialist intervention, called for defeat of U.S. in Iraq and Serbia.

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

SYC Letter to *Cornell Daily Sun*

The following letter, concerning former Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui's planned visit to Cornell University—now postponed to late May—was submitted by a Spartacus Youth Club supporter. It was printed by the campus paper on April 5.

Since the Chinese Students and Scholars Association's (CSSA) "Open Letter Against Lee Teng-hui's Visit" was published over three weeks ago, the CSSA has been the target of repeated anti-communist attacks in the *Sun*. The editorial "Welcome Back" (26 March) makes it appear that the issue is the CSSA's purported attempt to suppress Lee's "civil liberties." The *Sun* editors lamely bleat that "nothing indicates that Lee's visit would be of a political nature." This is rubbish—and they know it. Since 1949 Taiwan has been U.S. imperialism's launching pad for capitalist counterrevolution in mainland China. A key component of Washington's increased belligerence toward China is supplying Taiwan with destroyers and advanced Aegis radar systems.

China is lined up in the deadly sights of the U.S. imperialists who aim to destroy the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. This revolution liberated the country from capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation, ushering in a planned and collectivized economy, as opposed to the private ownership of the means of production under capitalism, which is the basis of the exploitation of the many by the few. The Chinese Revolution laid the basis for huge strides for the masses of workers and peasants in education, health care and housing. The Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution against the U.S. imperialists and offshore Chinese bourgeoisie who seek the capitalist re-enslavement of China. The brazen U.S. spy plane provocation against China this week underscores our call for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The purpose of Lee Teng-hui's visit is to advance a counterrevolutionary agenda to which we are opposed, and would protest. This has nothing in common with calling on the campus administration or U.S. government to ban Lee Teng-hui from appearing on campus.

Unlike the CSSA, our defense of China has nothing to do with nationalism, patriotism or political support to the ruling Stalinist bureaucratic caste. The bureaucracy derives its privileges from China's collectivized economy, while simultaneously threatening the very existence of the workers state by seeking "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists and opening China's economy to imperialist penetration through "market reforms."

Beijing has pursued a policy of reunification with Taiwan on the basis of maintaining capitalism there, under the slogan of "one country, two systems." We call for the revolutionary reunification of China and Taiwan: for a socialist revolution on Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the capitalists and a proletarian political revolution on the mainland to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucrats and place political power in the hands of the working class. This call is linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries in order to extend and advance the gains of the Chinese Revolution through building an international socialist planned economy.

The U.S. imperialists sometimes cloak their drive to secure the right to brutally exploit Chinese workers in the guise of pushing for "human rights" and "democracy." It is a deadly illusion to believe that the U.S. and other imperialist powers are anything but irreconcilable enemies of the Chinese deformed workers state. The U.S. imperialists are the bloodiest butchers and biggest violators of "human rights" on the planet—from the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the ongoing terror bombing of Iraq today. The only way to guarantee the interests of the world's working people and oppressed is by smashing U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! ■

Novosti

May Day in Petrograd, 1917. Banners read: "For the Arming of the People/Long Live the International," "Russian Social Democratic Labor Party [Bolsheviks] of Kronstadt Proletarians," "Long Live Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Bolshevik Revolution smashed capitalism, brought workers to power.

academics, in an open letter printed in the British *New Statesman* (10 May 1999) once again advised the imperialists that:

> "Nato is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing notably Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."

The OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) is a military bloc dominated by the European imperialists. Complaining that "the NATO bombings further undermine what remains of the fragile structure of international law," Chomsky essentially argues that the bombings would have been okay if the U.S. were not so unilateral. During the recent Israeli repression against Palestinians, Chomsky and associates were at it again. This time they signed a statement openly appealing for imperialist intervention: "We are appalled by the lack of action by Western governments to stop the slaughter" (printed in *Socialist Worker* [Britain], 13 January). This is ludicrous: one wonders what kind of "action" Chomsky had in mind, since the U.S. is the chief military and financial supporter of the Zionist garrison state.

During both the Gulf War and the Balkans War, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs called to defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution. We called for the military defense of both Iraq and Serbia, and said that the destruction of American imperialism is the necessary precondition for the creation of a truly just society here and internationally. We defend the Palestinians against Israeli state terror and fight for Arab/Hebrew workers revolution to overthrow the Zionist rulers.

Chomsky's liberal faith in the ultimate rationality of imperialism is an obstacle to the revolutionary struggle necessary to get rid of capitalism. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), looks to the example of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which overthrew capitalism in Russia amidst the devastation of the First World War. Although deformed by unrelenting imperialist pressure and undermined through Stalinist bureaucratic misleadership, for more than 70 years the Soviet Union continued to embody gains for the working class internationally. This is why we fought for the unconditional military defense of the USSR and East European deformed workers states against imperialism—and why we today fight for the unconditional military defense of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Chomsky, however, recoils in horror from those revolutions and ardently supports the restoration of capitalism.

Chomsky fumes when we point out that his emperor's new clothes are not merely threadbare, but that he stands naked as nothing but a liberal. But just as Don Quixote could not continue his quest without Sancho Panza to hold his lance, Chomsky only has such authority because much of the so-called left heralds him. One of the standard-bearers in the cult of Chomsky is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Although—on the increasingly rare occasion—the ISO makes pretense to revolutionary Marxism, the truth of the matter is that they share in Chomsky's acceptance of the democratic credentials of the imperialist rulers. Thus, political lecturer Alex Callinicos—a leading member of the British Socialist Workers Party and a theoretical leading light for the ISO until he expelled them from his "International Socialist Tendency" earlier this year—was a prominent signatory on both the open-letter appeals for imperialist intervention in the Balkans and Israel.

They also don't take a back seat to Chomsky when it comes to vehement anti-Communism. The ISO embraced every imperialist-backed force whose purpose was the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. On the home front, they are not to be outdone in trying to silence the voice of revolutionary Marxism. Just try to get into one of their public meetings if you're even carrying a copy of the Spartacist League's newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*. You're just as likely to get a fist in the face, the response of ISO goons to any known or suspected member of the Spartacist League or Spartacus Youth Clubs. As we noted in our article protesting racist ideologue David Horowitz, the "no-free-speech for communists" zones established by the likes of Chomsky and the ISO have only fed Horowitz's efforts to silence anyone with views to the left of Strom Thurmond.

Unlike Chomsky and his "socialist" camp followers, we fight not only to expose the crimes of U.S. imperialism, but to overthrow their rapacious rule through workers revolution. While this grievously offends the sensibilities of liberal ideologues like Chomsky, it is the only way forward for the liberation of humanity. *Smash U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution!* ■

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

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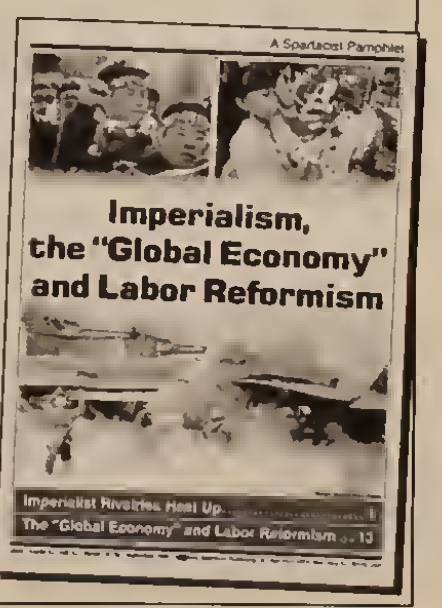

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CHICAGO

China...

(continued from page 1)

at an April meeting of the Union of Concerned Scientists, *target hundreds of sites in China for nuclear attack*. And the *Washington Post* (27 April) reports: "Despite the facade of ambiguity, the U.S. military already has detailed plans for the defense of Taiwan. They are one of only two sets of war plans on the shelves of the U.S. Pacific Command; the other is for the defense of South Korea."

The Reaganite Cold Warriors around Bush have made clear that they are abandoning Clinton's rhetoric of "strategic partnership" and now deem China a "strategic competitor." Significant sections of corporate America are concerned that the administration's more bellicose line will cause the Beijing regime to slow down the pace of pro-capitalist "market reforms" and interfere with existing and future U.S. investment in China. But all wings of the American capitalist class are united around the strategic goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reconquering China and its vast population for direct imperialist exploitation.

With ever greater urgency, this poses the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defense of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, against imperialist attack and against the forces of internal capitulist counterrevolution. Defense of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution is integral to the task of mobilizing the U.S. proletariat for a socialist revolution to sweep away the American capitalist order, the only road to disarming the nuclear madmen in Washington.

China in the Cross Hairs

Though deformed from inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic caste, the 1949 Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army (PLA) overthrew capitalist property relations and the yoke of imperialist subjugation, constructing a planned, collectivized economy which meant enormous social progress for the worker and peasant masses and especially for women. U.S. policy toward China has gone through very different phases since 1949. In the 1950-53 Korean War, U.S. imperialism engaged in an all-out shooting war against Chinese and North Korean forces. In the 1970s and '80s, Washington entered into a strategic alliance with Beijing against the Soviet Union, the military and industrial powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states and thus the chief obstacle to U.S. imperialist ambitions.

When the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the U.S. bourgeoisie expected that China would soon fall into its lap. America's rulers even hoped that capitalism would be restored without a major political upheaval, projecting that "reform-minded" elements of the Beijing regime would simply privatize or liquidate state-owned industry and integrate China into the world capitalist market. But developments have not exactly gone according to these projections. "Market reforms," especially the closure and privatization of state-owned enterprises, have produced massive working-class resistance. As strikes and other protests against layoffs and corruption multiply, the deepening of market measures is constrained by the regime's fear of another 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into student protests posed the overthrow of the venal bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution.

AP photos

China has increased military budget in response to escalating U.S. provocations. Right: Beijing newsstand displays newspaper with caricature of Bush; headline reads, "China Is Never Afraid of Threats."

At the same time, fear of an increasingly aggressive American imperialism has caused Beijing to beef up its military capacity. And Washington's provocations have generated widespread opposition to U.S. imperialism. When the U.S. spy plane landed on Hainan, university students there daubed a wall with the slogan: "Wipe Out Our National Humiliation, Severely Punish the American Military."

The present situation in China is deeply unstable. Undermining the foundations of China's socialized economy, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. But it is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution which places power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). That is the *only way* to defend the social gains of the 1949 Revolution and open the road to a socialist future.

America's rulers are frustrated and angry that "Communist China" has turned out to be a tougher nut to crack than they thought. Those frustrations were clearly expressed in a *New York Times* (6 April) column by Thomas Friedman, a Clintonite Democrat who was an early advocate of U.S. military action against Serbia and promotes Washington as enforcer of a global regime of "free markets" and "democracy." Friedman ridiculed China's demand for an apology for the death of fighter pilot Wang Wei in the spy plane incident:

> "Why stop with the plane incident? We should apologize for being the market for $40 billion a year of China's exports. We should apologize for the fact that U.S. companies are among the largest foreign investors in China and have been instrumental in China's economic take-off. We should apologize for the fact that 54,000 Chinese students study in the U.S. every year, more than any other nationality. We should apologize for the fact that the U.S. has shown restraint in weapons sales to Taiwan. We should apologize for the fact that the U.S. paved the way for China's entry into the World Trade Organization. Yes, we should apologize for *all* these things and promise to stop *all* of them immediately."

These barbs amount to a call for a complete cutoff of U.S. relations with China.

The conservative and hardheaded London *Economist* (28 April) commented: "Talk of a new 'cold war' between China and America is starting to sound like an understatement." It is not only China but Washington's European and Japanese imperialist "allies" who are worried about the U.S. waving its nuclear big stick against Beijing. Japan and the European powers pursue their own interests in China, and these conflicting interests would vastly intensify in a scramble over the spoils of capitalist counterrevolution. More generally, America's imperialist rivals are concerned that the U.S. is becoming increasingly brazen in asserting its self-declared role as the "world's only superpower." The leading German weekly *Der Spiegel* now talks of "the snarling, ugly Americans." What we can do to China, Bush is in effect saying to them, we can also do to you.

In an article headlined "Colliding Interests," the London *Financial Times* (27 April) noted, "The collapse of the Soviet Union has destroyed the overwhelming rationale binding the US and Japan so closely together and perhaps created an opportunity for China to play on their differences." "There is a newly nationalist mood in Japan," says one diplomat quoted in the article. Japanese imperialism is increasingly assertive of its own regional interests. Epitomizing this shift is Japan's new prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi, who is simultaneously pushing massive austerity attacks and layoffs to revitalize the Japanese economy and a heightened military posture abroad. Immediately after taking office, Koizumi declared that the constitution should be revised to unshackle the "Self-Defense Forces." As the *Financial Times* reported: "For the first time since the second world war, this would authorise the Japanese military to wage offensive operations—reviving fears among Japan's neighbours about the nation's militaristic history." Koizumi also talks of visiting the Yasukuni Shrine, which honors Japanese soldiers who died in World War II and is a rallying point for chauvinist revanchism.

Germany, which manufactures some of the parts for the diesel submarines being sold to Taiwan, announced that it would not supply these parts for the U.S. arms package. Last week, France and several other European states joined with China, Cuba and other countries in voting the U.S. off the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for the first time in the UN's history. Citing Washington's long-standing use of "human rights" as a club against China, the *Xinhua* (4 May) news service noted, "The human rights issue is actually only a 'big stick' for the U.S. to use on other countries for its own hegemonic purposes."

"Left" Joins Anti-China Crusade

We wrote in "U.S. Spy Plane Provocation—Defend China!" (*WV* No. 756, 13 April):

> "It is in the direct and immediate interest of working people in the U.S. to defend the Chinese deformed workers state against the American capitalist rulers. Just as happened in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, capitalist restoration in China would embolden the U.S. bourgeoisie, and the imperialists internationally, to ratchet up their assault on the working class and minorities at home."

Our aim is to forge a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power. This perspective is anathema to the reformist and centrist pretenders to socialism in the U.S. and internationally, who ever more openly bow to the dictates of their respective bourgeoisies. These groups moved sharply to the right in the tow of the war drive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the subsequent imperialist ideological offensive over the "death of communism."

Despite its redder-than-red rhetoric, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) offers the most flagrant example of capitulation to imperialist China-bashing, echoing language you hear from extreme right-wing anti-Communists. *Challenge* (25 April) declares that the spy plane provocation "reveals the sharpening of a rivalry that will ultimately lead to a war for world domination between these imperialist gangsters." In equating the world's most powerful capitalist-imperialist state with a bureaucratically deformed workers state, PL acts to disarm workers and radicalized youth who seek to oppose American imperialist aggression.

You wouldn't know from reading the *Challenge* statement that PL once considered China to be socialist. Indeed, at one point in the 1960s PL had Beijing's franchise as the American "revolutionaries." PL lined up with Mao Zedong in denouncing the Soviet Union as "social-imperialist" and hailed Mao's "Cultural Revolution." By the early 1970s, PL had repudiated the Beijing regime and declared that China was capitalist. PL's often bizarre politics can best be described as inverted Stalinism. PL identifies the bureaucracy with the workers state: renouncing political support to the regime, it simultaneously rejected military defense of the workers state and its material foundations—the collectivized economy. PL also rejects military defense of small capitalist states against the imperialists, equating oppressor nations with oppressed nations. Thus PL has refused to defend Iraq and Serbia against U.S. terror bombing.

It is a measure of how right-wing PL's

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"revolutionary communism" is in practice that its line is essentially indistinguishable from that of the International Socialist Organization (ISO). The hallmark of these overt social democrats has always been anti-Communist hostility toward China and the Soviet Union, when it existed. The ISO supported every U.S.-backed reactionary force against the Soviet degenerated workers state, from the Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan to clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność and Russia's Boris Yeltsin. Evenhandedly denouncing the "more aggressive posture of each side," *Socialist Worker* (27 April) writes: "The U.S. and China are competing for influence in Asia." A previous article titled "Washington's China Bashing" (*Socialist Worker*, 13 April) seemingly tilted toward China, but in fact it was nothing more than the ISO's usual "tilt" toward the Democratic Party:

> "In recent years, U.S. policy towards China has balanced uneasily between seeing the country as a huge trade and investment opportunity on the one hand, and as a military threat on the other.
>
> "Under George W. Bush, whose administration is stuffed full of former Cold Warriors, there's been a sharp shift to the hawk end of the spectrum."

The get-tougher line toward China is not simply a result of the Republican right having taken over the White House. Liberal Democrats and the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO bureaucracy of John Sweeney have repeatedly blocked with the Republican right in bashing China, with the former railing against "slave labor" and the latter fulminating against "persecution" of Christian sects. As the American spy plane crew was being held in Hainan, Democratic Senator Torricelli demanded that the U.S. recall its ambassador.

There has indeed been a shift under Bush, but it was prepared under Clinton. While the Clinton administration avidly pursued "constructive engagement," U.S. capital investment in China and U.S. nuclear-armed warships in the South China Sea serve the *same purpose*: to recapture the country for imperialism. And they complement each other: the greater the extent of U.S. investment, the louder the drums will beat for military action to protect that investment. In a statement issued last October, Beijing explained its need to increase military spending by pointing to the "new gunboat policy and neo-economic colonialism" of Clinton's U.S.

In Britain, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), with whom the ISO was allied until recently, published a commentary by SWP leader Alex Callinicos commenting that "China's rulers haven't forgotten their biggest confrontation with the US in recent years. When they carried out live missile tests close to Taiwan in 1996, the Clinton administration deployed a carrier battle group just off the Chinese coast" (*Socialist Worker*, 21 April). The SWP would like its readers to forget that at the time of that confrontation it sounded just like Bush does today, proclaiming in *Socialist Review* (April 1996): "We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression."

Another British group, the centrist Workers Power (WP), writes: "We have no truck with the Beijing bureaucrats who restored capitalism to China.... But we should stand with China against US imperialism's attempt to dominate Asia" (*Workers Power*, April 2001). Less than a year ago, WP echoed the imperialist "human rights" chorus, demanding "workers' sanctions" against China (*Workers Power*, September 2000). In the face of growing imperialist hostility toward China, WP abandoned even its lip service to unconditional military defense of the deformed workers state, declaring "Capitalist Restoration Triumphs in China" (see "New 'Theories,' Old Renegacy," *WV* No. 754, 16 March). But it is rather cheap for Labourite leftists in Britain to "stand with" virtually anybody against *American* domination. More to the point, during the Balkans War two years ago WP stood with the imperialist Blair Labour government in railing against Milosevic's Serbia in supposed defense of the Kosovo Albanians.

AP

Beijing students protest U.S. bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade during 1999 Balkans War.

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Chinese Nationalism

The U.S. Workers World Party (WWP) solidarizes with "socialist China" in denouncing the U.S. war moves, while stating: "The fundamental socialist institutions in China have been considerably eroded by market reforms and imperialist corporations have a foothold in China. But Chinese society as a whole is under protection from being reconquered and reenslaved by imperialism because of the existence of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army" (*Workers World*, 26 April).

But who introduced the "market reforms" and invited imperialist corporations in if not the selfsame CCP leadership? WWP's amnesty of the CCP leadership is counterposed to the fight to mobilize the proletariat, the only force capable of defeating the drive toward capitalist restoration. Indeed, during the 1989 Tiananmen events WWP supported the regime's bloody suppression of the incipient proletarian political revolution.

While parasitically resting on the social foundations of the workers state, the Stalinist bureaucracy is not committed to the defense of the collectivized economy. As current events in China make amply clear, this bureaucratic layer acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the world capitalist market on the workers state. Basing itself on the dogma of "socialism in one country," the CCP regime always opposed the fight for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries in favor of "peaceful coexistence." Today, this nationalist outlook serves those leading sections of the bureaucracy who, striving to become part of a new exploiting class, reach out to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie with the aim of forging a "greater China." Regime spokesmen do not even talk about "defending socialism" anymore, but contend that U.S. hostility is aimed at preventing China from becoming a great world power.

In 1997, the former British colony of Hong Kong was reunited with China under the formula of "one country, two systems." The Beijing bureaucracy has likewise offered to guarantee the continued existence of capitalism on Taiwan in the event of reunification. Taiwan's capitalists have invested tens of billions of dollars on the mainland. The Trotskyist International Communist League stands for the revolutionary reunification of China: for a *socialist* revolution against the Taiwan bourgeoisie and a *political* revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy.

Many of those who oppose Beijing's concessions to imperialism also speak in the language of Chinese nationalism, seeing defense of China in national, not class, terms. Particularly with the bombing of China's Belgrade embassy in 1999, U.S. provocations have produced a wave of anti-American nationalism on the mainland. When the spy plane landed on Hainan, a Beijing shop assistant exclaimed: "Our government should have shot down the plane. Jiang Zemin is too weak. If Grandpa Mao were still alive, the Americans would not dare to bully us" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

China was liberated from imperialist domination only through a social revolution (albeit bureaucratically deformed) which ended the class rule of the *Chinese* bourgeoisie. Moreover, the survival of the People's Republic in its initial years was critically dependent on Soviet military and economic support. Only fear of Soviet retaliation prevented the U.S. from using nuclear weapons against China in the Korean War, as Washington repeatedly threatened to do.

The Beijing bureaucracy, by aiding the destruction of the Soviet Union, has helped bring about the present conditions in which the U.S. is openly preparing for war against China. In the early 1970s, after years of feuding between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies in Beijing and Moscow, "Grandpa Mao" allied China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. Mao sealed his treacherous "rapprochement" as American warplanes were laying waste to Vietnam. In 1979, just four years after the revolutionary victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, China under Deng Xiaoping acted as a cat's paw for a vindictive U.S. imperialism, invading Soviet-allied Vietnam in order to teach it a "bloody lesson." Chinese forces were repulsed by battle-hardened Vietnamese troops.

Chinese nationalism is today serving to link leftist opponents of imperialism with right-wing advocates for a new Chinese imperialism. This is seen in *China's Road, Under the Conspiracy of Globalization*, a best-selling compilation of nationalist essays published in the aftermath of the Belgrade embassy bombing. One of the book's chief editors, Fang Ning, is a professor of "contemporary capitalism" in Beijing who denounces "globalization" in the language of Western academic "Marxism." The other, Wang Xiaodong, is a former editor of the journal *Strategy and Management*, which is connected to the military establishment. Wang makes no pretense of Marxism or leftism in any sense. He is a mirror image of the most extreme right-wing ideologues of Western and Japanese imperialism, maintaining that U.S. hostility toward the People's Republic is national and even racial in character.

Wang's stated goal is to transform China into "a post-development great power" on a par with the U.S., Germany and Japan. The aim of transforming China, with its relatively weak industrial base and massive rural backwardness, into an imperialist "great power" is not only reactionary but utterly utopian. Just look at Russia in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution: what had been the world's second-greatest industrial and military power is today a devastated wreck.

The phenomenon exemplified by *China's Road* is reminiscent of the "red-brown" coalition formed in Russia with the collapse of the Soviet Union, bringing together Stalinist has-beens with outright tsarists, fascists and the like whose opposition to the Yeltsin regime and "Western imperialism" was centered on agitation for a strong, Russian-dominated imperial state. These chauvinists were virulently hostile to the multinational proletariat of the former Soviet Union. The "red-brown" coalition was the product of the Russian nationalism dominant in the Stalinist bureaucracy, which in its final years split between pro-Western "democrats" and chauvinist patriots who each in their own way contributed to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Young Spartacus

Berkeley anti-ROTC protest, April 21: Trotskyists fight for defense of 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Likewise, the ideology of aspiring Chinese imperialism (though in fact utopian) is today poison to the forging of class unity with the North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states, and with the workers of capitalist Asia. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

> "It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to a socialist future. Above all, China's workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist Party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!" ■

Teamster

Teamsters president Hoffa (left) pushes protectionist, anti-Communist China-bashing at April 2000 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

about possible informants for the Feds. Among those targeted in the FBI investigation were James Carlini, head of Homicide; John DeBenedetto, head of the Central Division where Faulkner worked; and Inspector Alphonzo Giordano, who was the senior cop at the scene of Faulkner's shooting. These three constituted the chain of command for the investigation of Faulkner's killing.

Several informants or witnesses in the FBI's investigation were murdered. A witness who testified against DeBenedetto was murdered in 1983. A reported suspect in the killing was a former cop and Giordano associate. During a federal corruption investigation of the "Five Squad" narcotics cops in the early '80s, a prosecutor alleged that Philly cops had plotted to kill a witness. Another witness in that case testified that he'd been told that a "Five Squad" cop who had cooperated with the FBI was killed in his home.

In his affidavit, Beverly testifies that he saw police officers in the area where Faulkner was shot: "Two undercover policemen were standing on the west side of 13th St., north of Locust. Also a uniformed police officer was sitting in a car in the corner of the parking lot. They were there while the shooting of Faulkner took place. I was not worried about the police being there since I believed that since I was hired by the mob to shoot and kill Faulkner, any police officers on the scene would be there to help me."

Dan Williams' Book: A Brief for the Prosecution

Jamal's new legal team of Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman and British barrister Nicholas Brown was assembled after Jamal dismissed former lead counsel Len Weinglass and assistant counsel Dan Williams. With the clock ticking on his life, Jamal was forced to fire his longtime attorneys after Williams authored a book purporting to be an "inside account" of his case. Jamal's petition to dismiss Williams and Weinglass correctly indicts the book as "a breach of client loyalty." In its statement supporting Jamal in this action, the PDC wrote: "Even within the loose 'ethics' of the legal profession, publication of such a book by an attorney involved in an active case, much less one in which the client's life hangs in the balance, is an abomination" (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Forced to Fire Attorneys," *WV* No. 754, 16 March).

A measure of where Williams is coming from can be gleaned from the simple fact that, in his book, Williams acknowledges one Gerald Nicosia as "someone with whom I have spent many hours reflecting upon the case." When Williams was fired, this same Nicosia—who has been working on his own book asserting that Jamal killed Faulkner—called a press conference featuring: Joseph McGill, the prosecutor at Jamal's original trial; Hugh Burns, the lead prosecutor in the 1995 Post-Conviction Relief Appeal hearing; Burns' assistant, Charles "Joey" Grant; and Maureen Faulkner.

Appropriately titled *Executing Justice*, Williams' book tries to pre-emptively kill the evidence of Jamal's innocence presented in the new affidavits. Both Williams and Weinglass were well aware of this evidence some time ago. Beverly's affidavit was sworn in 1999 before Rachel Wolkenstein, who is PDC staff counsel and was then part of Jamal's legal team. When Williams and Weinglass refused to present it in evidence, Wolkenstein and Jon Piper, another attorney on the case associated with the PDC, refused to be part of this unconscionable suppression of evidence of Jamal's innocence and resigned from the legal team.

An article in the Philly *Daily News* (5 May), whose front-page headline read "Abu-Jamal's Attorneys Drop a Bombshell," reports: "Abu-Jamal's former attorney, Daniel Williams, said that the [Beverly] document had been in the legal team's files but that he and attorney Leonard Weinglass had decided not to use it. He declined to say why, and Weinglass said he would have no comment." Why, indeed? It is a cardinal rule for any real defense lawyer to use all available means to demonstrate the client's innocence. Here was a signed affidavit from a man confessing to having shot Faulkner. Yet Weinglass and Williams refused to use it!

In his book, Williams makes it clear that to him, maintaining the sanctity of the bourgeois "justice" system stood above presenting evidence proving Jamal's innocence. In a chapter of his book titled "Fighting Ideology," he deprecates any evidence that goes against the grain of his own belief in the ultimate fairness of the capitalist courts, claiming that such evidence could only be the product of deranged conspiracy theories driven by the "ideological zeal" of the PDC. Williams' denunciation of the Beverly testimony is, not surprisingly, now being used by the Philly D.A.'s office, whose spokesman declaimed, "Even his defense team thought it was crazy, and we agree" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 8 May).

Williams trashes not only Beverly's testimony but that of William Singletary, who witnessed Faulkner's killing and testified at Jamal's 1995 appeal hearing. Singletary said that Jamal was innocent and that the shooter was a black man in a green army coat who fled the site. Williams' central premise is that the cops never could or would knowingly frame up an innocent man:

> "I was sensitive to the possibility that Mumia's sympathies with MOVE might have prompted law enforcement to jump to a conclusion about Mumia's guilt. I even believed that law enforcement was willing to fabricate evidence to help in the effort to convict a man they ***believed to be guilty***. Rachel and Jon held more extreme views; they were convinced—actually, to them, it was sacrilegious to believe otherwise—that law enforcement knew Mumia was innocent, knew that the shooter fled the scene, and relished that a conviction and death sentence would be a terrific coup in the city's war against MOVE."

Even if one only considers the cases documented by the Feds, it is simply empirically evident that the Philly cops knowingly frame up innocent people. Hundreds of convictions based on concocted evidence, coerced confessions, police torture, and manipulation of prostitutes to serve as "witnesses" have been thrown out just in the last several years. Among the more notorious of these was the case of a 53-year-old black grandmother, Betty Patterson, whom the cops set up on charges of drug dealing in order to manufacture evidence against her sons in a murder investigation.

The whole history of this country is littered with frame-ups of those who have struggled to defend their unions, to fight capitalist injustice or to in any way challenge the rule of capital. In this country, the rule of capital and the brutal exploitation of labor are premised on the enforced subjugation of the overwhelming majority of the black population at the bottom. The rulers put their machinery of state repression in high gear particularly if they sense any potential evidence of the explosive combination of black and red.

This was captured in the words of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover in the 1960s: "The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This warning was brought home in blood in the murder of 38 members of the Black Panther Party under the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). Those they couldn't kill they tried to frame up. As we wrote in "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files" (*WV* No. 624, 2 June 1995):

> "Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit—because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression."

Mumia's role as an articulate young spokesman for the Panthers put him squarely in the sights of the Philly cops and the FBI. The FBI amassed over 800 pages on Jamal in its COINTELPRO files. Jamal was put on the FBI's Security Index of those deemed a "threat" to "national security" and on the Administrative Index of those to be rounded up and thrown into concentration camps in case of a "national emergency."

And such cop frame-ups are hardly confined to Philadelphia, or the United States. British barrister Nicholas Brown, who is on Jamal's new legal team, earlier served as an assistant to the lawyers for the Birmingham Six, victims of a British police vendetta against the Irish Republican Army. Rounded up in 1974 for two Birmingham pub bombings, they were beaten, tortured and put behind bars for 16 years. When the government finally acknowledged their innocence and freed them in 1991, one of the six said: "The police told us from the start that they knew we hadn't done it.... They told us that we were selected and they were going to frame us."

At the time of their conviction, the presiding judge dismissed evidence of torture and forced confessions, arguing that "to believe this...one would have to suppose the existence of a 'conspiracy...unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history' among the officers involved." Shortly before their release, a leading spokesman for the British establishment complained that the mass campaigns resulting in their freedom wouldn't have happened "if they'd been hanged" in the first place. This is the line today of the F.O.P. and others who seek the legal lynching of Jamal.

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

From the time the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal's case 14 years ago, we have sought to assist him

WV Photo

Trade unions representing millions of workers in South Africa and around the world have taken up Mumia's cause. Workers at June 1995 COSATU demonstration in Johannesburg hold up Jamal flyers.

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Hypocrisy: The Homage Vice Pays to Virtue

A statement in *Socialist Action* (March 2001) on a recent split led by longtime Socialist Action (SA) leader Nat Weinstein asserted that the Weinstein grouping had opposed SA's "major role in building the mass demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal that took place in Los Angeles last August at the time of the Democratic Party Convention." In "An Answer to *Socialist Action* Newspaper" (*Socialist Viewpoint*, May 2001), Weinstein's new outfit, the Socialist Workers Organization, wrote:

> "We opposed S.A. participating in the demonstration because it took place at the Democratic Party Convention and many, if not most, protesters sought to improve the program of this capitalist party and promote its good politicians and oppose its bad ones....
>
> "This would weaken the independent character of coalitions formed to defend Mumia and thus impede their ability to continue independent mobilizations, so necessary to an effective defense, after the election."

Oscar Wilde, who famously remarked that hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue, once wrote, "I can believe anything, provided that it is quite incredible." And incredible certainly captures the Weinstein reply, which would have us believe that until the notion sprang full-blown from the head of current SA leader Jeff Mackler, this dyed-in-the-wool reformist outfit would never have promoted illusions in the Democratic Party.

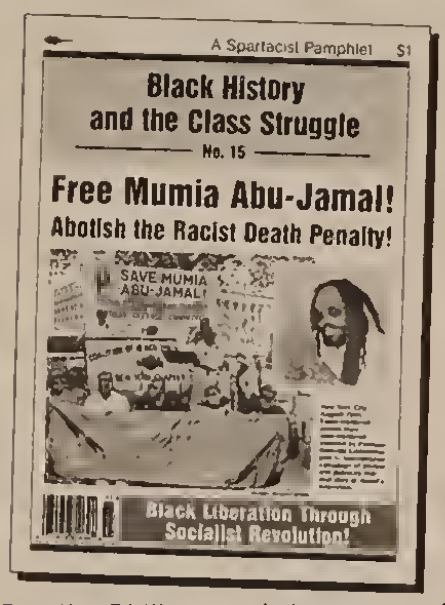
Weinstein might have balked at openly lobbying the Democratic Party convention, but this was merely a more overt expression of SA's politics throughout his tenure. Under Weinstein's leadership, SA's entire strategy since taking up Jamal's cause a few years ago has centered on appeals to liberal Democrats. SA was the chief organizer of the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" demonstration in San Francisco whose central slogan, the call for a new trial, was consciously crafted in pursuit of a bloc with Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson, SF mayor Willie Brown and Board of Supervisors president Tom Ammiano. SA had also heavily built a "Millions for Mumia" conference in Berkeley the month before the demonstration, where Oakland Democratic Party councilman Wilson Riles Jr. grotesquely called for life imprisonment without parole as an "alternative" to the death penalty. Neither SA nor any of the other assembled reformists raised a peep of protest against this capitalist politician, because their aim from the outset was to provide a platform for such Democrats.

Weinstein's outfit was also the central force behind a similar Jamal mobilization in San Francisco last May 13, where Ammiano proclaimed from the platform that Mumia is "a man who *may* be innocent," rightly drawing boos from the crowd. The appeal for a "new" or "fair" trial is designed precisely to appeal to bourgeois liberals who want a new trial for Jamal *not* to free him, but to try to restore the "integrity" of the capitalist justice system. As we explained in the call for our "Revolutionary Contingent" in that demonstration: "Behind the call for a 'new trial' is a reformist political program premised on the belief that the brutal racist capitalist state—whose sole purpose is to defend the 'right' of the capitalist ruling class to reap profits off the labor of working people—can be pressured and reformed to be 'just'" (*WV* No. 736, 19 May 2000).

In fact, Nat Weinstein cut his teeth as a reformist politician in the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the late 1960s and early '70s, when its hallmark was the building of a class-collaborationist "antiwar" movement aimed at subordinating protest against the Vietnam War to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The nadir of this treacherous policy was a 1971 conference of the SWP-dominated National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) which featured an appearance by Democratic Senator Vance Hartke. The Spartacist League demanded that Hartke be excluded. A 300-man goon squad ***led by Weinstein*** then savagely attacked our comrades and members of Progressive Labor after we shouted down that representative of U.S. imperialism.

The class-collaborationist NPAC that hosted a big-time Democratic politician has been Weinstein's model for success ever since. From the moment SA was formed in the early '80s—advertising itself as the best friends of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność—it offered its services to the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy (which was also then providing a conduit for CIA funds to Solidarność). Socialist Action's first public act was to organize a goon squad to assist the union tops in preventing militant picketers in San Francisco from stopping scab buses during a Greyhound strike in 1983.

Where Weinstein et al. promote illusions in the "justice" of the capitalist state and chain workers and anti-racist youth to the Democratic Party, we fight to mobilize labor's power to demand freedom for Mumia and all class-war prisoners as an integral part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the capitalist state through socialist revolution. That is the difference between reformism and Trotskyism, pure and simple.■



Details Philly cops' frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, $1. Order from/ pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

in pursuing every possible legal avenue. Rachel Wolkenstein and Jon Piper served on the legal team and fought, against the resistance of Weinglass and Williams, to follow up every lead that would further demonstrate Mumia's innocence. At the same time, as the PDC's statement of purpose printed on the back page of every issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* says: "We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the 'justice' of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain through organized violence and terror, the rule of one class over others."

We have organized united-front actions across the country which were infused with the understanding that the social power of labor must be mobilized in Jamal's defense, not only in the U.S. but internationally. We fought to get bigger forces to take up his case, bringing it to trade unions, death penalty abolitionists and others. And we were successful. We recognized that these other forces would seek to silence our revolutionary politics as they tried to keep the protests "safe" for Democratic Party liberals. Their politics are captured in the central slogan of Jamal demonstrations over the past few years—the call for a "new trial." Williams accurately describes the sensibilities behind this slogan in his book: "Mumia may very well be guilty, the agnostics argue, but who is to say? There has been no legitimately fair proceeding to adjudicate his guilt. His trial was a travesty, a besmirchment and stain on 'American justice'."

Such liberal politics are also peddled by various self-proclaimed "Marxist" organizations and black nationalists who have organized Mumia mobilizations over the past several years. This is typified by Socialist Action, whose leader, Jeff Mackler, alibis Williams' dismissal of Beverly's testimony as some kind of deranged conspiracy theory. In an article titled "The Tragic Evolution of Dan Williams & Gerald Nicosia" (*Socialist Action*, April 2001), Mackler writes:

> "The reference to mobsters killing Faulkner is also to be found in Williams' book, his 'Inside Account.' According to Williams, this refers to a discussion among Mumia's four attorneys, wherein one raised 'mobsters' as a possible avenue to pursue. But the defense team and Mumia rejected it.
>
> "Aside from this reference, there has not been a single occasion where this notion was raised, either publicly or during the course of Mumia's trial proceedings by any attorney—or for that matter by anyone associated with Mumia's defense. The attorney who Williams attributes the remark to was dismissed from the case more than a year ago."

For Mackler, Williams' great crime was that "he was apparently unprepared to remain a disciplined member of Mumia's legal team and serve his client in pursuing a line of argument that provided concrete evidence that Mumia was denied his constitutional right to self-representation." We, too, believe that Mumia was denied his right to represent himself. But for Mackler the emphasis is on pursuing *only* those angles which violate the Constitution—the bourgeoisie's codification of what rights should be accorded the population. By his lights, any evidence which points to the true nature of the capitalist state, its cops and courts is out of bounds.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

With the Republicans now occupying the White House, the organizers of the upcoming May 12 Mumia demonstrations now occasionally raise the call to "free Mumia." To be sure, it would look more than absurd to call on people to pressure Bush attorney general John Ashcroft, an open sympathizer of the Confederate slavocracy, for "justice for Mumia." But it never stopped these reformists from arguing that Mumia could get a fair shake from Clinton's attorney general, Janet Reno, who ordered the attack on the integrated Branch Davidians religious sect near Waco, Texas in 1993. In any case, even their call to "free Mumia" is defined by the goal posts set by capitalist "law and order," as they argue that the state should set Mumia free because it violated its own Constitution in not allowing him to represent himself. In this, they serve to demobilize workers, youth and others who want to fight for Jamal's freedom. Why take to the streets if it's simply a matter to be settled in the bourgeois courts?

From Mexico City to Johannesburg, workers who daily experience grinding exploitation and brutality have taken to the streets in support of Jamal because they see in his struggle their own. As the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League argue in the call for a Revolutionary Contingent in the May 12 Mumia demonstration in San Francisco: "Workers unions are the only significant force for integration in racist America. Unlike students, the working class in trade unions has the social power to bring this system based on exploitation and racial oppression to its knees and to shake the foundations of decaying world imperialism. But the working class must be mobilized *independently of the capitalist state* which has worked for years to frame up Jamal."

In his book *Lessons of October*, Leon Trotsky, leader together with V.I. Lenin of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution, pointed to the role of the reformists in "the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." That is the role played by the reformist organizers of the May 12 protests, whose appeals to the state for "justice" simply try to mask the true face of bourgeois democracy, which represents nothing other than the dictatorship of the capitalist class. In contrast, in our class-struggle defense work we seek to *raise* political consciousness regarding the nature of the capitalist state as the machinery for organized violence against the working class and oppressed. At the pinnacle of that machinery of repression in the U.S. is the death penalty, rooted in the legacy of chattel slavery. We oppose the death penalty for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is vivid testimony to this fundamental Marxist understanding. We fight to make the working class conscious that if it does not fight against racial oppression enforced through brutal state repression, so starkly demonstrated in Jamal's case, it will never break the chains of its own exploitation. Our purpose is building, training and steeling the working-class vanguard party needed to smash the rule of capital and turn the wealth of this country over to those who labor to produce it. *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*■

Mumia Abu-Jamal Demonstration

Join the Revolutionary Contingent on May 12th!

March with the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and the Labor Black League for Social Defense under the following demands:

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

Meet at 10:30 a.m. at Dolores Park (corner of 19th St. and Dolores)
For more information call: (415) 395-9520 or (510) B39-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS VANGUARD

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

Free Mumia Now!

WV Photo

On May 4, new attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, dropped a legal bombshell with new papers filed in the federal court where Mumia's appeal is pending. Among these papers is a *sworn confession* by a man named Arnold Beverly, who states: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.... I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene."

At about 3:55 a.m. on 9 December 1981 near the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia, Faulkner had stopped a VW driven by Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, which was carrying another passenger. In a sworn statement submitted on May 4, Jamal testifies that while filling out his log sheet in the cab he was driving at the time, he heard shouting and "recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream. As I came across the street I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand, saw a flash and went down to my knees."

In his own affidavit, Jamal's brother testifies that when he saw Mumia running to the scene, "he had nothing in his hands. I heard a shot and I saw him stumble.... Mumia was not holding a gun. Mumia never intervened in anything between me and the cop. I had nothing to do with the shooting or killing of the police officer. My brother Mumia Abu-Jamal, had nothing to do with shooting or killing the policeman."

As one of Jamal's new attorneys, Eliot Grossman, said at a press conference following the filing of the affidavits, "Mumia Abu-Jamal was in the wrong

Young Spartacus

Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 2000 Jamal rally in San Francisco. Mass labor-centered protest is needed in fight to free Mumia.

place at the wrong time when a hit was in progress on a police officer who was causing problems interfering with police corruption." But for the Philly cops, Jamal was in the right place at the right time. They had been gunning for him since he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in 1969. His later defense of and support for the MOVE organization against brutal police terror, which included a 600-man police siege of its Powelton Village house in 1978, only whetted the cops' appetite to get him. As we wrote in our article "Philly Cops' Reign of Terror" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15):

> "History is not a conspiracy, but there are conspiracies in history. We are not saying that the cops who were at the scene of 13th and Locust Streets the night of 9 December 1981 knew Jamal was going to be there. But they were there and had the chance they had long awaited to catch Mumia in their racist frame-up machine. This was the culmination of a political vendetta, extending back more than a decade, against a man whose impassioned defense of the victims of Philly cop brutality had earned him a special animus among these thugs in blue and their masters in the city and federal government."

The State's Frame-Up Machine

Mumia's innocence has been evident from the outset. In the 1995 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, we demonstrated that the prosecution's case against Mumia at his original trial was manifestly false. That case rested on three legs: "eyewitness" accounts that were secured through police manipulation, coercion and outright terror; a purported "confession" by Jamal while he was lying near death in the hospital, which didn't surface until *two months* after the killing; ballistics evidence supposedly showing that the bullets that killed Faulkner were fired from Jamal's gun.

In fact, five different witnesses from five different vantage points told the cops on site that they had seen another man flee the scene of the shooting. Four witnesses—including two cops—described a man wearing a green army jacket. Beverly testifies that he was wearing such a jacket the night he shot Faulkner.

In fact, the police officer who was assigned to guard Jamal in the hospital the night of the killing wrote in his official report, "During this time, the negro male made no comments." Jamal's recent affidavit concludes emphatically, "Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to. I never said I shot the policeman. I did not shoot the policeman. I never said I hoped he died. I would never say anything like that."

In fact, there has never been any evidence that Jamal's gun was even fired that night, as the cops did not report performing any one of the standard tests (like smelling the barrel for the odor of burnt gunpowder or testing Jamal's hands for gunshot residue). The police crime lab reported that the rifling of the bullet that allegedly killed Faulkner was "consistent" with Jamal's .38 calibre pistol. Yet there are millions of guns in the U.S. with that same rifling pattern.

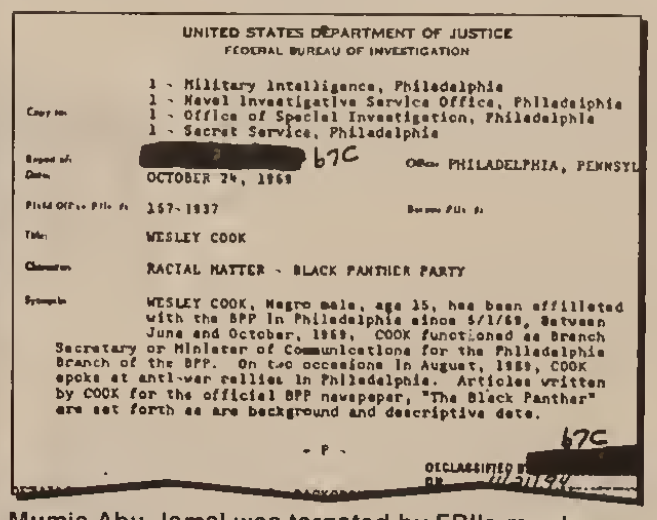
With their frame-up of Jamal now completely blown to bits, the Philly prosecutors' office, cops and others who have been screaming for Jamal's death are now denouncing Beverly's affidavit as a "complete fabrication." An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (5 May) titled "Abu-Jamal Lawyers: Killing Was Mob Hit" quotes a spokesman for the District Attorney's office declaring that Beverly's sworn confession to a crime punishable by death is "patently ridiculous on its face." He is echoed by one Michael Smerconish, attorney for an organization set up by Faulkner's widow, Maureen, who is a front for the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) campaign to push for Jamal's execution as an alleged "cop killer." Smerconish sneers, "The only thing they have yet to claim is that the shooter was seen on the grassy knoll and is hiding in Roswell, New Mexico."

It is hardly far-fetched to believe that the cops would hire a hit man to get rid of one of their own, particularly if he were believed to be an informant. Just watch the movie *Serpico*, based on a true story, if you want a small taste of what the cops do to those who snitch on their shakedowns, payoffs and frame-ups. And the Philadelphia cops are notorious for corruption and frame-ups.

At the time that Faulkner was killed in December 1981, the FBI was engaged in at least three investigations of police corruption involving extortion and bribery in connection with prostitution, after-hours clubs, gambling and the Mafia in the Center City district that Faulkner patrolled. An affidavit by a source for the FBI at the time, Donald Hersing, which was also submitted by Jamal's new legal team, testifies that the cops were very concerned

continued on page 10

James/Philadelphia Inquirer



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia
1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia

[redacted] b7C
OCTOBER 24, 1969

Office: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYL

157-1037

WESLEY COOK

RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

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Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted by FBI's murderous COINTELPRO operation from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman, then named Wesley Cook, for Philadelphia Black Panther Party in 1969.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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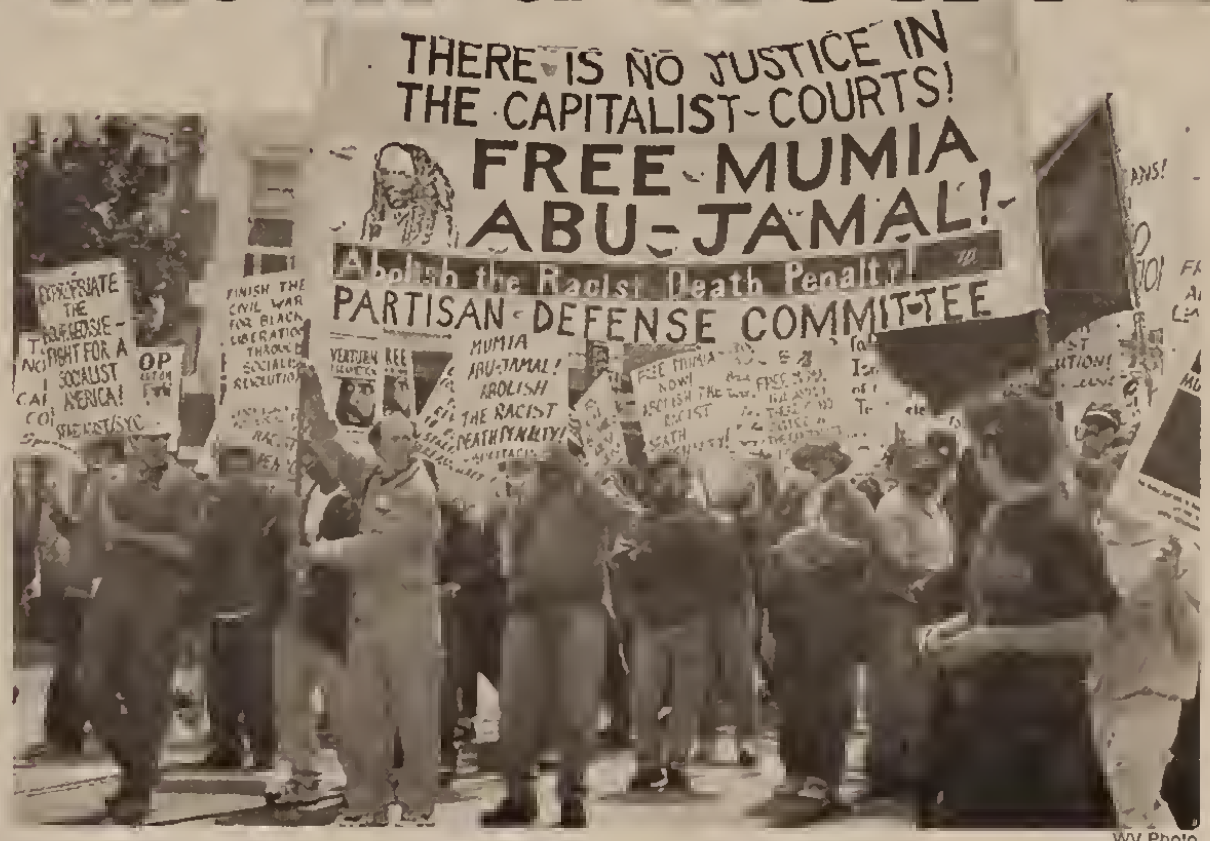
No. 759 X-623 25 May 2001

The Fight Is On

Mobilize to Free Mumia Now!

Saul/Philadelphia Inquirer



WV Photo

At May 12 Jamal rally in San Francisco, Revolutionary Contingent fought for mobilization of labor/black power in counterposition to reformists' reliance in capitalist "justice" system.

The explosive new evidence introduced by new attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal on May 4 confirms beyond the shadow of a doubt what has been clear from the time he was arrested on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in December 1981: *Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man*. The new legal papers include affidavits attesting to Jamal's innocence not only by him and his brother Billy Cook, who was at the scene of the killing, but also a *sworn confession* by the man who actually shot Faulkner. In a signed statement, Arnold Beverly testifies that he was "hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner" because Faulkner had reportedly been "a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen." The statement continues: "Faulkner was shot in the back and then in the face before Jamal came on the scene. Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting."

In his own affidavit, Jamal states: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent." Jamal testifies that while filling out his log sheet in the cab he drove at the time, he heard shouting and "recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream. As I came across the street I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand, saw a flash and went down to my knees. I closed my eyes and sat still trying to breath. The next thing I remember I felt myself being kicked, hit and being brought out of a stupor. When I opened my eyes, I saw cops all around me. They were hollering and cursing, grabbing and pulling on me."

This blows to bits the frame-up that railroaded Mumia Abu-Jamal to Pennsylvania's death row 19 years ago. And it is for this reason that the evidence submitted by Jamal's new legal team has been subjected to a total blackout by the capitalist media outside Philadelphia. Their wall of silence is aimed at furthering the drive by the capitalist state to silence forever this former Black Panther Party spokesman, MOVE supporter and eloquent journalist who is known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing indictments of racist capitalist "justice."

For the same reason, this dramatic new evidence should serve as a clarion call for redoubled effort by the many working people, black people, anti-racist youth and opponents of the barbaric death penalty who have rallied to Mumia's cause in this country and around the world. Addressing a May 12 rally in Philadelphia, Jamal's new lead counsel, Marlene Kamish, told protesters that the new papers "should elevate your spirits and should give you courage and enthusiasm and optimism.... We don't want to hear a thing about keeping Mumia another day in that prison. We don't want to hear a thing about it! We want him out! We want him out now! We want him free!"

Jamal's conviction was based on lying, extorted testimony without a shred of physical evidence. The prosecutor got the death sentence for Jamal because of his radical political beliefs as a Black Panther. The drive to execute him throws into stark relief the whole nature of racist American capitalism. It is the extension of the COINTELPRO terror campaign by the FBI under which dozens of Black Panthers were assassinated at the hands of the state. It is a demonstration of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few, which in America is rooted in the forcible subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society.

Reveling in the fabulous increase in their profits secured through the increasing exploitation of labor and the brutal impoverishment of the poor, the rulers continually enact new laws to punish those who would fight back. In a message from death row some years ago, Mumia himself eloquently noted:

> "The extension of the death penalty to dozens of new crimes is not a reflection of a secure state, but a state swimming in *in*security, a system that is unsure of itself. As they scuttle the Constitution and create judges fit for a star chamber, they loosen the very ground on which they stand, quickening their fall. This government, which bombed babies in Philadelphia *and* in Baghdad, which mows down babies in Somalia, is sowing the seeds of their own destruction. It is a time, not for confusion, but for opportunity, to transform what *is* into what must be."

What must be is a massive struggle centered on the social power of the multiracial working class to fight for Jamal's freedom! Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty would be a first, giant step in that direction. To that end, labor must break the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class. This is the class-struggle perspective that the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have fought for since we first took up Jamal's defense some 14 years ago.

This was certainly not the message coming from the reformist organizers of the Philadelphia rally and another the same day in San Francisco. Far from seeking to bring in fresh forces from among workers and ghetto and barrio residents who know well from their own experience the frame-up methods of the cops, the reformists have been squirming to avoid or downplay the new evidence, effectively acting to abet the blackout by the bourgeois media. Speakers from the Workers World Party (WWP) and its International Action Center (IAC), the main organizers of the Philly protest, did

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The French Left and the Popular Front

Workers Struggles, Ghetto Upheavals in France

See Page Four

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Plantation Justice

Racist Suppression of *The Wind Done Gone*

New Line Cinema

Corbis-Bettmann

Movie still from *Gone With the Wind*, racist trash glorifying brutal slave system. Right: 1863 photo of slave scarred from whipping.

In a blatant act of racist censorship, Atlanta Federal District Court judge Charles A. Pannell last month blocked the publication of black writer Alice Randall's book *The Wind Done Gone*, granting an injunction sought by the estate of Margaret Mitchell, author of *Gone With the Wind*. Pannell ruled that Randall's book was an unauthorized sequel that "infringes on the copyright owner's right to create and control derivative works."

The real reason *The Wind Done Gone* has been suppressed is because it rips into the glorification of the brutal slave system and the demeaning portrayal of black people that is *Gone With the Wind*, a thousand pages of racist trash that mourns the "tragic" destruction of the "Southern way of life" by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Pannell's affections clearly lie with the slavemasters on the Tara plantation, as this Clinton appointee expresses concern for "what becomes of Mrs. Mitchell's beloved characters, and their romantic but tragic world." The legal premises for this censorship are so bogus that even a *New York Times* (1 May) editorial titled "Gone With the First Amendment" objected that "the right to produce comic parodies of prior works is well established in law."

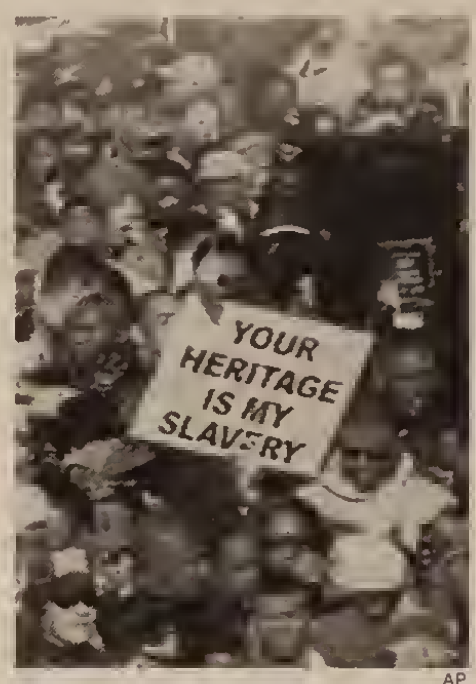
Ridiculing the charge that she had written a "sequel," Randall explains in a column in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (8 May) that a sequel would have maintained "the theme that slavery and the Confederacy were benign institutions" and would better have been titled *Uncle Tom Goes to Tara*. She states, "I wrote with the hope of creating an antidote to a poisonous text." Her book retells life on the plantation from the standpoint of the slaves. It also contains interracial sex and homosexuality, which the Mitchell estate has banned in any "authorized sequel." Randall's main character, a black slave named Cynara Brown, is the daughter of the plantation master and thus half-sister to Mitchell's heroine Scarlett O'Hara.

Judges are politicians in black robes, and their decisions reflect the political climate of the time. Pannell's ruling comes amid a blitz of university campuses by Republican strategist and racist ideologue David Horowitz, who decries calls for reparations for slavery and pushes the sickening lie that black people *actually benefited* from being enslaved (see "SYC Leads Anti-Horowitz Protest," *WV* No. 755, 30 March). The ruling comes on the heels of a huge racist mobilization in Mississippi that defeated a ballot referendum to remove the Confederate battle flag from the state emblem. But there has also been a wave of protest *against* the flag of slavery and KKK terror, highlighted by the January 2000 march of some 50,000 people, including trade-union contingents, in Columbia, South Carolina to demand the Confederate banner's removal from the State House. While the Democrats hustled votes by cynically echoing calls to remove the flag, George W. Bush, then campaigning for the Republican presidential nomination, openly sided with the racists.

Once installed in the White House, Bush assembled one of the most right-wing administrations in years. Attorney General John Ashcroft is an open admirer of the Confederacy. In a 1998 interview in *Southern Partisan*, he praised the magazine for its "heritage" of "defending Southern patriots like [Robert E.] Lee, [Stonewall] Jackson and [Confederate president Jefferson] Davis" and proclaimed: "We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect, or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda." Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton openly expressed regret over the slaveholders' defeat in the Civil War during a visit to a Confederate cemetery before her appointment: "We lost too much. We lost the idea that the states were to stand against the federal government gaining too much power over our lives."

What was "lost" in the Civil War was the system of black chattel slavery, which was *the* issue, as every Confederate leader proclaimed at the time. Norton's grotesque falsification of history in the service of racist reaction is taken straight from the mouths of the defeated slaveholders. As historian James McPherson noted in the *New York Review of Books* (12 April), the myth that the war was fought over "states' rights" arose as part of "the Lost Cause view of the origins of the Civil War," which glorified it as "a war of Northern aggression against Southern constitutional rights" and "entered the mainstream of historical writing in the first half of the twentieth century." It was under the banner of the "Lost Cause" that the Ku Klux Klan, led by former Confederate officers, perpetrated terror with the aim of smashing the democratic rights won by the black freedmen under Reconstruction. For much of the next century, the Democratic Party, the party of slavery, ruled the Jim Crow South with an iron fist of racist sheriffs and White Citizens Councils supplemented by murderous KKK terror.

As protesters in South Carolina declared last year, "Your heritage is my slavery." And it is that heritage that is celebrated by *Gone With the Wind*. Mitchell's book, a paean to the "Lost Cause," became an American icon because it perpetrates the racist ideology of segregation, that black people belong at the bottom of American society. It was published in 1936 (and made into a movie three years later), during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose "New Deal" coalition encompassed everything from black and Communist union organizers to Southern sheriffs and Klansmen. A 1936 review of *Gone With the Wind* in the *New York Times* lauded the book for conveying "a sense of the tragedy that overcame the planting families in 1865."



AP

50,000 marched in Columbia, South Carolina against flag of slavery and KKK terror, January 2000.

McPherson points out that only since the 1950s have most historians written that slavery was, indeed, the cause of the Civil War. This was an outgrowth of the massive civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s, which profoundly shook American society and resulted in the dismantling of legal segregation in the South. Hard on the heels of these struggles came the growing opposition to the losing, dirty U.S. colonial war in Vietnam. These overlapping mass movements and a growing radicalization especially among sections of youth, both white and black, led to a kind of hubble in the racist norm of American society, and a nervous ruling class felt compelled to grant some reforms. Notably, in its editorial on *The Wind Done Gone*, the *Times* cites a Supreme Court ruling 30 years ago which established "the constitutional doctrine

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Class Society and Capitalist Greed

TROTSKY

LENIN

Combatting the AIDS epidemic that is particularly ravaging the world's poor, especially in Africa, would be the highest priority under a socialist economic system of planned and rational production for human needs. But under the irrational capitalist profit system, millions are consigned to death because they are deemed "expendable" by the exploiters. Writing in 1884, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's comrade-in-arms, explained the evolution of the division of society into antagonistic classes—slaves and slaveowners, serfs and feudal lords, and finally workers and bourgeoisie. To break the fetters on social progress imposed by class exploitation requires the overthrow of the capitalist system internationally through socialist revolution.

With slavery, which attained its fullest development under civilization, came the first great cleavage of society into an exploiting and an exploited class....

From its first day to this, sheer greed was the driving spirit of civilization; wealth and again wealth and once more wealth, wealth, not of society, but of the single scurvy individual—here was its one and final aim. If at the same time the progressive development of science and a repeated flowering of supreme art dropped into its lap, it was only because without them modern wealth could not have completely realized its achievements.

Since civilization is founded on the exploitation of one class by another class, its whole development proceeds in a constant contradiction. Every step forward in production is at the same time a step backwards in the position of the oppressed class, that is, of the great majority. Whatever benefits some necessarily injures the others; every fresh emancipation of one class is necessarily a new oppression for another class. The most striking proof of this is provided by the introduction of machinery, the effects of which are now known to the whole world. And if among the barbarians, as we saw, the distinction between rights and duties could hardly be drawn, civilization makes the difference and antagonism between them clear even to the dullest intelligence by giving one class practically all the rights and the other class practically all the duties.

But that should not be: what is good for the ruling class must also be good for the whole of society, with which the ruling class identifies itself. Therefore the more civilization advances, the more it is compelled to cover the evils it necessarily creates with the cloak of love and charity, to palliate them or to deny them—in short, to introduce a conventional hypocrisy which was unknown to earlier forms of society and even to the first stages of civilization, and which culminates in the pronouncement: the exploitation of the oppressed class is carried on by the exploiting class simply and solely in the interests of the exploited class itself; and if the exploited class cannot see it and even grows rebellious, that is the basest ingratitude to its benefactors, the exploiters.

—Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*
(International Publishers, 1942)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is May 22.

No. 759 **25 May 2001**

Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

Labor, Latinos and the L.A. Elections

LOS ANGELES, May 21—As the June 5 mayoral election draws near, Democratic candidate Antonio Villaraigosa looks likely to become the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles since 1872. That a Latino liberal who boasts of his credentials as a labor organizer could well be the next mayor of this historic bastion of anti-immigrant racism and "open shop" union-busting points to the dramatic changes that have taken place in Los Angeles over the last 20 years. Last year, L.A. became known as "Striketown USA" as the city was gripped by widely popular strikes by janitors in the spring and transit workers in the fall. Propelled by an influx of combative immigrant workers from Mexico and Central America, L.A. has seen a series of labor battles in recent years, including one of the largest single organizing victories in the past several decades, as some 70,000 home health care workers were brought into the Service Employees (SEIU) in 1999.

Many of these workers are now being organized to ensure Villaraigosa's election. One of his biggest backers is the L.A. County Federation of Labor under Miguel Contreras, which represents 800,000 unionists. The federation mobilized 2,000 workers and shelled out $1 million in union funds for Villaraigosa for the April primary vote. Rallying cooks, dishwashers and maids to canvass Latino neighborhoods for Villaraigosa, Contreras declared: "Every army has its special troops. That's why you're here today." Contreras enthuses that Villaraigosa will be "the first union mayor in the history of Los Angeles," and such sentiments are heard among many Latino workers.

In supporting Villaraigosa, the labor tops are pushing the same old shell game of Democratic Party "lesser evilism" that chains the working class and minorities to this party of the capitalist class enemy. A *Wall Street Journal* (16 April) column by Joel Kotkin ranted that Villaraigosa is a "left-wing Democrat" whose election would mark a return to "socialistic policies" that a decade ago left American cities "looking like Soviet-bloc relics." But more far-sighted sections of the L.A. ruling class, including some Republicans, are supporting Villaraigosa as the "right candidate for the times." Republican mayor Richard Riordan—elected in 1993 on a platform of racist "law and order" and union-busting privatization—has come out for him, as has Democratic governor Gray Davis, whose scabherding "back to work" order during last year's L.A. transit walkout was thrown back in his face by the union membership.

Yet another Villaraigosa backer, to the tune of $100,000, is Ron Burkle, former owner of Ralph's supermarkets, notorious for using non-union janitorial companies employing recent immigrants who were paid less than minimum wage and cheated on overtime. Referring to Burkle, billionaire businessman Eli Broad and others, the *New York Times* (21 March) wrote of "a group of wealthy Westsiders...who are supporting Mr. Villaraigosa as the right candidate for the times, in much the way Manhattan elites supported David N. Dinkins's successful effort to become New York City's first black mayor more than a decade ago."

As he proceeded to slash the municipal payroll while putting more cops on ghetto streets, the liberal Dinkins assured his Wall Street backers that the city's black and working people "will take it from me." Riordan states that Villaraigosa "will unite business and labor, Democrats and Republicans, neighborhoods and downtown in a common effort to keep our city moving forward."

In the wake of the 1965 Watts upheaval, the city rulers brought in former cop Tom Bradley as L.A.'s first black mayor in 1973. By the time South Central exploded in 1992 following the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, it was not only black people who took to the streets in outrage but desperately poor young immigrants from Mexico and Central America. In the 25 years following the Watts rebellion, the city's population went from 85 percent white to 37 percent white, plummeting even more after 1992. The black population has also declined, by over 50,000 in the last ten years alone, as those with any means have moved to areas like Lancaster, Riverside and Las Vegas. Asians, while making up only 4 percent of the city's electorate, now outnumber the black population in the metropolitan area. Latinos now make up 46 percent of the city's population and 70 percent of public school enrollment. Though many of these are non-citizens, the Latino share of the electorate has nonetheless climbed from 8 percent to 20 percent just in the last eight years.

AP

Skaff/Daily Breeze

Republican incumbent Riordan endorses Democrat Villaraigosa, as L.A. rulers look to Latino "labor" candidate to preside over racist cop terror, keep lid on working people and minorities.

Increasing sections of L.A.'s ruling elite see the "friend of labor" Villaraigosa as the best candidate for putting a lid on growing labor militancy and refurbishing the image of the notoriously racist LAPD, which is now under federal "oversight" after being rocked by the Rampart scandal and other exposures of systematic frame-up, corruption and outright murder. The day after the primary, the *Los Angeles Times* (12 April) editorialized that Villaraigosa must "persuade nervous business investors that he won't drive up their costs with a relentless pro-union agenda." Villaraigosa has made that amply clear.

The labor tops' support to Villaraigosa is part of their program of class collaboration that hamstrings the labor movement. This can be seen in a strike against Hollander Home Fashions in Vernon by the UNITE textile and garment workers union. When the strike began on March 9, the 450 largely immigrant workers were able to stop scab "temporary workers" from crossing the picket lines. The Hollander bosses turned to the capitalist state to break the strike, securing a court injunction allowing only five pickets on the line. Beholden to the capitalist courts and politicians, the UNITE bureaucrats bowed to the injunction, defeating the central purpose of strike action—to stop production and the flow of profit. Meanwhile, Contreras & Co. have used the strike to campaign for Villaraigosa, inviting him to speak at the picket line. One picketer told *WV* that support from electricians, teachers and hotel workers was irregular because the Villaraigosa campaign took precedence. Strikers have even been withdrawn from the picket lines to campaign for this capitalist politician!

The Poison of Democratic Party Ethnic Politics

The L.A. election provides a stark example of how Democratic Party "ethnic politics" serve the racist "divide and rule" politics of the bourgeoisie. Villaraigosa's opponent is City Attorney James Hahn, a "moderate" white Democrat who finished ahead of Riordan protégé Steve Soboroff in the primary. Largely because of the reputation of his father, a liberal county supervisor for 40 years who was seen as sympathetic to black people, Hahn got 71 percent of the black vote in the primary, including among the heavily black SEIU city and county workers unions. His strongest supporters include black Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters and black county supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke.

Following the multiracial upheaval in 1992, the bourgeoisie—abetted by black and Latino nationalist demagogues—worked to pit the black and Latino poor against each other in a scramble over the crumbs from the "Rebuild L.A." project. Two years later, more than 50 percent of black voters in California supported Prop. 187, which sought to deny social services, health care and public education to undocumented immigrants. Hahn's campaign smacks of an attempt to rebuild the anti-immigrant coalition that pushed through that racist initiative.

Hahn calls for a thousand more cops to maraud the ghettos and barrios. He charges that his rival is "more likely to be sympathetic to the criminal." With barely veiled racism, his campaign spokesman explains that this is because Villaraigosa "comes from a different background." For his part, Villaraigosa today also came out for hiring 1,000 more cops, after declaring at a recent debate with Hahn: "I want to keep cops on the streets of Los Angeles and Jim Hahn wants to take them off." The LAPD is notorious for its brutal strikebreaking and murderous terror against black people and immigrants. Remember the bloody cop attack on Latino janitors marching for union recognition in Century City in 1990!

Wrapping himself in the American flag, Villaraigosa refers to his youth on the rough streets of East L.A. and boasts of being "a poster child for the American dream." But the reality for immigrants in L.A. is a nightmare of cop terror and desperate poverty. Villaraigosa's patriotic appeals cater not only to Anglo voters but also to politically conservative and largely petty-bourgeois layers of Mexican Americans whose forebears came to the U.S. in the first decades of the 20th century. Many of them are also hostile to undocumented and recent immigrants and supported the anti-immigrant Prop. 187 and the racist "English only" Prop. 227 eliminating bilingual education. Villaraigosa's campaign makes no mention of bilingual education, and his campaign workers even try to get rally participants to chant the popular farm workers' slogan "Sí, se puede!" (Yes, we can!) in English.

Nevertheless, a vile racist backlash has erupted against Villaraigosa. The L.A. *Daily News*, centered in the San Fernando Valley, recently ran a full-page ad headlined "Does Los Angeles Need a Mayor Who Reports to Mexico City?" which ranted that Villaraigosa's "union friends threaten Los Angeles." The ad was taken out by a sinister outfit called "Voices of Citizens Together/American Patrol.com," which organizes auxiliaries to *la Migra*, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), to terrorize immigrants crossing the border. These racist forces aim their sights at black people as well.

It is vital for Latino workers to understand that the color line has always been the central, strategic question in racist capitalist America and that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country. And black people must understand that immigrant-bashing and anti-black racism go hand in hand. Prop. 187, for example, was part of a

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AP

April 2000 strike by predominantly Latino janitors exemplified growing labor combativity in historically "open shop" L.A.

The French Left and the Popular Front

Workers Struggles, Ghetto Upheavals in France

Municipal elections in France in March saw a significant turn away from Socialist Party (PS) prime minister Lionel Jospin's coalition government, which includes Communist Party (PCF) transport minister Jean-Claude Gayssot and environment minister Dominique Voynet of the bourgeois Greens. The humiliating

LE BOLCHEVIK

defeat of the parties of the French popular front, coming after a series of electoral victories by social-democratic parties and popular-front coalitions in West Europe in recent years, points to widespread anger over the layoffs, austerity measures and racist cop terror these parties of the "left" have presided over. This was underlined in Italy last week. After five years of attacks on workers and immigrants by the Ulivo (Olive Tree) popular front—whose mainstay, the Party of the Democratic Left, is a successor to the defunct Italian Communist Party—a right-wing coalition headed by media magnate Silvio Berlusconi swept to victory in parliamentary elections.

The following article, written in the aftermath of the French elections, is translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 156 (Spring 2001), published by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.*

After four years in office running the capitalist state, the popular-front government of Jospin-Gayssot-Voynet has become increasingly unpopular. This government was installed after the powerful 1995 public sector strikes brought down the right-wing Juppé government. Like all popular fronts—governmental alliances between workers parties and capitalist parties which rule on behalf of capital—this one has done its job in attacking the interests of the workers and serving those of the capitalists and in shifting struggles from the factory to parliament. The presence of so-called "socialists" and former "communists" in the government serves only to disguise the vicious anti-worker policies of the Jospin popular front: the 35-hour week, which means insane hours with no overtime pay; capitalist austerity; plant closings and layoffs; attacks on unemployment benefits and pensions.

Keeping step with the shrinking economy is the expansion of the French police state. This acquires a particular racist aroma and coloration of segregation and repression of the youth in the *banlieus* [suburban ghettos], youth of immigrant descent for whom the French capitalist rulers currently have no use: No jobs means no profits can be extracted from this pool of cheap labor, which is now viewed as dangerous social surplus to be contained and repressed through massive police force. The Jospin government's new "security" campaign must be the only major hiring going on in France. A veritable army of 5,000 additional cops (assisted by youth finks/auxiliaries) is being put on the streets of the bleak and impoverished ghettos which ring every major French city and which have erupted in upheavals over the past year against systematic cop terror against "second generation" youth, mainly from the Maghreb [North Africa] and West Africa.

AFP

April 2000: Demonstrators in Lille denounce police killing of Ryad Hamlaoui, a youth of North African descent. Recent years have seen repeated ghetto eruptions over rampant cop terror, mass unemployment.

Orand/Gamma

Unemployment among these minority youth may be a staggering 90 percent, but the French state in its royal hypocrisy avoids publishing, under the pretext that it's "racist," statistics according to ethnicity (above all, they don't want the truth to be seen!). Other statistics tell the story: According to a 1999 report by the human rights organization MRAP, the number of youth incarcerated in French prisons has nearly doubled in the past decade, from under 100,000 in 1990 to 172,000 in 1998. If a society's youth represent its future, this statistic alone tells you that this system must go!

The French bourgeoisie and its government try to convince us that the French economy is basically healthy and chauvinistically argue that any problems are the result of foreign contagion, such as the closing of that British store, Marks & Spencer, or the "intrusion" of American pension plans into French business. This is done in order to amnesty and push forward unity with French bosses and capitalists. This is nationalist poison and a chauvinist illusion. The three biggest powers in the capitalist world are in trouble: Japan is in a deep economic crisis, the U.S. is in recession, and Germany is in trouble. Thousands of workers in these countries are suffering layoffs, particularly the industrial proletariat. Other links in the imperialist chain, like the second-rate power of France, cannot be exempted from the laws of capitalism. As Karl Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: "Modern industry has established the world market" and in its drive to expand its markets is repeatedly and inherently subjected to financial "crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society.... And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones."

In sum, the capitalists propose as *their* solution to *their* crisis to take it out of our hides, to increase the rate of exploitation. As we are not machines or beasts, they can only do this to the degree we fail to organize to resist their attacks. It comes down to a question of political consciousness: they seek to break the solidarity of the workers movement by playing one race or one nationality against another, the older worker against the young, the "citizens" against the "*sans-papiers*" [undocumented immigrants], and by the timeworn deception of the popular front, of deceiving workers with calls on labor misleaders and fake socialists to "represent the workers"...in a *capitalist government*! The Ligue Trotskyste de France opposes and has always opposed the popular front *as a matter of principle*: No to class collaboration! Our starting point is the fight to forge a genuine workers party, like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, to fight for a genuine workers government that expropriates the bourgeoisie and that leads to a classless, socialist egalitarian society.

An ominous aspect of capitalist economic crisis is that the boom/bust cycle has always been punctuated by bombs. It is through imperialist war that the rapacious rulers gain new markets for exploitation. As the U.S. spy plane provocation over China indicates, there is every threat that the next conflict could go nuclear, and it's not just the crazed anti-Communists in Washington trying to overthrow the Chinese deformed workers state. Let's not forget France's nuclear tests in the South Pacific and imperialist troops in the Balkans and its bloody history and appetites in the Near East, North Africa and elsewhere.

Capitalism Leads to Unemployment, Poverty, War

There is a lot of anger in the working class, and much of it is directed against the traditional leaders of the workers movement, the PS and the Socialist-dominated CFDT trade-union federation and the PCF and the allied CGT union federation. This message came across clearly in the March municipal elections, where the PCF suffered humiliating losses of long-held municipalities, and prominent government ministers in both the PS and PCF, from Guigou and Lang to Gayssot, lost their races for local posts. Working-class anger is hardly surprising given the PCF's betrayal of its base. When the CFDT at Michelin in Clermont-Ferrand tried to shove a company-sponsored "referendum" on the "35 hours" down their throats, former CFDT members set up a chapter of the rival SUD union federation. Last fall, the CGT leadership lined up with the Jospin government and tried to sabotage support for the militant and popular truckers protests against the price of fuel with the lie that this was "a bosses strike." At a CGT delegates meeting at the Mutualité, the union tops were met with boos and jeers

AP

January 2001: Mass labor protest in Paris against attack on pensions by popular-front government.

from the delegates for this. The PCF's support to the sham 35-hour Aubry law, which has increased "flexibility" (like elastic bands ready to snap!) for the benefit of the bosses, has workers leaving the PCF and CGT in droves. During the recent rail strike, at least one CGT chapter, in Lens, reportedly dissolved itself.

But recognizing the misleadership of the Communist Party and its utterly craven subservience to the Jospin government is only the very beginning of wisdom. There are a lot of other hustlers out there with slick left rhetoric to cover up the same kind of politics of *reforming* the capitalist state when what's needed is *socialist revolution*. No question better illuminates the problem than the urgent fight against unemployment in France today. Tens of thousands of workers have been thrown out of jobs in the last few months and the list grows daily: LU-Danone, Marks & Spencer and AOM get the most publicity, but there is telephone with Sagem, Alcatel, Philips, Ericsson; auto with Sylea, Valeo, Delphi; chemical with Aventis, as well as Bull and Moulinex-Brandt.

In *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (The Transitional Program), Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "*The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of *a sliding scale of working hours*. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility.... "If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

This revolutionary Marxist approach draws a clear line of proletarian class independence and charts a way for workers and the unemployed to fight together against the ruling class. In contrast, the miserable and misnamed French "far left" binds the oppressed to the oppressors in the unemployment crisis with ridiculous appeals to the capitalist state to "ban layoffs." If the capitalist state could ban layoffs, then capitalism must be a rational economy and not, as every Marxist knows, a system whose profit motive drives down wages and impoverishes the proletariat and leads to periodic crises of "overproduction," i.e., mass unemployment. In addition to their pipe dream of state bans against layoffs, the reformists seek to liquidate the power of the proletariat as a class—as the producers at the point of production in the capitalist economy—by diverting strike actions or factory occupations into appeals for impotent consumer boycotts. In the face of an economic downturn, bold actions like plant occupations can be more effective than economic strikes. But the reformists prefer not to do this because this is a challenge to bourgeois property rights.

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of Alain Krivine is the most

AFP

Riot cops attack youth at demonstration in Paris last fall demanding better schools.

enthusiastic in trying to replace strikers with consumer boycotters, arguing "What is the boycott, if not a strike of purchasing, which can have the same effect as a strike of production?" (*Rouge*, 12 April). Lutte Ouvrière (LO), while somewhat critical, in the end went along with the LCR, cynically arguing that a boycott "could, maybe, weigh on the decisions of the leadership of Danone, and influence its plans" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 6 April). Leaving aside for a moment that some Danone workers themselves are opposed to a consumer boycott because they fear it will lead to more plant closings or further layoffs, the central point is that society is not divided fundamentally between owners and consumers. It is the workers, who produce the wealth of this society, who have tremendous social power, but that power is being diverted and misled by charlatans from the PCF to LO and the LCR. It is a measure of the degeneration of the left that they don't even think in class terms anymore and push this nonsense of a "consumer boycott."

LO has long called for "banning layoffs in companies that make profits," and this demand figured prominently in their municipal election campaign. They argue that "it is not a question of finding a good way to manage the layoffs better, but of imposing their banning, starting in the enterprises that make profits" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 6 April). The LCR similarly proposes that "layoffs for profit-making must be legally forbidden by the labor code" (*Rouge*, 5 April). These parliamentary cretinists bring all the struggles of the workers back from the shop floor and the streets...to parliament. In this they are no different from the PCF, which calls for a "moratorium on layoffs" (i.e., ban them, but only temporarily!), or the PS, which calls to "make the decision to get rid of jobs more costly." (Right, we can imagine the boss saying, "This hurts me more than it hurts you.") All these proposals have in common the inviolability of the capitalist state and the belief that capitalism is a just and fair system that can be regulated. This is impossible and a *brutal lie*! The bourgeoisie keeps what Marx called "a reserve army of the unemployed" as a club to use against the workers movement; to maximize profits, the capitalist rulers will gouge the workers and buy labor as cheaply as possible.

Against the reformist props to the capitalist order, we demand: ***A sliding scale of wages and hours! Divide the work among all available workers with no loss in pay! Organize the unorganized! For union-run youth and minority training programs! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!***

Race, Class, Party and Trade Union

Faced with the sellouts by the trade-union tops and reformist parties, it is not surprising that there is a notable revival of syndicalist ideas in the labor movement. The railworkers (SNCF) strike showed the combativity of a young sector of the proletariat...and the bankruptcy of its leadership. One young worker told a *Le Bolchévik* salesman that he and others discussed whether they needed a party at all or just a new revolutionary union movement. These young workers—who courageously stopped freight traffic completely and were sabotaged by their own union tops who called on everyone to go back to work (CGT, CFDT) or prevented workers from setting up "illegal" picket lines (SUD, FGAAC)—understandably are looking for a way to fight. The option of bypassing the union, of finding some kind of fresh, uncorrupted organization, some kind of revolutionary trade union, is appealing to these young militants. It is not a new idea.

Reuters photos

Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin sent cops against striking truckers, November 1997.

This is a political period marked by the rollback of political consciousness with the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois triumphalism over the so-called "death of communism" (they won't be laughing so hard as their stock markets crash). It's not communism that failed, but Stalinism. The collapse of the Soviet Union was a world-historic defeat for the working class internationally. The International Communist League fought with every resource at its disposal to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution and to reimplant the ideals of genuine Bolshevism in the homeland of the October 1917 Revolution. In contrast, our fake-Trotskyist opponents in LO and the LCR pushed every Cold War anti-Soviet crusade from the Pope's anti-woman Solidarność "union" to Islamic reaction in Afghanistan to the counterrevolutions which transformed East Europe from deformed workers states to capitalist potholes and the final undoing of the October Revolution itself. Those who can't defend old positions will never conquer new ones. So before you look to these outfits to defend your job, look what they fought for in the crucial battles for the Russian proletariat, whose lives and livelihoods have been destroyed!

But to reject the whole idea of Leninist parties is to *misidentify* Bolshevism with the Stalinist reformists or centrists who call themselves Communists. This has sparked a revival of anarcho-syndicalist ideas. The fundamental mistake with attempts to build a new, "revolutionary" trade union is that they reduce to an organizational experiment the great *political* problem of how to win the mass of workers from the influence of the trade-union misleaders. The trade unions are organizations for the defense of the workers at the point of production, for the protection of the integrity of the proletariat as a class in itself. The conquest of *state power* requires mobilization on the basis of *revolutionary political consciousness*, which must be brought to the proletariat from *without* through the mechanism of a Leninist vanguard party that goes beyond the narrow confines of the trade-union arena.

To substitute the idea of a "revolutionary union" or a "syndicalist party" further fractures and divides the labor movement. We communists believe in *industrial unions*: the proletariat should be organized as one along industrial lines, the better to fight the owners and the capitalist state. This is absolutely contrary to the policies of the French left, which tend to substitute parties for unions, splitting the proletariat along sectarian party lines and weakening the workers' ability to organize and fight *as a class*. In contrast, we in the Ligue Trotskyste de France think that the party must be organized on the basis of a well-defined program, that fighting out the political differences as Leninists is vitally important. A crucial task of the revolutionary party is to fight to win leadership in the unions and to build strong trade unions to defend the interests of the proletariat against attacks by the capitalists and their state.

To our railworker friend who raised creating a new revolutionary union as the sole organization necessary to change this society for the better for the working people: it is important to understand that *any* trade union, no matter how revolutionary its leadership, would be quite insufficient an instrument to transform society. Why? The trade unions embrace only a very small minority of the working class and generally only the skilled and better-paid layers. To draw in the oppressed and the majority of the working people, women, the Maghrebin and African workers, etc., it is necessary to go beyond the trade-union arena. It is necessary to build a revolutionary workers party, a party of the Bolshevik type, a revolutionary *tribune of the people*.

For example, catastrophic youth unemployment in France has become a classic "divide and conquer" game of the French state, which now employs the youth as a club against the unions themselves as lower-paid temporary workers. Where this takes on added social dimensions is among minority youth in the *banlieus*, where the unemployment is astronomical and the ghettos have been seething scenes of police crackdown and brutality. The French left and labor movement that are capable of mobilizing tens of thousands of workers on the streets have largely done nothing to protest the routine cop

continued on page 11

Lutte de Classe

LO's Arlette Laguiller and LCR's Alain Krivine. LO paper appeals to capitalist state to "Impose Ban on Layoffs."

Mumia ...

(continued from page 1)

not even mention, much less emphasize, the new evidence. And in San Francisco, Socialist Action (SA) leader Jeff Mackler managed to present a "legal update" without *once* referring to it.

Why would avowed socialists who claim to be fighting for Jamal's freedom do this? In a statement to the protests from his death row cell, Mumia said: "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go." Indeed, the very idea that the cops would deliberately frame up an innocent man, and could have set up one of their "own," is an affront to the reformists' ingrained belief in the inherent democracy of the bourgeois state and in the police as an institution that exists fundamentally to "serve and protect" the people.

Since taking up Jamal's case a few years ago, WWP and SA have centered all their efforts on courting Democratic Party politicians, consciously limiting the movement for Jamal to appeals for justice from this system of racist *injustice*. While the central slogan at the recent rallies was the legalistic appeal "Overturn the Conviction—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal," at earlier protests any call for Mumia's freedom was buried in favor of the call for a "new trial," pushing illusions in the capitalist courts in order to reach out to bourgeois liberals whose only concern was that Jamal's original frame-up trial was an embarrassment to American "democracy." Now the mask of liberalism is revealed to be the face of these reformists.

In San Francisco, the SL, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League for Social Defense organized a Revolutionary Contingent in counterposition to the reformist politics of the rally organizers. Over 50 people marched in our contingent, and our chants and signs were picked up throughout the crowd. One person carrying a sign distributed by the International Socialist Organization's Campaign to End the Death Penalty, which prominently featured the call "New Trial Now," came to our table to ask for a black magic marker to cross that slogan off. As one of our comrades declared in urging protesters to join us:

> "If you believe that calling to 'overturn the conviction' is not enough, if you believe that Mumia is an innocent man and must be freed, if you believe that there is no justice in the capitalist courts, if you believe that the fight to free Mumia must be tightly linked to the fight to eliminate this racist capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, you belong in this Revolutionary Contingent. This is the contingent that tells the truth, not what the liberals want to hear. We tell it like it is: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! There is no justice in the capitalist courts!"

Reformists Demobilize Fight for Mumia's Freedom

The extent to which the reformists would go to hide the truth was starkly evident at the SF rally. Introduced by Eliot Grossman, one of Jamal's new attorneys, to read Mumia's affidavit, IAC spokesman John Parker even *tried to censor Mumia's own words*. When he got to a passage citing former lead counsel Leonard Weinglass for urging Mumia to "not testify in the post-conviction proceedings in 1995," Parker skipped over Weinglass' name. When Grossman vigorously protested that "we'd like to hear the words of Mumia Abu-Jamal and not apologies for Leonard Weinglass," Parker muttered concerns about getting "divided" and "demoralized" and pleading for "the unity of the movement."

Given that they tried to censor Mumia himself, it is not at all surprising that they refused to allow our class-struggle strategy to be heard from the speaker's platform and denied the PDC's request for a speaker. The "unity" prized by the reformists is unity with the bourgeois liberals. The criminal impact of their class-collaborationist politics was evident on May 12, as barely 1,500 turned out in San Francisco and no more than 500 in Philly. The shrinking size of the Jamal protests over the past few years is a striking testament to how the reformists, black nationalists and assorted petty-bourgeois "radicals" have served to demoralize and demobilize workers, youth and others who want to defend Jamal by making such defense contingent simply on the decisions of the capitalist courts.

Despite its dramatic confirmation of Mumia's innocence, Weinglass and fellow former defense attorney Dan Williams had refused to use the Beverly confession. With the clock ticking on his life, Jamal was forced to fire them after Williams wrote a treacherous "inside account" of the case, aptly titled *Executing Justice*, which tried to pre-emptively kill this evidence—portraying it as a deranged conspiracy theory—on the grounds that the cops neither would nor could knowingly frame up an innocent man. But even a casual reader of the bourgeois press in the last couple of weeks knows otherwise, not least from accounts of the crooked Oklahoma state chemist who sent dozens of people to death row or long prison terms. Commenting on another case, the release of two Brooklyn men who had spent 14 years behind bars on a murder rap on the basis of fabricated testimony, even liberal columnist Bob Herbert wrote: "There is little or no effort being made to protect the innocent against these kinds of utterly unsubstantiated lies. Worse, when evidence is brought forward that makes it clear that a case has been built on lies, the knee-jerk reaction among criminal justice officials is to cover it up" (*New York Times*, 17 May).

As we detail elsewhere in this issue, Williams' "inside account" is literally a brief for the prosecution. Yet the decision to withhold this critical evidence of Mumia's innocence was implicitly amnestied and justified in an article by Mackler in *Socialist Action* (April 2001) only weeks before the Beverly confession was introduced by the new legal team. Alluding to that article in his own speech on May 12, Eliot Grossman stated:

> "There was a story in a left newspaper a couple of weeks ago which floated Daniel Williams' statement in his rotten book that supposedly they did not present this evidence because it wasn't worthy of belief, and then floated the idea that this kind of evidence was completely crazy and no one would ever present it. We presented that evidence. It is not crazy. This is the evidence which proves Mumia is innocent."

Many protesters readily bought copies of *Workers Vanguard* with the article "New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits: Free Mumia Now!" afterward, and a couple said they were now sorry they hadn't marched with our class-struggle contingent fighting for Jamal's freedom.

While the Revolutionary Communist Party's Refuse & Resist made available excerpts from the new evidence, a statement to the Philadelphia demonstration by leading Refuse & Resist spokesman Clark Kissinger did not even hint at the crucial confession by Arnold Beverly. In the summer of 1995, when Mumia faced a scheduled execution and the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) was organizing veritable lynch mobs of cops on the streets of Philadelphia, Refuse & Resist challenged these hired killers of the capitalist class to a "debate" on Jamal. Today, Kissinger again focuses on "rebutting" the F.O.P., writing in his statement:

> "For years, cops, prosecutors, and their hired media have been whining because both Mumia and his brother rightly refused to use Judge Sabo's kangaroo-courtroom to give their accounts of what happened on the night Mumia was shot and arrested.
>
> "Now, as we await Mumia's appearance in federal court, both have given detailed descriptions of that evening to the people. And these statements have now been filed with the federal court. So the FOP can just shut the fuck up."

This thin veneer of "militant" anti-cop rhetoric aimed at Refuse & Resist's youthful supporters is simply a cover for the same liberal politics promoted by the more staidly social-democratic Socialist Action.

While deep-sixing the evidence of Jamal's *innocence* in his May 12 "legal update," Mackler focused on the purely constitutional question of Jamal's "fundamental right to counsel under the Sixth Amendment" at his 1982 trial under notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo. Sabo's denial of Jamal's right to represent himself is now one of the issues before federal district court judge Yohn. Mackler intoned, "If that judge rules with Albert Sabo, Mumia is a dead man." Why seek to mobilize labor/black power on the streets if Jamal's fate is, indeed, in the hands of a single judge? This is the *defeatism* born of the reformists' reliance on the capitalist state.

From their call for a new trial to their aversion to the Beverly confession, the reformists have pursued a strategy aimed at cozying up to bourgeois liberals who don't necessarily believe in Jamal's innocence and have no particular interest in seeing him free. Voicing the sentiment of such types, Temple University law professor David Kairys, reported an AP wire story (9 May), "criticized the new [legal] team for skipping a more straightforward legal strategy, such as seeking to commute the death sentence down to life in prison"—i.e., a living death.

The liberals claim that Jamal's 1982 kangaroo court trial was simply an aberration in an otherwise "just," "demo-

Jamal in hospital after being shot and beaten by cops in December 1981.

Mumia: "Many of You Refuse to Let Go of the System"

The following statement was issued by Mumia Abu-Jamal on May 10 and read to the May 12 rallies in Philadelphia and San Francisco.

Dear Sisters, Brothers, Friends and Enemies,

We are at a crossroad, one dictated by time, by history, by circumstance and even by chance.

We are here because it is the right place and the right time to be. I thank all of you for coming to this encampment in the hopes of joining you at our next such encounter.

Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go.

Lawyers are not agents of comfort to be exchanged like throw pillows.

They are agents of freedom or they are aiders and abettors of repression.

I have received some criticism for recent changes in my legal team. I don't fear criticism, but I must say I don't agree with this one.

You have seen lawyers violate their own rules with total abandon with the blessing of the courts.

How can you say you don't believe in the system and then believe lawyers who betrayed their so-called client's interests?

I thank you all for joining in this ongoing battle for freedom and justice.

And, if you by chance choose not to join me, I have one simple request: don't get in my way.

To quote John Africa: "Freedom is urgent. Direction is necessary and freedom cannot be taken by any goddamn judge's opinion."

I Thank You
Ona Move
Long Live John Africa

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New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

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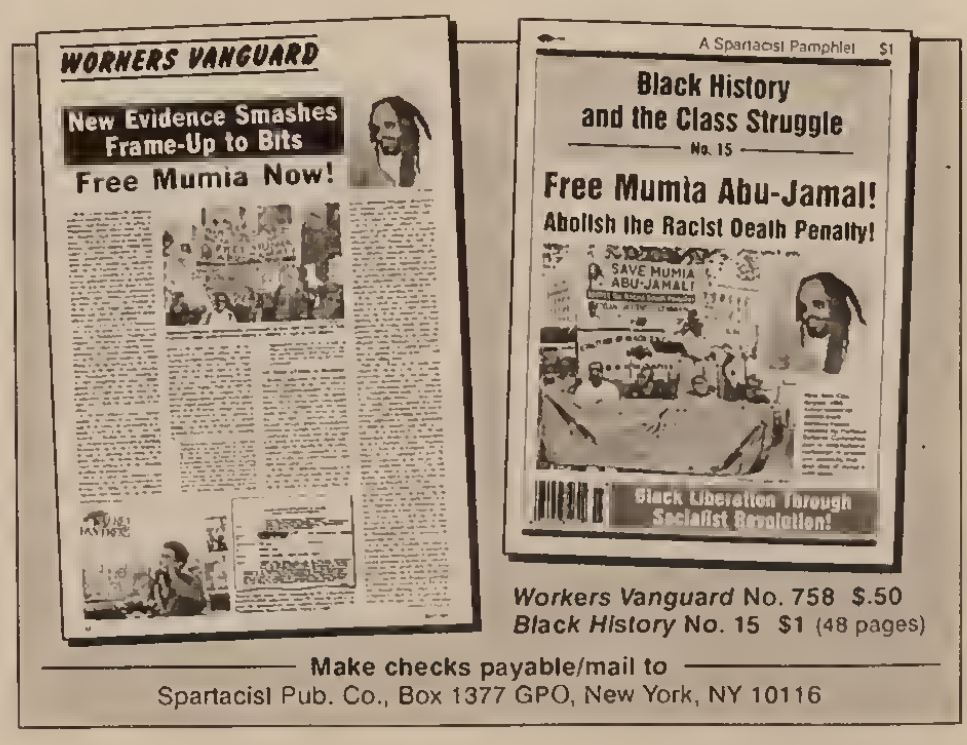

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cratic" system. The reformists peddle the notion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. These self-styled "Marxists" are a walking repudiation of the Marxist understanding that the bourgeois state—with the cops, courts, prisons and military at its core—is nothing other than an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. In a grotesque paean to the fiction of "equal justice for all," *Socialist Action* (May 2001) intones:

> "There used to be a beautiful image of a solemn, stern, and discerning woman who, with blind eyes and an impartial scale, determined what was the truth. Today this image, quite contrived in itself, has been betrayed."

This denies the whole brutal history of racist American capitalism, from the 1857 Dred Scott decision buttressing the Southern slave power to the anti-Communist, anti-Semitic frame-up of the Rosenbergs nearly a century later, and the countless black people and labor militants who have been imprisoned or executed by capitalist courts before and since.

Mobilize Labor/Black Power—Break with the Democrats!

In his speech at the San Francisco rally, attorney Eliot Grossman concluded:

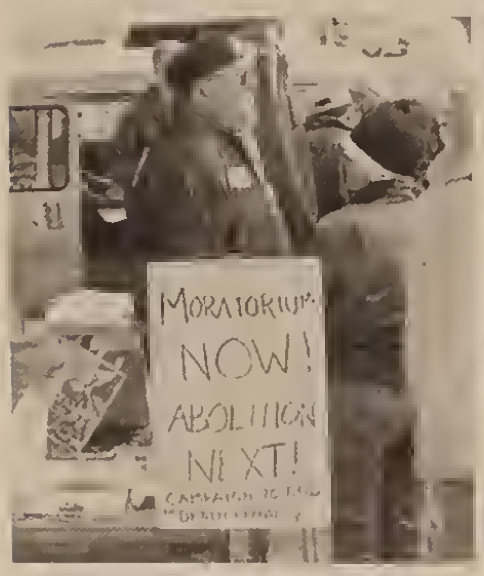
> "We need to prove that Mumia is innocent. We have the evidence, but we know that may not be enough. Because Shaka Sankofa, previously known as Gary Graham, was innocent. He had the evidence. They executed him anyway. We cannot allow this to happen. We need the help of every single person here.... If ever we needed real labor solidarity and militant action and the kind of action that saw the longshoremen shut down the West Coast and saw the Oakland teachers conduct their teach-in, we need that kind of labor solidarity in every workplace in the city, in the state and in this country."

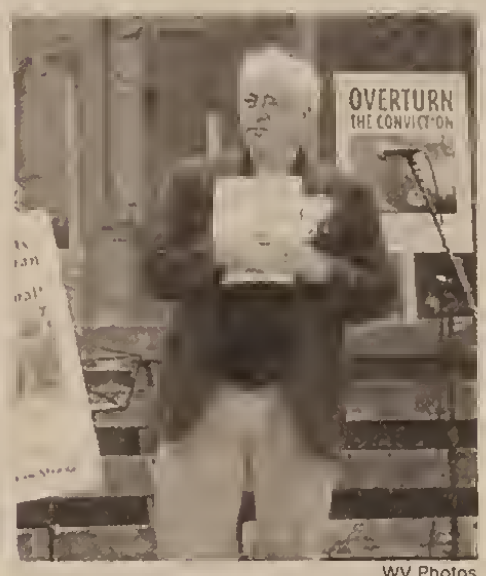
The April 1999 stopwork by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) did point to the sort of powerful labor action needed to strike a giant blow against the capitalist frame-up system. But thanks to the efforts of ILWU Local 10 labor opportunist Jack Heyman, the impact of that stopwork on the shipping bosses was minimized and the longshore action was tied to support for the reformists' pro-Democratic Party mobilization for a new trial. Now the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, an occasional vehicle for Heyman which is mostly made up of supporters of the absurdly misnamed International Bolshevik Tendency, has put out a "Call to Action" declaring: "The strongest weapon the working class can bring to bear in the class struggle is its power to withdraw its labor, and we must prepare to bring that about *now* to win freedom for our brother." The cynicism of this lip service to labor action is revealed by the fact that Heyman brought *not one* longshore worker to the May 12 demonstration, quite a dramatic statement given the widespread support for Jamal among black longshoremen.

In fighting to mobilize labor in Jamal's behalf, we seek to win workers to the understanding that they cannot break the chains of exploitation as wage slaves of the capitalists without simultaneously combatting every manifestation of racist oppression. Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism, which forcibly segregates the overwhelming mass of black people at the bottom of society.

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee initiated labor-centered mobilizations in New York City (above) and elsewhere in summer 1995 as Jamal faced scheduled execution.





WV Photos

Fake lefts demobilize fight for Mumia's freedom. ISO pushes liberal "death penalty moratorium" call (left), Socialist Action's Jeff Mackler deep-sixes new evidence smashing Jamal's frame-up.

Obscuring the class divide, racism and white supremacy have served to bind white workers to their capitalist masters based on the illusion of a commonality of interest based on skin color. At the same time, black workers constitute a strategic part of the multiracial proletariat in the U.S. Won to a revolutionary program, they will be the living link fusing the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses with the social power of the proletariat. We seek to build the Leninist vanguard party needed to lead the struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution.

For labor's power to be unleashed, the working class must be mobilized independently of the capitalist class and its political parties, both Democrats and Republicans. From WWP/IAC to Refuse & Resist's Kissinger and the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the reformists at the May 12 rallies wallowed in pro-Democratic Party "fight the right" rhetoric, focusing on Republican Bush's support for the death penalty and amnestying the Democrats who pushed through a massive expansion in capital punishment under Clinton. Standing to the right of even many liberals, the ISO's Campaign to End the Death Penalty promoted its call for "Moratorium Now, Abolition Next," while a Campaign speaker at the SF rally echoed the liberal line that the death penalty "simply doesn't work."

Unlike the liberals and their reformist hangers-on, our starting point is not what is the most effective means for the capitalist rulers to repress those they exploit. We oppose the death penalty on principle, for the guilty as well as the innocent. Our purpose is to wage the sharpest political struggle against the current bourgeois consciousness which the reformists pander to and reinforce, to explain the true nature of the capitalist state as the machinery for organized violence against the working class and oppressed, and to bring to the working class an understanding of the class-struggle methods by which they can organize to fight and eventually overturn the system of capitalism. We seek to imbue the proletariat with the understanding that the capitalist state must be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced with a workers state. As we said in our call for the Revolutionary Contingent:

> "In this decaying capitalist system which offers no future to millions of inner-city black youth, the death penalty, the mass incarceration of black men and the elimination of welfare represent the capitalist rulers' *impulse to genocide*. The death penalty stands at the apex of the machinery of repression which increases in direct proportion to the widening gap between the handful of filthy rich and the millions of poor and working people."

The capitalist executioners are gearing up for the legal lynching of Jamal as an act of terror and intimidation against all who would resist their racist rule. Now is the time to mobilize all opponents of racist oppression to demand: ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*** ■

Dan Williams' Brief for the Prosecution

In its effort to prevent the conclusive new evidence of Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence—the sworn confession by Arnold Beverly that he shot Daniel Faulkner—from even being considered by the court, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office has resorted to its threadbare pack of old lies and one new lie.

In legal papers filed on May 11, the D.A.'s office rehashes its bogus claim from the 1982 frame-up trial that "there were eyewitnesses to the murder" who saw Jamal "commit the murder." In fact, only one of the prosecution's coerced or bought-off "witnesses," a prostitute named Cynthia White who was then allowed to work the streets unhindered under police escort, even claimed to have seen Jamal with a gun. White, whom no other witness ever recalled seeing at the scene, had initially denied seeing Mumia with a gun and described the shooter as five inches shorter than Mumia, while at least five witnesses from five different vantage points had told police they saw a black man flee the scene while Jamal lay slumped on the ground after being shot. One of those five, William Singletary, saw someone other than Mumia shoot Faulkner.

The new lie, and the bulk of the prosecution attack on Beverly's confession, comes straight from Jamal's former attorney Dan Williams, whose book *Executing Justice* denigrates the Beverly confession as "bona fide lunacy," "patently outrageous" and "absurd." We wrote in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* that Williams had penned a brief for the prosecution, and that is what it is. Introducing a lengthy excerpt from the book, the D.A.'s papers lyingly assert—in language lifted straight from Williams—that Jamal himself had withheld the Beverly confession when it came out in 1999 "because he knew it to be a 'patently outrageous story' and 'a lie'."

In fact, even Williams' book demonstrates *that* to be a lie, as it recounts how it was former lead defense attorney Leonard Weinglass who "sought out ways to push this witness onto the trash heap," just as Weinglass (and Williams) had also attempted to prevent Singletary's testimony from being heard at the 1995 appeal hearing. And as Williams makes abundantly clear in the excerpt quoted by the prosecution, both he and Weinglass threatened to abandon Jamal if the Beverly confession were used to prove his innocence.

Virtually signing on to the D.A.'s papers are the Democratic Party social democrats at *In These Times* (11 June). In his latest hatchet job on Jamal, Dave Lindorff promotes the D.A.'s line from beginning to end—from citing the prosecution's so-called witnesses to denouncing Mumia for withholding Beverly's confession to deriding "the new conspiracy theory."

Now Williams has been featured in the Philadelphia newspapers attacking the evidence, while the wire services have cited an anonymous source "familiar with Abu-Jamal's appeals" propagating the willful *lie* that Beverly failed two lie detector tests. Why would a lawyer work so hard to bury evidence of his client's innocence and then publicly trash it? In his book, Williams makes it clear that to him maintaining the sanctity of the bourgeois "justice" system stood above presenting evidence proving Jamal's innocence. His central premise is that the cops never could or would knowingly frame up an innocent man. But as any inner-city resident can tell you, cop corruption, murder and frame-up is a fact of life. As far as the prosecution's rants that Beverly's account is "implausible," even a cursory glance at Philadelphia's daily newspapers reveals just how plausible it is. For weeks now, they have run front-page stories on the city's latest mob racketeering and murder trial, featuring as the key government witness Ron Previte, a former cop, Mafia thug and FBI informant. Previte admitted he was a "crook" from the time he joined the Philadelphia Police Department in the late 1960s.

In a revealing anecdote from the 1995 appeal, Williams recalls an incident where "[prosecutor] Grant and some of the detectives pulled me aside...and chided me that I was still young enough to salvage my otherwise promising career as a trial lawyer if only I would cross over that great divide and fight on the side of the angels." Williams said he laughed off the invitation. But with his new book serving as exhibit No. 1 for the state in this last round of Jamal's appeals, Williams has certainly earned his wings.

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

SACP-influenced COSATU bureaucracy, in helping to chain the powerful black proletariat to neo-apartheid capitalism through the ANC-dominated nationalist popular front.

To even begin to provide free, quality health care and treatment for all in South Africa requires the creation of a workers government and the expropriation of the pharmaceutical giants. As we wrote in "Disease, Bigotry and Imperialist Hypocrisy: South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis" (*WV* No. 749, 5 January):

> "The AIDS pandemic also exposes the lie of 'nation building' rhetoric; it obviously cannot be solved within the borders of one country.
>
> "Only world socialist revolution can tear the means of production out of the hands of the greedy capitalist class, ushering in an egalitarian socialist society. Then all the positive gains of modern science can be put at the service of mankind, and all the fake science that is used to justify and defend capitalist rule can be rejected. How we approach this grim epidemic is shaped by our vision of a communist future."

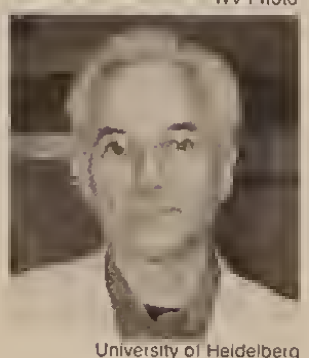
Scabs, Bigots and "HIV Denialists"

This vision is utterly alien to a small, social-democratic outfit in the U.S. called Labor's Militant Voice (LMV), which openly retails in this country the same anti-scientific obscurantism pushed by Mbeki. "Does HIV Really Cause AIDS?"

AP

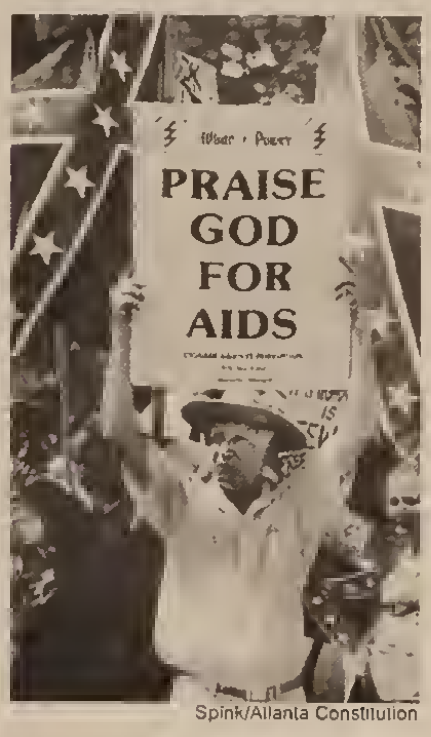
ACT UP activist arrested at NYC protest against drug conglomerate GlaxoSmithKline, February 21.

WV Photo



University of Heidelberg

"HIV denialist" diatribes by labor opportunist John Reimann (top) and biologist Peter Duesberg provide pseudo-scientific legitimacy for reactionary social agenda pushed by religious bigots, fascists.



Spink/Atlanta Constitution

questioned a headline in *Labor's Militant Voice* (Fall 2000), answering "Labor's Militant Voice writer John Reimann doesn't think so." Reimann's article was also posted on the LMV Web site in a special section titled "Questioning AIDS," which provided a platform for such prominent "HIV denialists" as Mbeki's "expert" Duesberg—including a direct link to Duesberg's Web site—chemistry Nobelist Kary Mullis and one Charles Geshekter, a professor of African history at California State University's Chico campus and self-described "adviser" to the U.S. State Department.

While averring that it "does not have an official position on this controversial issue," LMV claimed that "there has been a suppression of views that differ from the HIV=AIDS=Death hypothesis." Belying their protests of objectivity, LMV's "present editors" boast of having organized a debate appearance by Duesberg at the University of California in the mid-1990s. Duesberg argues that HIV is only a harmless "passenger virus" that never hurt anybody and blames the spread of AIDS on things like the use of stimulant drugs (e.g., amyl nitrate "poppers") by gay men. He even claims that medications like AZT are responsible for killing people!

By early May, LMV had removed the "Questioning AIDS" page from its Web site, explaining in a statement that "it was causing some confusion" because "it seemed to some that (despite our statement to the contrary) we were taking a position in support of the views of the dissidents. (Some of us do, some don't.)" This squeamish disavowal notwithstanding, the LMV statement concludes: "Once again we recognize how difficult it is to get the viewpoint of the aids [sic] dissidents."

The supposedly "suppressed dissidents" hailed by LMV hardly needed its Web site to propagate their reactionary views. Firstly, there is Duesberg's own Web site, which includes an article titled "Mbeki Takes on the AIDS Industry" by one Tom Bethell, who identifies himself as a contributor to the right-wing journals *American Spectator* and *National Review* and a "media fellow" of the Hoover Institute. A book edited by Duesberg, *Inventing the AIDS Virus*, with a foreword authored by Mullis, is published by Regnery Publishing. Before revamping its Web page this month, Regnery boasted of being "America's most dedicated conservative publisher." Regnery also publishes fascistic, anti-gay bigot Patrick Buchanan and works like *Coolidge: An American Enigma* ("one of the most successful presidents in history"), *The Quotable Ronald Reagan* and *Leftism Revisited: From de Sade and Marx to Hitler and Pol Pot*! Another Regnery gem is *The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS*, which "exposes" such "rumors" as that "AIDS is no longer anchored to the high risk groups of homosexual men and intravenous drug abusers but is spreading from heterosexual to heterosexual through intercourse at epidemic speeds." Exporting this line to southern Africa would be grotesque, as AIDS has overwhelmingly been transmitted there through heterosexual sex.

LMV's choice of such reactionary company is in keeping with its own reformist politics. LMV is a split from Labor Militant (now Socialist Alternative), U.S. affiliate of Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party in Britain. Pandering to chauvinist backwardness among English workers, the Socialist Party refuses to call for withdrawal of British imperialist forces from Northern Ireland and regularly provides a platform for an anti-Catholic Loyalist killer, Billy Hutchinson. Until the 1990s, Taaffe's outfit (then called the Militant Tendency and centrally led by Ted Grant) was buried deep within the Labour Party—even as Labour in government deployed troops against the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland and ordered disgusting "virginity tests" against Asian women seeking entry into Britain. For a number of years, the Militant Tendency itself administered the Liverpool city government, presiding over massive unemployment and ghetto repression.

In the case of their South African operation, this "entrist" policy translated into liquidation into the bourgeois-nationalist ANC as the Marxist Workers Tendency, better known by the name of its paper, *Congress Militant*. Now renamed the Democratic Socialist Movement and out of the ANC, they devote their efforts to appeals to the ANC-allied COSATU bureaucracy to form a Labourite, economist "workers party."

This is the retrograde "tradition" LMV continues in the U.S. Both Reimann and another LMV leading light, Richard Mellor, are former union bureaucrats in the San Francisco Bay Area. Expelled by the International bureaucracy of the Carpenters union for leading a 1999 wildcat strike, Reimann responded not by mobilizing the union membership in his defense but by dragging the union into the courts. And Mellor, a onetime vice president of AFSCME Local 444 in Oakland, firmly supported the union tops' "organizing" of cops and prison guards, lamenting in his *AFSCME Activist* newsletter (July-September 1995) that the "union movement is weakened" by efforts of "correctional officers" in New York to *leave* AFSCME. Trying to emulate his Liverpool comrades, Mellor ran for Oakland City Council in 1995 in a campaign single-mindedly devoted to the reformist proposition that the capitalist state can be made to represent the interests of the working people. His program did not oppose the death penalty, or defend abortion rights or immigrants.

With embrace of the capitalist courts and the racist, anti-labor cops—the core of the capitalist state—as their hallmark, it is no wonder these small-time social democrats reinforce social backwardness in the U.S. and fall in line behind the reactionary crusade of the anti-gay bigots. LMV's stance is reminiscent of the "sewer socialists" of the pre-World War I U.S. Socialist Party right wing, which included outright racists like Victor Berger.

Marxism and Science

As a Marxist political organization, we do not purport to have expertise in medical science. Our purpose is to build the revolutionary workers party that is needed to lead the proletariat in overthrowing the capitalist profit system and ushering in the planned, collectivized economy that will mobilize resources on the basis of social need and not what the drug companies find profitable. We seek to approach general social questions in a scientific manner. What is at issue here is the defense of science itself.

As Regnery's publishing output lays bare, what animates the "HIV denialists" is not the science of retrovirology but providing pseudo-scientific legitimacy for a reactionary social agenda that would condemn millions of people to death. Their message that AIDS only affects gays and drug addicts and that white, middle-class, heterosexual America is safe serves the bible-thumping bigots who view AIDS as "god's punishment" for gays, the ghetto masses, drug users. Suicidally, some gay activists formerly associated with ACT UP, which was founded to fight for more research funding and treatment for AIDS, have also bought into this reactionary campaign. Small ACT UP splits in San Francisco and Hollywood promote Duesberg's lie that HIV doesn't cause AIDS and have blanketed the heavily gay Castro district in San Francisco with signs declaring, "Plague Peters Out—AIDS Is Not Caused by a Virus" and "No More Tests! No More Pills! No More Fear! AIDS Is Over."

Ironically, such deadly illusions speak to the *effectiveness* of AIDS prevention and treatment programs—based largely on advances in medical science—especially among middle-class white homosexuals. More fundamentally, it is a measure of a broader climate of social reaction that avowed "Marxists" and gay lifestylists would join with overt anti-gay bigots in promoting the lie that HIV does not cause AIDS. Over the past couple of decades, accelerated in good part by "death of communism" reaction in the imperialist centers following capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, there has been a growing assault on science by anti-technology Greens and the forces of religious backwardness—from "New Age" crystal worshippers to Christian fundamentalists seeking to purge Darwin's theory of evolution from the classroom.

The very formula "HIV=AIDS=Death," thrown up as a straw man by Reimann and the rest of the "HIV denialist" crowd, is an assault on the dialectical materialist method which is at the core of Marxism. No reputable scientist argues that the HIV virus *equals* AIDS, only that HIV is the *cause* of what is clinically diagnosed (usually years after infection) as AIDS. Reimann not only denies that HIV causes AIDS but even that there is an "AIDS crisis," a phrase he puts in quotation marks. "Here in the United States, AIDS certainly has not developed anywhere near as it was predicted," he asserts.

Reimann's dismissiveness reeks with contempt for the impoverished and oppressed. AIDS is today the *leading cause* of death among black people between the ages of 25 and 44 in the U.S.; 30 percent of black gay men are infected, and black women account for 64 percent of all new infections. While the death rate in the U.S. dropped sharply in 1997 following the advent of powerful anti-retroviral cocktails (whose effectiveness Reimann denies), the number of new AIDS cases *doubled* in the following year. And the decline in new cases among whites has been more than offset

Contents include:

- South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis
- South African Workers Battle ANC Union-Busting, Austerity
- South Africa ANC Regime: Enforcer for Imperialist Plunder

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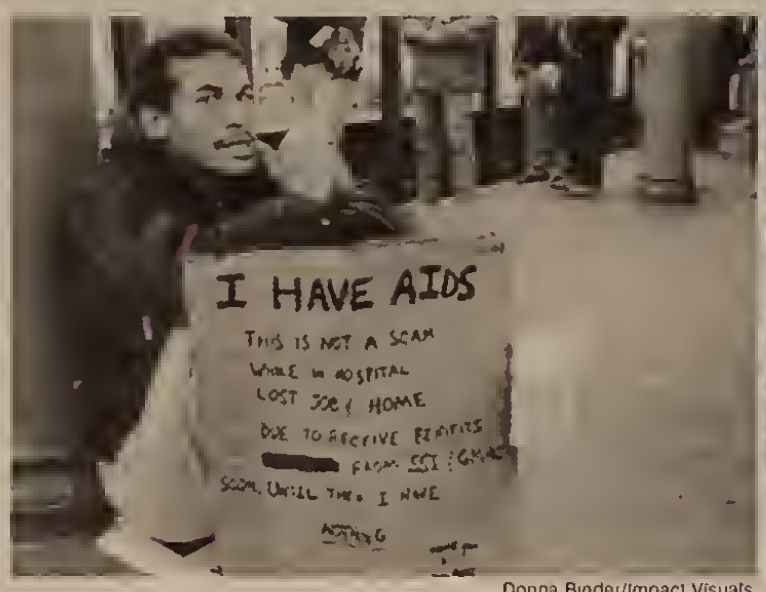
AIDS Ravages Black America



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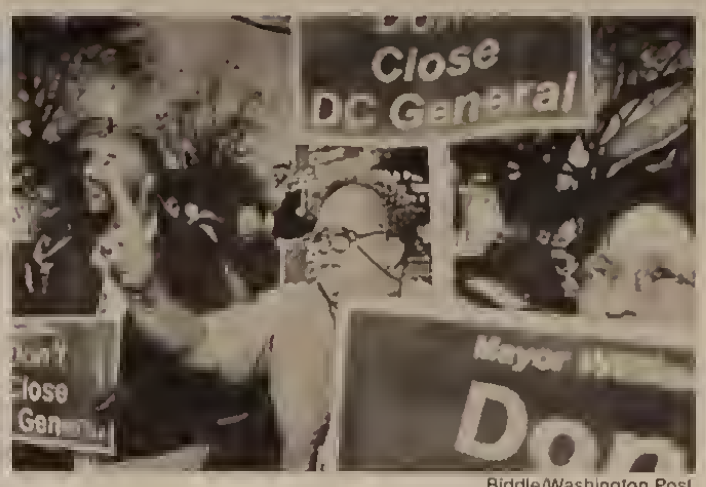

Biddle/Washington Post

Poverty, lack of medical care fuel AIDS epidemic in inner cities. Protest in March against closing of only public hospital in Washington, D.C.

The AIDS epidemic is wreaking a devastating toll on America's black and Hispanic population. Taken together, blacks and Hispanics account for almost *two-thirds* of new AIDS cases. AIDS is eight times more common among black people than white. Fully one in every 50 black men is today estimated to be infected with HIV, as is one in every 160 black women—a rate of infection 20 times that of white women. Though less than 15 percent of the population, black people now account for more than half of all new HIV infections, and black women account for 64 percent of all new infections among women in the U.S.

AIDS is caused by a virus, not by poverty, much less by race—which has no biological significance whatsoever. But the rate of transmission of HIV and treatment of AIDS are very much conditioned by social factors. AIDS calls out every hatred, every prejudice in this sick society: against sexual "deviants," against the poor and the sick—the victims themselves—and especially against minorities. Black people are almost twice as likely as whites to lack health insurance, and Latinos almost three times as likely. Underlying the policy of malign neglect toward the AIDS crisis, especially in the inner cities, is the capitalist rulers' calculation that huge numbers of the ghetto and barrio masses are "expendable" because their labor is no longer of use for the extraction of profit.

The astounding increase in HIV infection among black women in particular is explained by the fact that the virus is now being spread predominantly through sexual relations and not mainly through intravenous drug use. In the ghettos and barrios, many homeless women are forced to trade sex for shelter. Others are forced into prostitution.

Black and Hispanic gays, who have always suffered disproportionately high death tolls from AIDS, are today being infected at rates rivaling those in southern Africa. A recent study by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that 30 percent of gay black men in their twenties were HIV-positive. Their condition is compounded by intense anti-homosexual bigotry, endemic throughout capitalist society and promoted particularly by black churches and nationalist demagogues like Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, who also pushes the notion that AIDS is a government conspiracy against black people. In his book *A Torchlight for America* (1993), Farrakhan rants: "We must change homosexual behavior.... We must change all behavior that offends the standard of moral behavior set by God." Many gay black men are forced to live secret lives "on the down low," often engaging in sex without condoms and in denial of the risks.

The AIDS epidemic throws into sharp relief the criminality, the decay and the cruel injustice of the whole capitalist system. As epitomized by the infamous Tuskegee syphilis experiment, racism is so deeply institutionalized in this country's health care system that many black people don't trust white doctors and other health care workers, sometimes discounting even good medical advice. Yet black and Hispanic doctors are few and far between, and the widespread attacks on affirmative action programs ensure that in the future there will be fewer still.

Given the wealth and technical resources of this country, free quality health care for all is objectively within the reach of material possibility. But it cannot happen within the framework of this capitalist system. The capitalist rulers reject even such elementary measures as distributing free condoms and instituting needle-exchange programs, which could drastically reduce the spread of AIDS in the inner cities. But the real obstacle to fighting the epidemic is the whole matrix of poverty, inequality and racial oppression that is integral to capitalist class society. Among the first acts of a workers government would be to provide the food, medical care, housing, education and social services whose lack is so starkly underlined by the AIDS crisis. It will take a proletarian socialist revolution to bring such a government to power.■

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by an increase among minorities. In Reimann's own backyard in Alameda County, blacks now make up 42 percent of all new AIDS cases (*Oakland Tribune*, 4 July 2000).

Reimann's article essentially rehashes all of Duesberg's arguments. Reimann writes:

> "Surely, something is weakening the immune systems in AIDS patients. Is it a virus? Is it drugs—both illegal as well as such toxins as AZT? Is it malnutrition? Is it repeated assaults on the immune system by frequent diseases (including, but not limited to, std's) as well as continued usage of anti-biotics? Could the general poisoning of the environment have anything to do with it? Who knows? The fact is that these alternative theories have never received the funding to be investigated adequately.
>
> "Of course, there's no millions in profits to be made in this research, and furthermore it would prove politically explosive. So the millions in Africa can die premature deaths, victims of lack of adequate health care, lack of proper sanitation, malnutrition—victims of global capitalism, that is. Much better for big business and their hired and paid-for politicians and 'researchers' to label them as 'AIDS victims'!"

With his references to "illegal drugs" and "frequent" sexually transmitted diseases, Reimann insinuates what the anti-HIV bigots say openly: AIDS is the result of "drug abuse" or "promiscuity." As we asserted in an article headlined "Billions for AIDS Research!" in the early years of the epidemic: "***AIDS is caused by a virus, not by sex, not by 'sin,' not by pornography***" (*WV* No. 389, 18 October 1985).

That HIV causes AIDS is a fact, just as gravity is a fact. How the virus works to break down the immune system is a topic of much research and debate. But that it causes AIDS is not a matter of scientific dispute. A National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) Fact Sheet cites one study published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in 1993 which found ***99.9 percent*** of 230,179 AIDS patients surveyed to be HIV positive. The NIAID Fact Sheet also answers the myth (promoted by Duesberg) that AIDS is simply a new name for long-existent diseases of poverty, noting: "The diseases that have come to be associated with AIDS in Africa—such as wasting syndrome, diarrheal diseases and TB—have long been severe burdens there. However, high rates of mortality from these diseases, formerly confined to the elderly and malnourished, are now common among HIV-infected young and middle-aged people, including well-educated members of the middle class."

Indeed, if AIDS is the result of poverty or sex—both of which, even Reimann/Duesberg will acknowledge, have been around for some time now—why did the AIDS epidemic begin only in the early 1980s? Perhaps the clearest evidence that AIDS is caused by an infectious agent (HIV) and not "bad lifestyle" is provided by studies showing that anywhere between 15 percent and 40 percent of infants born to HIV-infected mothers go on to develop AIDS (documented in NIAID's "The Relationship Between the Human Immunodeficiency Virus and the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome"). Moreover, even primitive anti-HIV drugs like AZT dramatically reduce the transmission of HIV infection from mother to child, with rates falling from 25 percent without AZT treatment to 8 percent or less with AZT. By Duesberg's lights, drugs created on the basis of the hypothesis that HIV causes AIDS should have no effect. But protease inhibitors, which are specifically targeted at the virus on the basis of molecular genetics, have significantly lengthened the lives of AIDS patients and dramatically improved their quality of life.

The lies pushed by Reimann et al. are a literally deadly poison for any HIV-infected people who might be influenced by them. Given the racism inherent in American capitalism, and especially the legacy of the infamous Tuskegee syphilis experiments where black men were criminally allowed to go untreated for decades by researchers who wanted to study the effects of the disease, many black people are justifiably suspicious of the government and the medical establishment. A survey of a thousand black church-goers reported in the *Miami Herald* (2 November 1995) found that one-third thought AIDS was a government conspiracy to kill blacks and another third weren't sure. But as the survey's author noted, those who believed these conspiracy theories (promoted by the likes of nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan) would be "less likely to get tested, less likely to use condoms, and less likely to participate in clinical trials."

Creutzmann/Zeitenspiegel

Despite U.S. imperialist embargo, Cuba's planned economy provides medical care for all.

National Reformism vs. Revolutionary Internationalism

In his statement on the LMV Web page, Geshekter says: "Perpetuating the myth of an 'African AIDS epidemic' caused by sexual promiscuity deepens African dependency on infusions of Western aid for diagnostic tests, high-tech sterilization equipment, medical personnel and drug therapies." Reimann echoes that "the pharmaceuticals as well as all those 'researchers' and others in the AIDS establishment who make a living off of AIDS...found it necessary to manufacture this African AIDS crisis." He complains: "While funding for AIDS 'research' and 'care' has vastly increased in Africa, funding for malaria control has practically disappeared." This reformist is so thoroughly bound by the constraints imposed by the ledger books of a capitalist system in decay that he could not conceive of demanding the vast increases in funding needed *across the board* for health care and medical research.

While bandying about talk of "global capitalism," Reimann's arguments boil down to a polemic *against* anti-capitalist struggle, serving to amnesty South Africa's capitalist government and to let the "multinational" pharmaceuticals off the hook. The imperialist monopolies and the ANC nationalists join in denying necessary medication to the people of Africa, and Reimann chimes in to criminally deny that such medications are even necessary. At bottom, Reimann and his ilk accept that the masses of Africa and the rest of the "Third World" should maintain their conditions of "pristine" poverty free of Western dependence.

In arguing that the drug giants have an irrevocable stake in AIDS research, Reimann pushes the same line as Glaxo-SmithKline CEO Jean-Pierre Garnier: "The Aids drugs exist because we've discovered them" (London *Guardian*, 25 April). This is how Garnier justifies Glaxo's astronomical first-quarter profits of close to ***$2 billion***, which works out annually to more than 25 percent of the South African government's total revenue: the combined worth of the world's top five drug companies is *twice the combined GDP of all sub-Saharan Africa.*

In fact, AIDS drugs exist largely

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South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

because others discovered them. As spy novelist John le Carré, who researched the drug giants for his new book, *The Constant Gardener*, observed in the *Nation* (9 April):

> "Big Pharma did not invent these lifesaving drugs that they have patented and arbitrarily overpriced, incidentally. Antiretrovirals were for the most part discovered by publicly funded US research projects into other diseases, and only later entrusted to pharmaceutical companies for marketing and exploitation. Once the pharmas had the patent, they charged whatever they thought an AIDS-desperate Western market would stand: $12,000 to $15,000 a year for compounds that cost a few hundred to run up."

Research and development of the five major AIDS drugs was financed by the National Institutes of Health or academic institutions like Yale and the University of Minnesota. These discoveries were then licensed to Glaxo and other companies, who market them and reap enormous profits. When it comes to vaccine research, as *Science* magazine writer Jon Cohen documents in his book *Shots in the Dark* (2001), Big Pharma has actually been an obstacle. "The AIDS vaccine 'race'...more closely resembled a crawl. Large pharmaceutical companies like Merck had little interest in developing an AIDS vaccine," writes Cohen. "The result: many promising vaccine strategies never made it out of academic laboratories."

Cynically seizing on the South African health ministry's false claim that it's blocked by the complexities of administering anti-retroviral drugs to an impoverished and uneducated population, a Glaxo spokesman told the *Wall Street Journal* (20 April), "That's the ultimate proof the issue of pricing...is irrelevant in the grand scheme of things." For these bloodsuckers, pricing—and profit—is the ultimate issue. They scrambled for a deal in South Africa only after Indian drug manufacturer Cipla announced that it could provide anti-retroviral cocktails for as little as $350 a year, less than 5 percent of Western prices. And the example of Brazil, which started distributing free generic AIDS drugs in 1997, gives the lie to the Mbeki regime's excuses for refusing to implement a treatment program.

Reporting that "virtually every AIDS patient in Brazil for whom it is medically indicated gets, free, the same triple cocktails that keep rich Americans healthy," Tina Rosenberg wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* (28 January): "Brazil is showing that no one who dies of AIDS dies of natural causes. Those who die have been failed." She explained:

> "Brazil has shredded all the excuses about why poor countries cannot treat AIDS. Health system too fragile? On the shaky foundation of its public health service, Brazil built a well-run network of AIDS clinics. Uneducated people can't stick to the complicated regime of pills? Brazilian AIDS patients have proved just as able to take their medicine on time as patients in the United States."

Even Botswana, South Africa's neighbor, has now announced that it will begin providing free anti-retroviral cocktails. A report in the *New York Times* (8 May) makes clear what is motivating Botswana's bourgeois government to implement this measure: the country is home to the richest diamond mine in Africa, from which the South African De Beers conglomerate reaps fabulous profits, and one in every three employees at the mine is infected with HIV. The capitalists understand that no workers means no profits!

In "Questioning AIDS," LMV noted that "science, just like medicine or auto production and development, is subject to the laws and pressures of social forces at play within" capitalist society. These philistines then use this generally correct observation to brand science and all scientists as being in the exclusive pay of big business and "manufacturing" an epidemic out of concern for their pocketbooks. This is simply ludicrous. There should be more scientists working on the battle front to develop cures for this presently incurable disease, not fewer.

In a 1925 speech published as "Dialectical Materialism and Science" (*Problems of Everyday Life* [1973]), Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky observed:

> "The need to know nature is imposed upon men by their need to subordinate nature to themselves. Any digressions in this sphere from objective relationships, which are determined by the properties of matter itself, are corrected by practical experience. This alone seriously guarantees natural sciences, chemical research in particular, from intentional, unintentional, or semideliberate distortions, misinterpretations and falsifications....
>
> "The social evaluation of science, its historical evaluation, is determined by its capacity to increase man's power and arm him with the power to foresee and master nature. Science is knowledge that endows us with power."

More than with any other disease in modern history, every step in the search to control and cure HIV/AIDS has been hampered by the profit-driven capitalist system and all the accompanying backward, repressive, racist and anti-woman ideological crap, which has come ever more to the fore since the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union. Even in the most advanced industrialized countries, people with AIDS continue to be viciously stereotyped, ostracized and stigmatized—and many of those without insurance are denied treatment at all. We fight to wrest the existing scientific knowledge to treat HIV/AIDS and the material resources to apply and develop it from the grip of the capitalists and place it at the service of all humanity through international socialist revolution. It is the purpose of the International Communist League to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, to lead that struggle to victory.■

Los Angeles...

(continued from page 3)

broader racist offensive whose main and central target is the black ghetto poor. Its passage paved the way for the bipartisan assault on welfare under the Clinton administration and, more directly, for the passage in 1996 of California Prop. 209, which eliminated affirmative action programs in hiring and education. Labor must demand *full citizenship rights for all immigrants* as part of a fight to organize immigrant workers into the unions with full rights and protections. We fight to build a revolutionary vanguard party that would forge class unity in struggle against the capitalist class. For black liberation through socialist revolution!

Labor in the "City of Angels"

L.A. has been labeled "the capital of the Third World" because of the vast disparities in wealth, with the accumulated revenues of the city's filthy rich standing in sharp contrast to the millions of workers and minorities who suffer high rates of poverty, have to put up with substandard and overcrowded housing, schools and public transportation, and who often have to survive without health insurance. The city has been a low-wage, anti-union town ever since the McNamara brothers—socialist labor organizers—were framed up in 1911 for allegedly blowing up the *Los Angeles Times* building.

The closure of auto plants in the 1970s and '80s and mass layoffs in the aerospace industry meant the loss of 100,000 decent paying, unionized jobs, hitting black workers particularly hard. While aerospace still plays a large role in the area's economy, the Hollywood entertainment industry, the shipping of cargo through the L.A./Long Beach ports, and low-wage service, tourist and small-scale manufacturing play an increasingly substantial role, employing vast numbers of Latino and Asian immigrants. There is a widespread desire to fight, and labor struggle is seen as the means to do that. This was exemplified by the "Justice for Janitors" campaign for union recognition and decent wages. The 1990 cop assault on the Century City protest is to this day commemorated by Latino janitors in L.A. The janitors struggle is the subject of a new movie by Ken Loach titled *Bread and Roses*, a fictional account which focuses on the role played by heroic Latino women labor militants.

The recent organizing victories in L.A. are held up as a model of the "new labor movement" under AFL-CIO president John Sweeney, a former SEIU leader who came in with the promise to "organize, organize, organize" as labor was flat on its back after two decades of losing strikes. But the "new" AFL-CIO bureaucracy has the same old pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party politics. These "progressive" labor fakers reject the class-struggle methods—like militant strikes, sit-down occupations and labor boycotts—that built the industrial unions in the 1930s in favor of public relations efforts and the occasional "civil disobedience" stunt. Even Sweeney now admits that his "new team" has little to show for its efforts; nationally the percentage of organized private-sector workers has fallen to under 10 percent. Even in L.A., which has seen the biggest increase in union membership, the gains have been largely among service workers, and unions like the SEIU, AFSCME government employees and HERE (hotel and restaurant workers) constitute the bulk of the county labor federation.

It was prodding from L.A. labor officials which spurred the national AFL-CIO to change its posture on immigration, dropping the strident calls for sanctions against employers who hire "illegal" immigrants. Last year, the AFL-CIO organized rallies in several cities around the country to demand amnesty for undocumented workers, including one in L.A. that drew nearly 20,000, mostly Latino immigrants. At the same time, the Sweeney bureaucracy calls to further *strengthen* the militarization of the border—already vastly strengthened by the Clinton administration—which since 1996 has resulted in the deaths of at least a thousand people attempting to cross over. With their protectionist call to "defend American jobs," the labor misleaders seek to alibi their own refusal to fight against job losses and runaway shops by scapegoating workers abroad, lining up with the American bourgeoisie against its capitalist rivals overseas. In the U.S., this chauvinist poison fuels racist attacks against foreign-born and minority workers.

Like Contreras himself, much of the L.A. labor leadership consists of slicker-talking, social-democratic types who over the last decade ousted the old (and mostly white) labor bureaucrats who completely ignored their immigrant base. Typical of this new breed of labor bureaucrat in L.A. is Contreras' wife, Maria Elena Durazo, who took over HERE Local 11 as part of a Latino slate that ousted the "old guard" in 1989. Villaraigosa also got his start in that milieu. A Chicano nationalist in his youth, he became an organizer for the UTLA teachers union in the early 1980s, going from there to an appointment to the MTA board in 1991 and a seat in the state Assembly three years later. He became a prominent fixture at labor rallies and at student protests in defense of affirmative action, using these as a platform to campaign for Davis as governor.

Last year's transit strike provided an object lesson in how the labor bureaucracy's allegiance to the Democratic Party is counterposed to class struggle. The United Transportation Union strikers faced down the city's union-busting efforts, and their co-workers in the other transit unions defied orders by their bureaucrats to cross the picket lines. The bourgeoisie was unable to pit the black and Latino poor who use public transportation against the integrated transit workers union, despite strikebreaking appeals to the inner-city poor by Democratic politicians like county supervisor Burke, who is also chairman of the MTA board.

With Burke and other local Democrats exposed as enemies of the strike, Contreras invited Jesse Jackson to L.A. to preach the virtues of "reconciliation" with management and "mediate" a settlement at a critical point in the strike. The labor tops then turned a contract ratification meeting into a revival meeting for Jackson and other Democratic politicians. In the midst of the transit walkout, a strike by 47,000 SEIU Local 660 county workers was scuttled after one day in response to Cardinal Mahony's cynical concerns over its impact on the "most vulnerable members of our community." In fact, the union did not even have a strike fund, having poured its money into the campaign coffers of the same county supervisors they were going to strike against.

What's needed is a new, class-struggle leadership in the trade unions, which understands that the interests of labor can only be defended on the basis of the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class enemy, its state and its political parties. While the left-talking labor tops look back to the "New Deal" Democratic Party of the 1930s, we fight for the working class to have its own party, one whose aim is a socialist revolution that sweeps away the repressive apparatus that is the capitalist state. A workers government would rip the means of production out of the hands of the capitalists and use the wealth produced by the working people for the service of all, providing jobs, housing, free quality health care and education for everyone. Those who labor must rule! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office
Box 1377 GPO,
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Vancouver
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Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

France...

(continued from page 5)

terror in the ghettos or to link this to the superexploitation of youth with [government-subsidized] "youth jobs" and temporary work. As such, the French left, like LO, apes the *racist* measures of the French state, which tells youth of the "second generation" to forcibly "assimilate" and expels young girls for wearing the *hijab* [headscarf] in public school. One can hardly "assimilate" into a society that offers no jobs and only police repression! The French fake left's and labor traitors' indifference to racial oppression flows directly from their perspective of class collaboration. We Trotskyists in the LTF insist that the interests of labor and oppressed minorities must advance together or they will fall back together!

What the Municipal Elections Revealed

The March municipal elections revealed in the parliamentary arena what the strikes and ghetto upheavals have shown on the shop floors and streets of France for the last several years: working people and minorities have had enough! In some poor neighborhoods, the abstention rate from the elections was as high as *70 percent*. The elections showed France to be a very polarized society: the right made gains, except for Paris and Lyon which the left captured, but the pseudo-Trotskyist groups made significant gains as well.

Most significant from our standpoint is that Lutte Ouvrière, the one group which made opposition to supporting the popular front the center of its campaign, made significant gains in this election and directly at the expense of the Communist Party, which was widely perceived to be "punished" for its continued participation in the government. Revolutionaries could have given critical support to LO in the municipal election. For LO, opposition to the popular front is not a question of principle—indeed that's why they don't even call it by its real name (they call it the "governmental left"), so as not to refer directly to what Trotsky called this form of class collaboration: "not a tactic but the greatest crime."

LO's opposition is entirely conditional, tactical and only to this particular government. We would not be surprised if in the next presidential election, LO maneuvers for a slightly more left-wing popular-frontist formation, perhaps with the transfer of some deputies from LO's chateau to the National Assembly. Thus LO waited until just before the second round to declare categorically that they were opposed to supporting any slate of the popular front. In 1997, LO helped elect the Jospin popular front. Throughout their history, whenever workers had illusions in the popular front, LO capitulated to them. In 1981, they called for voting "without illusion but without reservation" for [PS presidential candidate] Mitterrand, using the rationale that if the workers want it they should have the experience, or that it's a fight against the fascist National Front. LO always has a pretext in these cases, but essentially it helps to put the popular front in power under the pretext that we must "fight the right" and vote for the "lesser evil" on the second round. As regards the role of their own deputies, [LO standard-bearer] Arlette Laguiller couldn't be clearer on "pressure politics": "They will know how to carry out local politics on behalf of the exploited by pressuring the municipal majority whatever its political coloration" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 16 March).

Krivine's LCR scrambled for alliances with anybody who would have them, from the PS to the PCF to the Greens and community associations. It won seats in Clermont-Ferrand by fusing its list on the second round with that of the PS mayor and in Kremlin-Bicêtre, south of Paris, by fusing with a list headed by the Mouvement des Citoyens [the bourgeois Movement of Citizens of the chauvinist former interior minister Chevènement]. But after seeing that LO had achieved some success by capitalizing on justified anger among workers and the oppressed against the government because LO offered the only slate opposing the government in the elections, the LCR cynically declared, "Let's get together for the presidentials" and we'll stop supporting the government, too! Program and principles have absolutely nothing to do with it, as Krivine explained in *Libération* (25 April) that LO and the LCR could expect to win less than 10 percent of the vote next year running separate slates but more than 10 percent on a joint slate.

To look at the election posters of LO and the LCR reprinted in the March-April *Lutte de Classe* is revealing. The LCR's campaign posters are all about ecology, clean air, green parks, nursery schools, moratoriums on roads, artistic research, etc. and blah, blah, blah. LO's posters are simple workerist, economist demands of ten words or less on pensions, wages or benefits—nothing outside the shopfloor. From neither the LO nor LCR election posters would you know that the ghettos around Paris, Lyon and Nice are burning and that every day youth are being attacked by the police. Nor would you know that thousands of immigrant "*sans-papiers*" are being held in deportation camps waiting to be expelled.

Youth and workers who have turned to Lutte Ouvrière as a left-wing alternative to the Communist Party have to confront the fact that all LO offers is...more of the same fundamentally reformist program. LO wants more social welfare and more tactful police, and to "ban" layoffs in companies that make profits—in short, LO wants capitalism with a human face. But poverty and oppression are rooted in the very workings of the capitalist system and can't be eradicated short of the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system itself. LO's program therefore consists of looking to channel working-class anger into pressuring this capitalist government for reforms and, as such, LO is an obstacle on the road to revolution, not a vehicle for the liberation of the workers and the oppressed.

Le Bolchévik

LTF opposes popular front, calls "For a Multiethnic Revolutionary Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!" *Le Bolchévik*, 4 issues/$5. Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing, Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 was a huge inspiration to the working class throughout the world. For many syndicalists, the lesson was learned through the experience of the Bolsheviks that in order to overthrow capitalism, you need a vanguard party of professional revolutionaries. The best elements among the militant syndicalists—like James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, and Alfred Rosmer of France—were won over to the fight to build a revolutionary party to lead international workers revolution. In the years after the Russian Revolution, Trotsky spent a great deal of time and effort trying to win over French radical syndicalists to the building of a revolutionary party. In a 1920 letter to syndicalist leader Pierre Monatte, Trotsky wrote of the need to build the revolutionary vanguard party:

> "The task of the working class is to expel the bourgeoisie from power, annihilate its apparatus of violence and oppression, and create organs of its own labor dictatorship in order to crush resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie and reconstruct all social relations as quickly as possible in the spirit of communism....
>
> "But in the working class itself, as you know, there are different levels of consciousness. The task of the revolution is clear in its totality only to the most conscious revolutionary minority of the proletariat. The strength of this minority lies in the fact that the more firmly, the more decisively and assuredly it acts, the more support it finds on the part of the numerous and more backward masses of workers. However,...it is indispensable that the working class be led in all aspects of life by its best, most class-conscious representatives, who always remain true to their colors."
>
> —"Lettre à un syndicaliste français" [Letter to a French Syndicalist], 31 July 1920 in Leon Trotsky, *Le Mouvement Communiste en France 1919-1939* (1967)

The Ligue Trotskyste de France, along with our comrades around the world in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is fighting in the tradition of Bolshevism to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic task as the gravedigger of capitalism. To sweep away this capitalist system and to eliminate racism and war, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be built to link together all forms of resistance to immiseration and oppression and to create an egalitarian socialist society here and internationally. For new October Revolutions!■

Wind...

(continued from page 2)

against prior restraint" by allowing publication of the "Pentagon Papers"—confidential documents on the U.S. war in Vietnam—over the objections of the government.

There have been no such mass movements since then, mainly because the trade-union misleaders and black elected officials have been able to divert the anger in the workplaces and in the ghettos into the dead end of Democratic Party "lesser evilism." It was Democratic governors who raised the flag of slavery in Georgia and other states to show their defiance of the civil rights movement. On the eve of the 1984 Democratic convention in San Francisco, Democratic mayor and current U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein raised the Confederate flag there as well to placate Southern delegates. The Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense repeatedly mobilized to tear down that racist banner until the city was forced to replace it with the flag of the "California Hundred," the first 100 volunteers to fight with the Union Army.

In the late 1970s, Southern Democrat Jimmy Carter praised the virtues of racial segregation with his slogan of "ethnic purity," while promoting "moral rearmament" to overcome the legacy of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Vietnam. The "New South" exemplified by Carter meant the same old racist reaction and "open shop" union-busting without the formal structures of Jim Crow. It was near the capital of the "New South," the Atlanta of black Democratic mayor Andrew Young, that the 50th anniversary of *Gone With the Wind* was celebrated at a Tara ball where Young and his wife were the only black people in attendance. The following decade, Clinton and Gore, another pair of Southern Democrats, presided over the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of black men and condemned untold numbers of women and children to destitution and malnutrition by axing welfare.

With the civil rights and antiwar movements relegated to the distant past, both the Democratic and Republican capitalist parties have attacked the gains, however minimal, that issued out of the '50s and '60s. Today, the mass of the black population lives in more segregated and more impoverished conditions than they did then. A measure of how the ruling class denigrates black life can be gleaned from the *New York Times* (10 May), which devoted half a page to the murder trial of a 14-year-old black student in Florida and all of six sentences to the conviction of a white-supremacist who murdered five people in a rampage of racist terror near Pittsburgh last year.

We say: Let Alice Randall's book be published! The true story of the fight for black freedom and the emancipation of the working people as a whole and of the countless heroes who gave their lives in this cause will only be told when the multiracial proletariat replaces the racist bourgeoisie in power. As we wrote at the time of the Columbia, South Carolina protest in "Down With the Confederate Flag of Slavery!" (*WV* No. 728, 28 January 2000):

> "To achieve black freedom will require a third American revolution, placing in power a workers government committed to building a socialist economy with genuine equality. One of the first acts of a revolutionary proletarian regime would be to tear down every last Confederate flag and monument and replace them with the red flag and monuments to *our* heroes."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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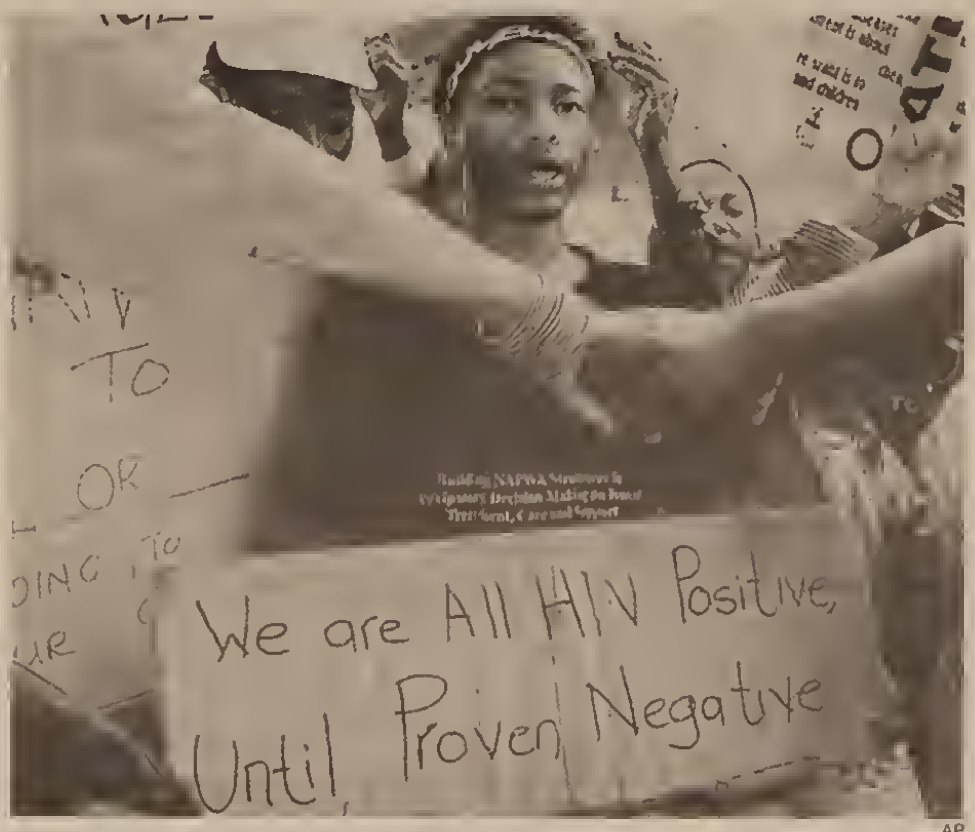
South Africa: Thousands Protest Drug Monopolies, Mbeki Regime

A Pretoria courtroom erupted in singing and dancing on April 20 when AIDS activists heard that 39 major pharmaceutical companies would abandon a lawsuit against the import and production of generic anti-HIV drugs. The extortionate prices charged by the bloodsucking drug giants have helped ensure that all but a tiny handful of South Africa's nearly five million HIV-positive people—and some 20 million others in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa—are denied the antiretroviral cocktails which have vastly extended and improved the lives of many in the U.S. and other Western countries. Speaking at an international AIDS conference in Durban last year, an HIV-positive South African high court justice, Edwin Cameron, declared: "Amidst the poverty of Africa, I stand here before you because I am able to purchase health.... I am here because I can pay for life itself. To me this seems a shocking and monstrous inequity."

The drug monopolies' suit targeted a law passed by the African National Congress (ANC) government in 1997 aimed at circumventing patent "rights" on essential medicines. But the bourgeois-nationalist government of ANC president Thabo Mbeki is no less complicit in this monstrous inequity. Minutes after the announcement, ANC health minister Dr. Tshabalala-Msimang stated, "We never said we want to use anti-retrovirals," arguing that such drugs are still too expensive and too dangerous for widespread use. "We are doing very well," she professed, simply with nutrition programs and treatment of opportunist infections. This smug claim comes only months after a report by the United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS predicted that *half* of all current 15-year-olds in South Africa and Zimbabwe may die of AIDS.

Mbeki's ignorant diatribes last year denying that the HIV virus causes AIDS were aimed in large part at deflecting criticism over his government's refusal to allocate medical resources to combat the epidemic. To lend credence to his anti-scientific bigotry, Mbeki set up a panel of "experts" including the scientific godfather of the anti-HIV "theory," Peter Duesberg, a professor of molecular and cell biology at UC Berkeley. Despite overwhelming evidence that a course of anti-retroviral medication for HIV-positive pregnant women can prevent transmission of the virus to the fetus, the Mbeki government has thus far refused to implement even this relatively inexpensive program, rejecting a German firm's offer of free AZT for this purpose.



AP

As AIDS epidemic devastates southern Africa, protesters outside Pretoria court last month denounced extortionate drug companies.

While the ANC nationalists talk of "nation-building" and an "African renaissance," they are beholden to the imperialists. With patent claims imposed under the terms of the World Trade Organization, "some [South African government] officials opposed the legislation permitting the import of generic and other cheaper drugs, fearing that it would harm the confidence of investors," reported the London *Guardian* (18 April). Meanwhile, the U.S., Britain and other imperialist governments, despite hypocritical criticisms of Mbeki's rantings, act as enforcers for the pharmaceutical monopolies. A February 1999 State Department report boasted that "all relevant agencies of the U.S. government...have been engaged in an assiduous, concerted campaign to persuade the government of South Africa to withdraw or modify" the 1997 statutes. Having finally dropped South Africa from its punitive "trade watch" recently, on April 30 the U.S. raised the spectre of trade sanctions against Brazil for manufacturing and distributing generic anti-retrovirals.

In fact, what led to the climbdown by the pharmaceutical monopolies in South Africa was fear of growing international competition from generic drug producers like the Bombay-based firm Cipla, combined with a campaign of mass protest by the South African Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). TAC was formed by activists outraged over the government's decision to halt programs—carried out in the guise of research—under which anti-retroviral drugs were given to pregnant women at Soweto's Chris Hani Baragwanath and other hospitals. Beginning with the Durban conference last July and again throughout the spring, thousands have taken to the streets of Pretoria and Johannesburg—joined by solidarity demonstrations in London, Paris, New York and other cities—to demand that anti-retroviral drugs be made available to the millions of HIV-positive Africans.

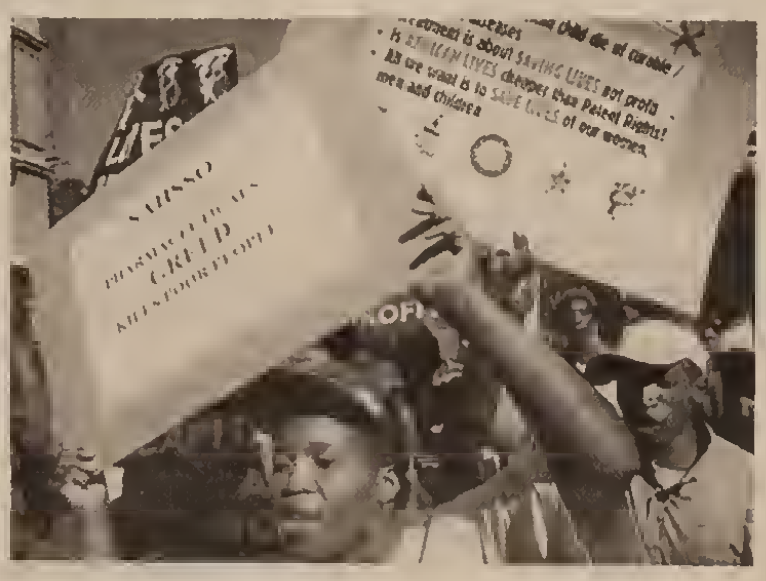
Contingents from the COSATU trade-union federation have been prominent in the recent multiracial protests, reflecting the fact that AIDS runs rampant among South African miners and other workers. The protests also featured large numbers of openly gay men and women along with demonstrators wearing T-shirts reading "I Am HIV Positive." The protests are all the more dramatic given that just over two years ago, in December 1998, AIDS activist Gugu Dlamini was stoned and knifed to death by a KwaZulu-Natal mob for daring to speak out about her HIV-positive status. Protesters have carried such slogans as "Workers United in the Fight for Affordable Drugs," "To Hell With Patent Rights When It Comes to Our Lives" and "Capitalism—A Sick System."

A 20 March statement by the South African Communist Party (SACP), which is part of Mbeki's "tripartite alliance" government along with COSATU, "heartily welcomes" an offer by Cuban leader Fidel Castro to help "circumvent patent laws to produce cheap generic drugs for AIDS." It speaks to the power of a planned, collectivized economy that the Cuban deformed workers state, though far smaller and poorer than capitalist South Africa, has been able to develop such medicines even in the face of a suffocating U.S. blockade. But in an earlier statement following the Durban conference, the SACP agnostically alleged it had "not sufficiently studied the complex issues about anti-retroviral HIV/AIDS drugs so as to comment." The SACP's doublespeak illustrates its treacherous role, and that of the

continued on page 8

"Labor's Militant Voice" Reformists Push Deadly Anti-Science Bigotry

AP photos



While ANC government of Thabo Mbeki pursues policy of criminal neglect, trade unions have joined in recent protests demanding access to anti-HIV drugs.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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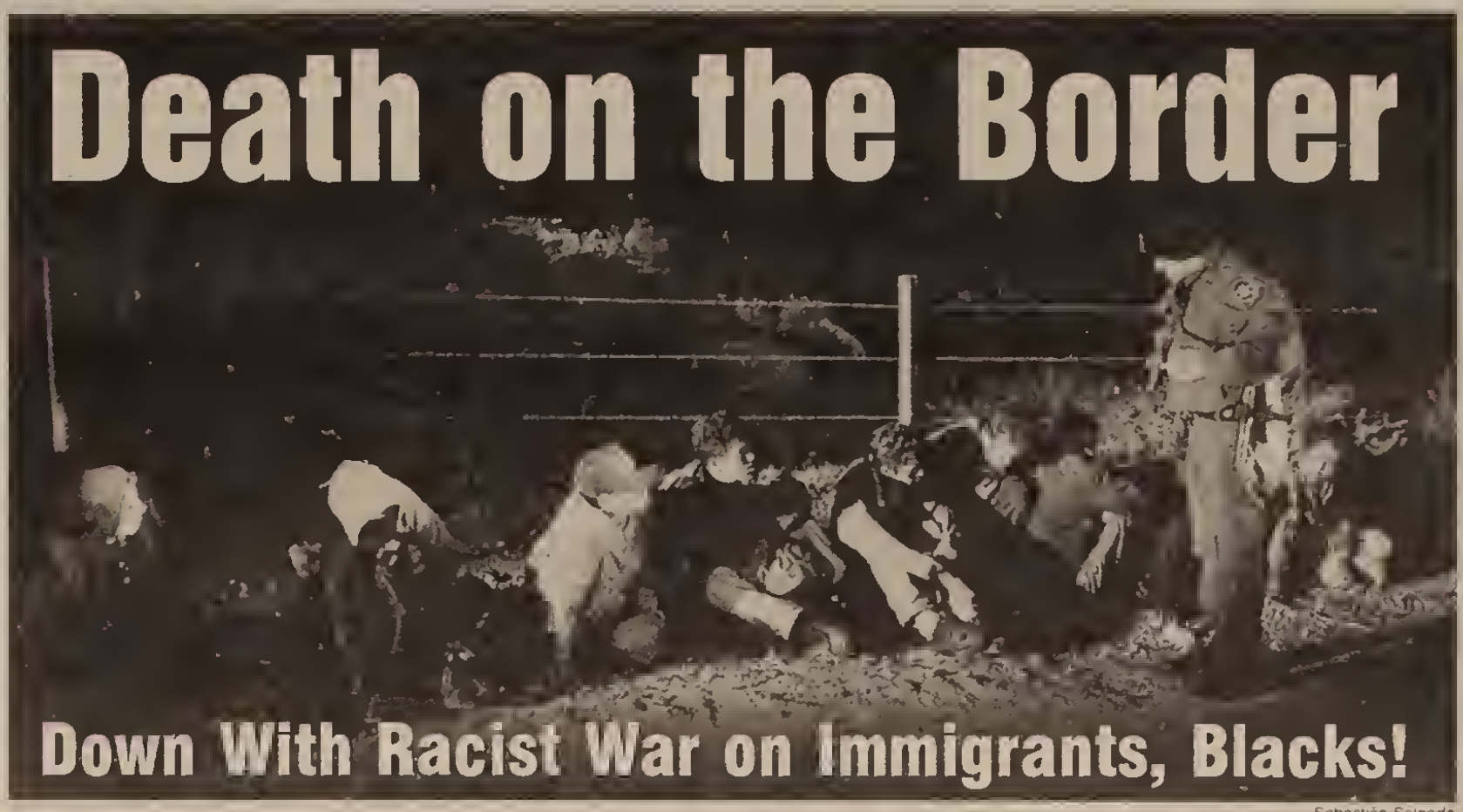
No. 760

8 June 2001

Imperialism, Racism and Immigration

Death on the Border



Down With Racist War on Immigrants, Blacks!

Sebastião Salgado

The 14 Mexican immigrants who died horrible deaths attempting a trek across the sun-scorched Arizona desert last month are among the latest victims of the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border by the American capitalist rulers. The immigrants were part of a group of 28 who had left southern Mexico in pursuit of jobs in North Carolina. The group was driven across the border and then abandoned in the desert by ruthless *coyotes* (smugglers). After walking for five days over 30 miles of harsh terrain, they were still another 30 miles away from Highway 8 when delirium, heat stroke and dehydration set in. Peeling off their clothes, they searched in vain for shade. One by one they succumbed to the heat, which had risen above 115 degrees; several of the survivors will have permanent kidney damage. Just days after the bodies of the 14 were discovered, two more immigrants died trying to cross from Mexico into Arizona.

Three of the earlier victims were from the state of Guerrero, where what little

Rivera/El Diario-La Prensa

U.S. rulers have built walls and deployed thousands of heavily armed cops along Mexican border, causing hundreds of immigrants to die every year. New York City, May 27: Protesters demand, "No More Death."

employment exists is mainly in the tourist city of Acapulco. Others were from Veracruz, where residents of small towns and villages barely scrape out an existence. Every year, well over a million Mexican and other Latin American immigrants attempt the treacherous journey to *el Norte*, traveling up to 4,000 miles to get jobs as dishwashers, gardeners, farm workers, janitors—anything they can get—working 70-hour weeks for subminimum wages.

While the capitalist media echoes the U.S. and Mexican governments in blaming the smugglers, the deaths were the outcome of conscious policies initiated by the Republican Bush Sr. administration and vastly expanded by Democrat Clinton. The number of Border Patrol agents has more than doubled over the past six years to 8,800, and Bush Jr. proposes to increase that number to 11,000 by 2003. Border cities like San Diego and El Paso were sealed off by huge walls while the hated *la migra*, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), has been vastly augmented, supplemented by Marine, Army and National Guard troops. One Border Patrol supervisor said at the time, "Eventually we'd like to see them all out in the desert" (*San Diego Union-Tribune*, 26 May 1996).

Most immigrants pay smugglers at least $1,000 to get them across the border, and at every step of the way they face the dangers of bandits, corrupt cops and vigilante ranchers. According to Mexican government figures, ***491 Mexicans*** died attempting to cross the border last year, up from 369 in 1999. Before 1996, there were fewer than 100 such deaths per year. Last year, 1.6 million Mexicans were expelled trying to cross into the U.S.

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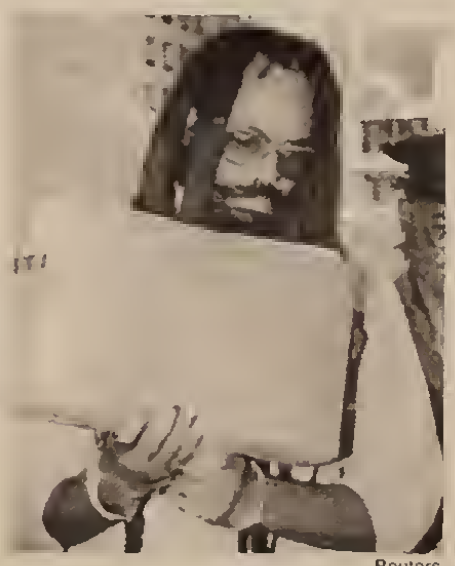
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Prosecutors, Press Try to Bury New Evidence of Innocence

The Philadelphia district attorney's office, with the aid of a shameless blackout by the capitalist media outside Philly, is doing everything in its power to make sure that dramatic new evidence of Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence will never be heard in court—or anywhere else. On May 4, Jamal's new legal team filed affidavits that blew to bits the frame-up that railroaded him to death row for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. The affidavits included the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly in 1999 that he shot Faulkner and that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting." In his own affidavit, Mumia says categorically, "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

In new papers filed on May 29, Mumia's attorneys point out, "It is a rare habeas petitioner who is able to come before the United States District Court with a full blown confession from the true perpetrator of the offense of which the Petitioner was convicted and which proves that the Petitioner is innocent." But the prosecutors and the capitalist rulers they represent could not care less about Mumia's innocence. They want to execute Jamal because they see in this black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist repression. They want to execute Jamal in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge cop terror in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest U.S. imperialist mass murder abroad. Jamal's case symbolizes what the death penalty—and the whole apparatus of capitalist state repression—is all about.



Reuters

Mumia Abu-Jamal carrying legal papers into 1995 appeal hearings.

continued on page 11

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

No to McVeigh, Garza Executions!

The following is a June 5 statement by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Seizing on outrage over the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, the federal government is intent on using the case of Timothy McVeigh to restart its machinery of death. With popular support for the death penalty waning, they see in McVeigh, a self-confessed mass murderer, the perfect victim for the first federal execution since 1963. Barring a stay of execution, on June 11 he will be strapped onto a gurney, wheeled into the death chamber at the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana and injected with a poison that will drain his body of life within minutes. The federal government is determined to put someone to death this month even if McVeigh does win a stay. On June 19, Juan Paul Garza is slated to be executed. Garza, more typically, is among the *80 percent* of federal death row inmates who are either Hispanic or black. We demand: ***Stop the executions of McVeigh and Garza! Abolish the racist death penalty!***

We recoil at this spectacle of vengeful, state-sanctioned murder. Capital punishment *is* a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, and in the U.S. of black chattel slavery. It is a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects. We oppose the death penalty on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who lives and who dies.

Attorney General John Ashcroft arranged for the McVeigh execution to be broadcast on closed-circuit TV, a grisly spectacle reminiscent of the Middle Ages. So intent were the Feds on rushing McVeigh to the death chamber that the FBI withheld at least 4,000 pages of documents pertaining to his defense until days before he was initially scheduled to be executed on May 16. The FBI released several hundred more pages only in the last few days. Yet Ashcroft adamantly opposes a further stay of execution...in the interests of "justice." Ashcroft's notion of justice is revealed in his admiration for the slavocracy. As governor of Missouri, he oversaw the restoration of capital punishment there. His current boss, George W. Bush, presided over a pace of executions unprecedented in U.S. history during his term as governor of Texas.

Just as the Feds now use the McVeigh case to bolster state-sanctioned murder, when state governments began carrying out the death penalty again in 1977 after a ten-year hiatus, the first victim to be hauled before a Utah firing squad was Gary Gilmore, who asked to be executed. Over 700 have followed Gilmore to death chambers around the country, overwhelmingly in the states of the old Confederacy. It is a direct expression of the brutal system of racial oppression, the bedrock of American capitalism, that the U.S. remains one of the few industrialized capitalist countries to retain the death penalty. Capital punishment is legal lynching: 43 percent of the 3,700 men and women on the country's death rows today are black.

The death penalty stands at the apex of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against workers and minorities. In recent years, that repressive apparatus has been heavily bolstered by both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans alike, in order to contain the explosive contradictions between the handful of filthy rich and the many at the bottom. With bipartisan support, the federal government has sought to ensure not only that the state and federal death row populations would continue to grow but also that death sentences would be meted out in those states that have resisted the reimposition of capital punishment. That was the import of two death penalty bills signed into law by Democrat Clinton in 1996, which vastly increased the number of federal crimes punishable by death while gutting the right of federal *habeas corpus* appeals.

In an article headlined "State Butchers Gilmore," *Workers Vanguard* (No. 141, 21 January 1977) wrote: "The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life.... The hangmen and firing squads will not be eliminated through civil libertarian reforms. Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism." ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Parliamentarism and Bourgeois Elections

In Britain and other countries with mass social-democratic parties, the chief task of communists is to split the working-class base of these parties away from the reformist misleaders. The 1920 Second Congress of the Communist International addressed the task of building parties modeled on the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian workers to state power in the October Revolution of 1917. While affirming the need for revolutionary parties to participate in bourgeois elections and parliaments, the Congress rejected the notion that the proletariat could conquer state power through bourgeois parliamentarism.

Parliamentarism as a state system has become a "democratic" form of rule for the bourgeoisie. At a certain stage in its development it needs the fiction of a popular governing body that outwardly appears to be an organization of "the popular will," standing outside the classes, but in essence is a machine wielded by ruling capital for oppression and subjugation.

Parliamentarism is a particular form of state organization. It cannot, therefore, be a form of communist society, which knows no classes, class struggle, nor any kind of state authority.

Nor can parliamentarism be a form of proletarian state administration during the transition period from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to that of the proletariat. At the moment when the class struggle becomes acute—in civil war—the proletariat must not fail to construct its state as *an organization of struggle* that excludes representatives of the former ruling classes. At this stage any fiction about "the will of the people" is directly harmful to the proletariat. Parliamentary separation of powers is unnecessary for the proletariat and harmful to it. The form of the proletarian dictatorship is the soviet republic.

Bourgeois parliaments, among the most important organizations of the bourgeois state machine, cannot as such be taken over permanently, just as the proletariat cannot possibly take over the bourgeois state. The proletariat's task is to break up the bourgeoisie's state machine and to destroy it, and with it parliamentary institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist....

Participation in the electoral struggle as well as revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary rostrum is particularly important as a means of politically involving layers of workers, such as the rural toiling masses, that until now have had little contact with political life....

Since the center of gravity lies in the struggle for state power, which is waged outside parliament, it is obvious that the question of proletarian dictatorship and the *mass struggle* to achieve it cannot be placed on the same level as the special question of utilizing parliament.

—"Theses on the Communist Parties and Parliamentarism," *Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920* (Pathfinder Press, 1991)

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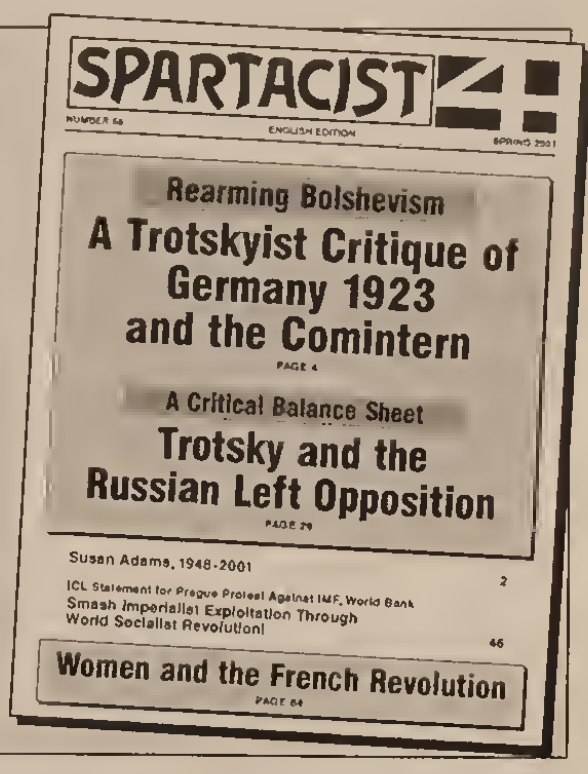

WORKERS VANGUARD
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The closing date for news in this issue is June 5

No. 760 — 8 June 2001

Spartacist Forum

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The Fight Is On: Mobilize to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Wednesday, June 27, 7:30 p.m.
Broadway Presbyterian Church, Broadway and 114th Street
(Entrance on 114th Street)

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Britain: Down With Police Occupation in Oldham!

The following is an abridged version of a statement issued by the Spartacist League/Britain on June 1.

For five weeks the black and Asian population in Oldham have been subjected to repeated provocations by the National Front (NF) and British National Party (BNP) fascists. For Asians and blacks, Saturdays have become known as "no-go days" or "National Front days" in the town centre. On Saturday, 26 May, fascist gangs attacked Asian homes: a pregnant Asian woman had a brick thrown through her window; racist scum jumped on a parked car while an Asian woman and child were inside, smashing the windscreen. Asian youth organised to defend themselves and riot police moved in to quell the angry protests. Scenes of blazing police vans illuminated the reality of British capitalism and highlighted the despair of Asian youth in a racist dead-end town who have been pushed beyond the limit of their endurance. We say: ***Drop the charges against all arrested Asian youth!***

Urgently needed is trade-union centred protest against the police occupation of the Asian community. This means drawing in the power of the urban working class of the Manchester area so that besieged minority youth in this enclave of Oldham, a run-down former mill town, are not left to go it alone against the organised violence of the state, its cops, courts and prisons.

AP

Blazing street barricade in Asian area of Oldham as cops move in to suppress youth defending themselves against fascist provocations.

towns like Oldham, perpetuating the conditions which provide a fertile breeding ground for the NF and BNP.

Socialist Worker (2 June) harps on about the fact the "Cops let Nazi thugs rampage in Oldham," as if they might be expected to act differently. The cops—the armed fist of the bosses' state—are not "neutral," but defenders of the fascist scum and enforcers of the daily racism and deprivation meted out to minorities. *Socialist Worker* concludes: "Don't Vote Nazi." Such calls to repudiate the fascists

Super/NY Times

Storefront in Oldham defaced with racist graffiti. Minority youth face future of no jobs and growing racist attacks.

Tony Blair said, "We give 100 percent support to the police on the law and order issue and on race relations" and sanctimoniously condemned the "white extremists" for racism (*Guardian*, 29 May). This is rich. Labour's relentless anti-immigrant, anti-asylum campaigns have fanned the flames of racism and given the green light to the fascist vermin. We demand full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants! For the right of asylum! Under Labour and Tories alike the capitalist system of production for profit has resulted in massive de-industrialisation in

(and the Tories) at the polls are typical of reformist schemes to push Labour as a "lesser evil" and a way to "fight the right."

Fascists are race-terrorists whose ultimate target is the destruction of the entire workers movement. As the Nazis were in Germany, so too the British fascists are kept in reserve as the capitalists' "dogs of war" to be unleashed in times of extreme social crisis. They feed off the economic devastation and de-industrialisation in places like Oldham. The provocations of these extra-parliamentary gangs can and must be met by the mobilisation of the social power of the workers movement acting at the head of all the oppressed. We call for mass union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists! It is not only the duty of the workers movement but in its immediate and direct interest to take such action. The political obstacle to such mobilisations is the Labourite trade-union bureaucracy—loyal to the capitalist system, preaching the inviolability of its state and implacably hostile to such independent mobilisations of the working class.

We are giving critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) whose campaign draws a class line, albeit crudely, against Blair's anti-working-class New Labour. But we counterpose our revolutionary programme to the SLP's programme which is Old Labour parliamentary reformism—a programme which has always served British imperialism. No amount of "socialist" MPs in parliament, no amount of tinkering with the worst excesses of the state or whitewash "inquiries" can get to the root of racial oppression: the capitalist system.

The situation facing racial minorities in Oldham—racist attacks, police terror, no jobs, grinding poverty and appalling social conditions—illustrates the vicious and irrational workings of British capitalism. During labour shortages immigrant workers are brought in to do the lowest paid and dirtiest jobs; when no longer needed they are discarded. In Oldham, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and black Caribbean workers once worked in the textile mills, but as in Bradford and elsewhere they have been pushed out of the workforce by the devastation of manufacturing industry. Unemployment levels for the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities are as high as 25 per cent and most of this generation of youth, particularly minorities, have no hope of *ever* finding a decent job.

Both under Labour and Tories, the capitalist system has looted and devastated the wealth of this country—which was built by the sweat of the working class "at home" and the exploitation of the colonial masses abroad. Racist divide and rule, practised in the colonies for centuries, is used to weaken the working class, scapegoating immigrants and minorities for the capitalists' economic crises. Oldham is not unique; former industrial areas of Scotland, South Wales and the north of England have been laid waste. In some areas, three generations have been without jobs, and the looming economic recession promises worse to come. The organised workers movement must wage a class battle, including linking up with the unemployed, in a fight for jobs! And in the car plants of the West Midlands, Luton and Dagenham; in the railway and transport system in every major city, in London Underground as well as every hospital in the country, blacks and Asians are an integral part of the workforce. A militant battle for a shorter working week with no loss in pay, for union control of hiring and union-run job training requires a workers leadership that fights for what we need, not what capitalism can afford.

Our perspective is based on the Transitional Programme by Leon Trotsky (1938) which asserts that the right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based on exploitation, that workers' rights are determined in struggle and that "If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish." The establishment of workers rule and a planned, collectivised economy with a five-year plan or two is the only way to overcome the devastation of capitalism in Britain.

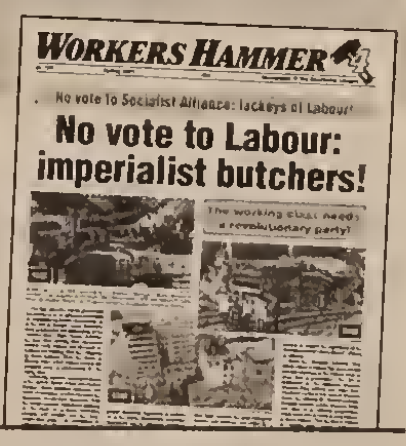
There is a way forward: the struggle to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian party which acts as the tribune of all the oppressed. Such a party would bring together the advanced workers and angry youth in the fight to overthrow this rotting, racist system once and for all, the fight for workers state power. This is what we in the Spartacist League stand for: join us! ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 6.

WORKERS HAMMER



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Spartacists Campaign for Scargill's SLP

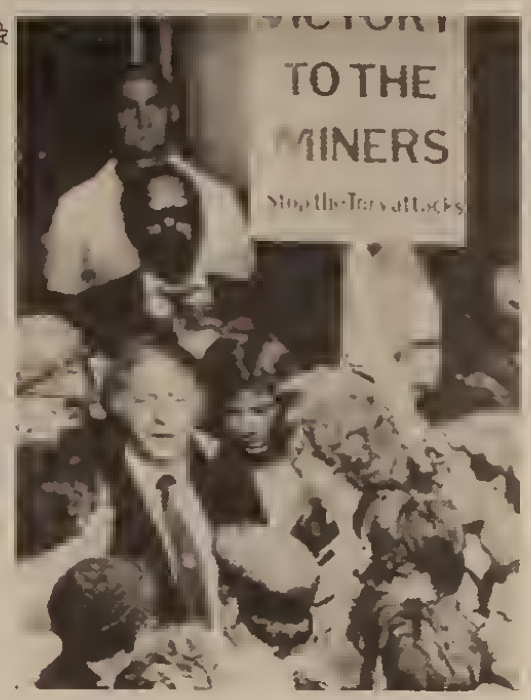
Britain: No Vote to Blair's Anti-Working-Class Labour Party

With the Conservative (Tory) Party in disarray, the June 7 parliamentary elections are widely expected to result in another term for Prime Minister Tony Blair's Labour Party. Four years of Labour government has meant union-busting privatizations, concentration camps for asylum-seekers, deadly crashes on the formerly nationalized railways, bigoted witchhunts against "sex offenders," unprecedented attacks on civil liberties and all-sided attacks on the working class and ethnic minorities. Under a draconian "Terrorism" Act enacted earlier this year, 21 Turkish, Kurdish, Tamil and other political organizations have already been banned and more are threatened. In the 1999 U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia, Blair was even more bellicose than his imperialist allies in Washington. In a 14 May statement (reprinted below), the Spartacist League/Britain called for critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) of Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, declaring, "Vote Socialist Labour Party, Against New Labour!"

On the opening day of Labour's election campaign in May, Blair was loudly berated by a woman denouncing his attacks on the National Health Service, which is also threatened with privatization, and Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott got into a fist fight with egg-throwing farmers and fuel protesters. With contempt for Blair's "New Labour" extending to wide sectors of the population—as evidenced in the massive popularity of last year's fuel blockades by independent truckers and farmers—the perennially Labour-loyal fake left has banded together in the Socialist Alliance (SA) to posture as a "socialist challenge to the Labour Party." Dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), SA also includes Workers Power, Sean Matgamna's Alliance for Workers Liberty, the United Secretariat's Socialist Outlook and Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party.

Socialist Alliance is being hailed as a model by kindred reformists and centrists from West Europe to Australia and the U.S. But as the SL/B's *Workers Hammer* (Spring 2001) said, "***The Socialist Alliance are pimps for Tony Blair, seeking to channel the heartfelt anger of workers, youth and minorities back into the rotten mould of parliamentary politics and to refurbish Labour's image.***" With SA not running candidates in the vast majority of constituencies, the SWP explicitly urges, "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*International Socialism*, Spring 2001). When a *Workers Hammer* reporter asked at a March 1 press conference if their brand of "socialism" can be achieved without a revolution, SA spokesman and Socialist Party chairman Dave Nellist sputtered that "it depends what you mean by revolution," citing "a revolution in education, the Internet revolution, a shopping revolution"!

Timothy Allen



AP

Four years of Labour government under Tony Blair (left) has meant union-busting privatizations, anti-immigrant racism. Socialist Labour Party of Arthur Scargill, shown at right leading historic 1984-85 miners strike, is running in clear opposition to Labour.

Bringing up the rear of this reformist lash-up is the fraudulent International Bolshevik Tendency, whose absurd call for a vote to *both* the pro-Labour SA and the SLP—which are facing off against each other in some areas—is just a cover for backhanded support to Labour. They claim: "The larger the aggregate vote for the candidates of the left, the greater the impetus for sections of Labour's working-class base to move to the left" (*1917* supplement, 14 May). This is the timeworn refrain of "make the Labour lefts fight," aimed at pressuring the thoroughly pro-capitalist Labour leadership.

Our aim in extending critical support to the SLP against the Labour Party is to help break Labour's stranglehold over the workers movement and to demonstrate that the aspirations and interests of the working class cannot be advanced through bourgeois parliamentarism. Illustrating this in practice, on May 19 the SL/B issued a supplementary statement (also reprinted below) opposing support to one SLP candidate who is a probation officer. Our call for critical support has met with contradictory responses from the eclectic SLP, with the London Islington branch rejecting our offer to canvass for their candidate and the Manchester SLP welcoming assistance from our comrades in campaigning on June 2.

* * *

In the general election the Spartacist League says no vote to Labour, which promises only to carry out more of the same racist, anti-working-class policies they have dished out over the past four years, and we say no vote to the Socialist Alliance whose campaign is subordinate to getting Labour re-elected. We urge a vote for the Socialist Labour Party which is running an independent working-class campaign that draws a class line, however crudely, *against* the Labour Party. Unlike the misnamed Socialist Alliance the SLP refuses to call for a vote to Labour and is willing to stand against so-called Labour "lefts" such as Jeremy Corbyn. Labour has whipped up a racist frenzy which is inciting deadly attacks on the minority population. Blair's brutal crackdown on the fuel protesters was a measure of his commitment to enforcing capitalist austerity. From the war on Serbia to the British Army siege of Catholic areas in Northern Ireland to the ongoing bombing of Iraq, the Labour government are imperialist butchers.

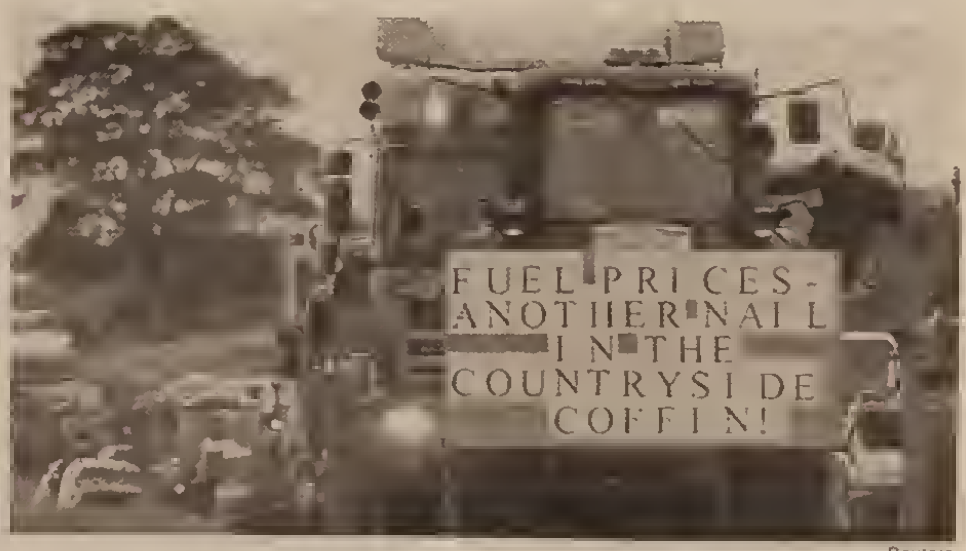
We refused to call for a vote to Ken Livingstone—a zealous supporter of the bombing of Serbia—when he ran for mayor of London; needless to say the Socialist Alliance backed him. This month Livingstone and Blair unleashed thousands of cops on May Day protesters in London. The Spartacist League says: Defend the May Day protesters! Drop all the charges!

In contrast to the Socialist Alliance, the SLP forthrightly calls for British troops out of Northern Ireland. The SLP calls for a united Ireland. We oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland which would mean reversing the existing terms of oppression. The only just solution is one in which the rule of capital is overthrown on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. We fight for an end to the oppression of the Catholic minority in the North and oppose the imperialist-brokered "peace" fraud which is necessarily at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority and won't do any good for working-class Protestants either. We say: Troops out now! For a workers republic in Ireland as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles!

The SLP raises some demands which we fully support, not least the call for the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords and the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales. They also call for free abortion on demand and for rebuilding health and public services, including re-nationalisation of rail and public utilities such as gas, water and electricity. These demands speak to the felt anger of working people against the crimes of the capitalist system.

The key question is what kind of party and programme does the working class need to represent its interests and those of

PA



Reuters

Privatization of British Rail has led to deadly crashes. Fuel blockades against Blair government by truckers and farmers were widely popular.

A Parliamentarist Sideshow

We publish below edited excerpts from a report by a Spartacist League/Britain comrade on a Socialist Alliance (SA) election rally in London on May 29.

It was an incredible achievement of a meeting for the parliamentary cretins of the Socialist Alliance. They held a meeting in a young and black area of London at a time when Oldham is under police siege due to fascist provocations and they drew nearly 100 old white people and mentioned Oldham precisely once in the presentations. Oh, and what did they say about Oldham: "It would be nice to have a candidate there, what with everything that's going on there with the [fascist] BNP." Wouldn't that just have the cops shaking in their boots!

Here are a selection of words that did not pass the lips of any of the speakers: working class, Scargill, the SLP, British imperialism, revolution, strikes, Northern Ireland, Garvaghy Road [site of Loyalist/police sieges against Northern Ireland Catholics]. Or to paint the picture another way, here are a selection of quotes: "People are bored into supporting the Socialist Alliance" (Paul Holborow of the Socialist Workers Party [SWP], chair of meeting). "A vote for the SA is not a wasted vote because all votes will send a signal to New Labour" (SWP Socialist Alliance candidate Teresa Bennett). "The Socialist Alliance has picked up what the Labour Party has thrown away—the red flag" (SA candidate Brian Kelly).

Former Labour Party "left" Liz Davies assured us that despite leaving the Labour Party NEC [National Executive Committee] and joining the SA she has had no Damascene conversion, she still has the same politics. She listed what she didn't like about this government and then went on to say that there are some good things this government has done. To quote Liz, "A vote to SA will make it harder for Blair to say he has a mandate for privatisations" and—the best one—"Socialist Alliance is a home for the tens of thousands who voted for Labour in 1997 and have a sour taste in their mouth." According to the SA, their main battle zone is St. Helens, where Blair has given "ex"-Tory Woodward a safe seat. For these Labourites this is "shameful," "shocking," etc. In fact, one speaker said that *this* was the proof that Labour has contempt for the working class.

Our comrade got to intervene. He started by saying: You wouldn't know from the speakers that Oldham is on fire. He was prompted by the chair to ask a question, so he replied: "Oh, you want it to be like Prime Minister's questions. Okay, does the speaker not agree that the situation in Oldham illustrates well what Lenin said of the capitalist state and the utter bankruptcy of Labourite parliamentary reformism?" He also got out that we are voting SLP, but not for [probation officer Gordon] Potts. And he said that the SA is for a Labour government by telling people to vote for Labour in other constituencies. The mooing and braying had reached such a level at this point you'd think a MAFF [Agriculture Ministry] inspector was on his way into the meeting.

In response to our intervention, Kelly stated: "We give unequivocal support to Asian youth in Oldham and all those combatting fascism and police brutality. The SA opposes the fascists." SWPer Rob Hoveman said: "It is not true that we are for a vote to Labour—we do not have a position. I myself would maybe look to Labour if I didn't have an SA candidate to vote for, but that is just personal." Hoveman is only the national organiser of the Socialist Alliance, after all!

Workers Hammer

SL/B contingent at 1993 London protest against fascist British National Party. Fake lefts seek to channel anti-racist youth into Labourite parliamentarism; we fight to mobilize social power of working class.

all the oppressed—minorities, women, gays and youth—in the struggle against capitalism. We seek to build a party which is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist, modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the great October Revolution of 1917.

The SLP, which raises many supportable demands, at bottom is nothing but a party of nostalgia: "Clause IV socialists" looking to a Labourite past, not a socialist future. "Clause IV," which promised "common ownership," was written into Labour's constitution at a time when workers were electrified by the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution. The myths about "common ownership" were concocted deliberately to dupe workers into believing that "socialism" could be achieved *without* a workers revolution, and through parliament. The SLP harks back to the supposed "good old days" of Clement Attlee's post-World War II Labour government which nationalised huge swathes of British industry in what amounted to an enormous capitalist bailout of failing enterprises. These companies were then subsidised by working people through high taxes and low wages while the former owners were given exorbitant rates of compensation. Attlee's Labour government were imperialist butchers who presided over the bloody partition of India and crushed the Communists in the Greek Civil War.

The Blair government's mania for privatisation, exceeds even that of Thatcher—the air traffic control system and the London Tube are on the list. We oppose privatisations, which always mean attacks on unions, jobs and working conditions, throwing safety to the wind. But for revolutionaries, the answer is not a return to the bad old days of British Rail à la the SLP, or Ken Livingstone's bonds-plus-public ownership scheme, which again subordinates the operation of public transport to the overall dictates of the capitalist system. Livingstone has hired Bob Kiley, a notorious union-buster and former CIA operative, to run the city transport system. Workers are currently engaged in one-day strikes over safety. Bob Crow, the chief rail union bureaucrat who was long a prominent SLP stalwart, has done his utmost to channel workers' anger into support for Livingstone/Kiley. Tube workers were infuriated when Crow called off a recent strike.

Our programme is for *expropriation* of transport without compensation to the capitalist bosses *as part of the struggle for a workers government and the establishment of a planned economy*. Expropriate private rail and bus—no compensation! Urban transportation ought to be free—rip out the ticket barriers! Such a programme is incompatible with the perspective of Scargill's SLP. We fight for a powerful industrial union embracing rail, Underground and bus workers. Workers must rely on their own strength and must be mobilised independent of the capitalists and their state. The unions need a class-struggle leadership, not sell-outs like Bob Crow. The only way to get a safe, reliable transport system that also meets the needs of the workers in the industry is by the overthrow of capitalism through the seizure of power by the proletariat.

The SLP's opposition to imports of coal and oil is protectionist poison which fuels national chauvinism and racism; it dovetails with calls to protect British industry at the expense of its rivals by nationalising British coal and manufacturing industry. Rivalry between imperialist powers has intensified in the wake of counterrevolution which destroyed the former Soviet Union; this rivalry leads to trade wars which lead to shooting wars. The logic of this kind of corrosive nationalism in the workers movement was shown at the April 2000 Rover demonstration organised by union bureaucrats in the car industry which was an outpouring of nationalist flag-waving. We fight for: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Trade-union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists! What's needed is a fight across national borders for jobs for all, as part of the struggle to sweep away capitalist rule.

The SLP manifesto refers to the miners strike of 1984-85, which was led by Scargill and was one of the greatest class battles Britain has ever seen. We Trotskyists draw the lessons from it for the British proletariat. On the eve of the strike, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party set up Scargill for a witchhunt over his correct statement that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. And it is notable that Healy's favourite Labour politician was...Ken Livingstone. The miners strike took militant trade-union struggle as far as possible; it was sabotaged by the Labour Party and TUC [Trades Union Congress] tops. But Scargill remained tied to the Labour Party and the miners union fought alone. We sought to extend the strike to other unions, calling for miners, railworkers and dockers to shut down the country.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European deformed workers states was a catastrophe for working people there and internationally. U.S. and British imperialism are preparing the ground for war against the People's Republic of China. The SLP manifesto "condemns the use of economic and political blockades or sanctions which are used by international capitalism against countries—such as Cuba—that challenge the very basis of capitalism." We call for the unconditional military defence of Cuba, as well as the Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration. We Trotskyists fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. The overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist heartlands is the best way to defend the existing workers states and to go forward to a world socialist society. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

No Vote to Gordon Potts! Cops Out of the Unions!

19 May—We learned today that the SLP is standing one Gordon Potts, a Probation Service tutor and activist in the National Association of Probation Officers cop "union," as candidate for Newcastle upon Tyne Central. Probation officers, like police and prison guards, are part of the capitalist state—the bosses' "bodies of armed men" for the preservation of capitalist property, exploitation and oppression. *They do not belong in the workers movement!* We say: *No vote to Gordon Potts!*

The SLP is running a supportable campaign drawing a class line against Blair's anti-working-class New Labour. The Spartacist League is giving critical support to the SLP. But at the same time, standing Mr. Potts is a crystallised expression of the SLP's "Clause IV" parliamentary reformism, which is based on the deadly illusion that the capitalist state, its parliament, cops, probation officers, etc., are "neutral" and can be used by the working class to achieve socialism.■

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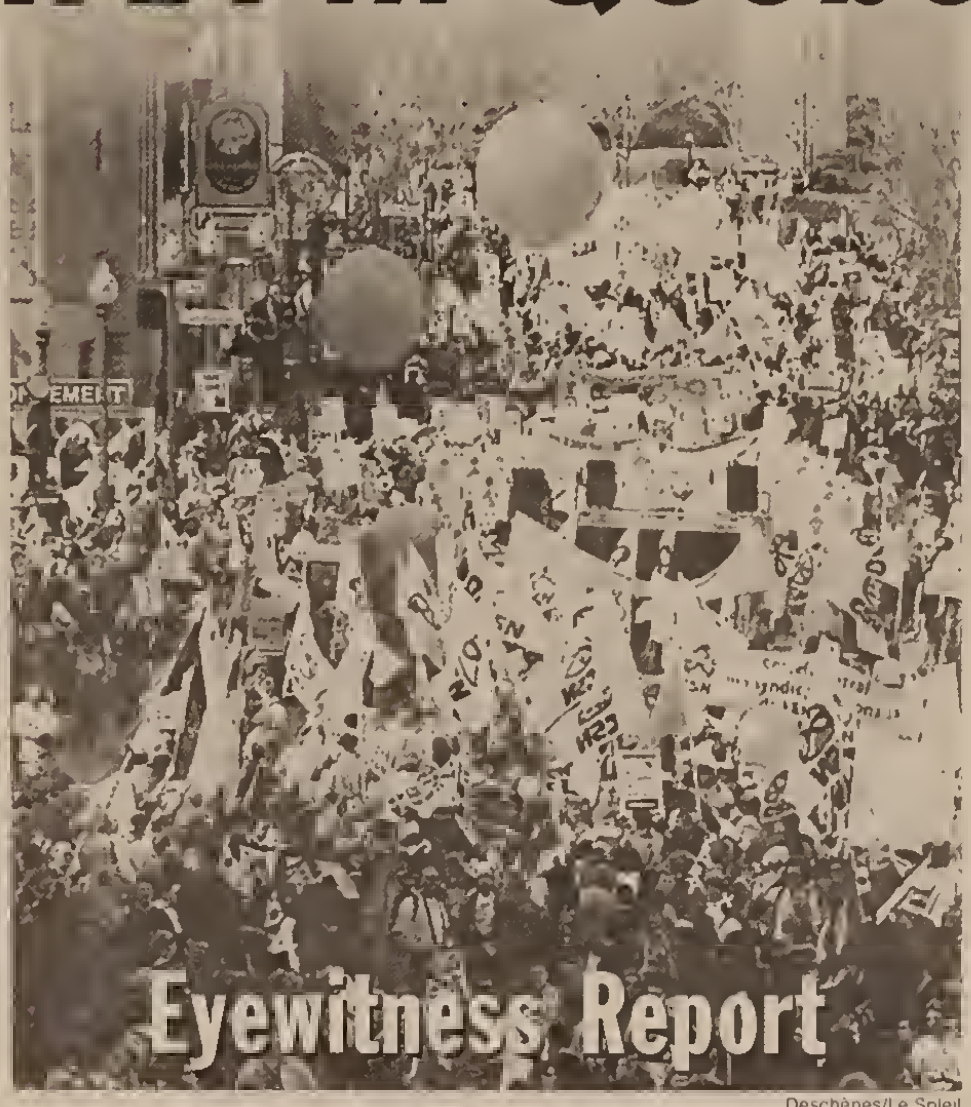
Young Spartacus

Mass Protests Against FTAA in Quebec

The following is Part One of a report based on a presentation given by Young Spartacus *pages editor Anna Woodman at the Spartacist League Regional Educational in New York City on April 28.*



Deschènes/Le Soleil

Drop All Charges Against Protesters!

A columnist wrote in last Saturday's issue of the Montreal *Gazette* that "perhaps the saddest thing about the large-scale protests this weekend at Quebec City's hemispheric summit is the harnessing of so much youthful idealism to the hoary right-wing warhorse of xenophobia." This is a good description of the national chauvinism that was cultivated by the union tops and social democrats who organized the People's Summit and the main march on Saturday, the March of the Americas. But among the estimated 60,000 to 70,000 protesters who were on the streets of Quebec City last weekend, there was also a palpable schism between the flag-waving patriots against globalization and leftist youth, typically identifying themselves as anarchists or anarcho-communists, who were questioning both the "peaceful, legal" tactics and the national-reformist politics of the mainstream organizers and in general wanted to make it known that they were in opposition to "the system," however they saw it.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is a continuation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, enacted in 1994, which we opposed as U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico. That is starkly demonstrated today in the increased impoverishment and brutal conditions of the free trade zones. And it's not just there; we have noted that since 1994, prices for basic necessities rose over 400 percent in Mexico while real wages plummeted by some 25 percent and are barely two-thirds what they were 30 years ago. The new agreement would extend this to all of Latin America. Politically, the purpose of the FTAA is to shore up U.S., and secondarily Canadian, imperialist control of the various neocolonies and smaller capitalist states in Latin America and the Caribbean in the face of competition from rival imperialist powers in Europe and also Japan.

The FTAA is billed as yet another example of "globalization," which is described as a world system in which sovereign, supposedly "democratic" governments are undermined by the transnational corporations that control the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO) and World Bank. However, we have emphasized repeatedly that these transnational corporations do not and cannot operate outside of the nation-state system. They require their own capitalist national states to *protect* their operations abroad from popular opposition and rival capitalist states. Therefore, the imperialist states must maintain strong military forces and a corresponding domestic industrial base. In a leaflet put out by the Bay Area SYC to mobilize student protest against ROTC at Berkeley last weekend, we wrote that while the purpose of the FTAA is to deepen the domination of American capital over the economies of Latin America, "a contract is only worth as much as the guns that back it up."

In Quebec City

Protesters against the FTAA last weekend were mostly trade unionists and youth from Quebec, Ontario and Atlantic Canada, with a sizable number from the U.S. and a lesser number from Latin America and beyond. The entire weekend saw military confrontations between riot cops and thousands of youth. By the second day, the cops were indiscriminately firing tear gas, water cannon and plastic bullets at protesters in the vicinity of what was called the "wall" or the "perimeter"—the six-kilometer-long, three-meter-high fence erected around the city center where the Summit of the Americas was being held. There were many reports of extreme police brutality in the area. One protester is in critical condition after being shot in the throat with a plastic bullet. Another suffered eye injuries from shrapnel from an exploding tear gas canister. As we reported in an emergency defense statement issued by the Canadian Partisan Defense Committee on April 23, riot police tear-gassed and shut down a medical center, forcing everyone out at gunpoint and stripping them of their medical supplies.

By the end of the weekend, well over 400 protesters had been arrested and detained, including a leader of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (or CLAC by its French initials), Jaggi Singh, who was seized by cops disguised as protesters while he was standing on the street and then thrown into an unmarked van. The experience was an object lesson in the reality that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized violence. As we wrote in the Partisan Defense Committee defense statement, "The massive police onslaught in Quebec City...has shown how the capitalist state is not neutral, but is the armed and dangerous defender of bourgeois property and order. If the scales fell from the eyes of many protesters with illusions in 'Canadian democracy' this weekend, that is all to the good." And it is a complete refutation of the anti-globalization movement leaders who push the illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of the working people and oppressed.

We noted in our statement for the protest printed in *Spartacist Canada* (No. 128, Spring 2001) that "capitalist oppression is rooted in exploitative property relations defended by armed state power for the benefit of the dominant class. To fundamentally alter the lot of the overwhelming majority of humanity requires proletarian revolution to abolish private property and liquidate the bourgeoisie as a class." Our purpose in Quebec was to intervene with a proletarian revolutionary internationalist perspective, explaining that only the proletariat has the potential power and the class interest to create a society based on collectivized property and a rational, planned international economy. As Marxists we understand that the fundamental conflict in society is the struggle of labor against capital. We want to smash capitalism, not "reject" it as some of the more left-wing protesters proclaimed was their intention. While many anarchists claim to oppose capitalism, they deny the need for the victorious working class to organize its own state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend *its* freedom, *its* democracy, *its* rights against reaction. Only a workers state, organized and armed to suppress the resistance of the old regime, can open the road to a classless, communist society. And to be able to realize this power, the proletariat must become conscious of its historic task. This can only be done through the agency of a revolutionary party that is founded on Marxist theory and dedicated to advancing the interests of the working class.

So to this end, a lot of our political discussions with leftist youth were about how the organizers of the mainstream protests—the trade-union leadership, Canadian nationalists and various self-described "socialist" groups—actually seek to prettify the capitalist state, in fact defending what they term Canadian "democracy" against "corporate globalization," or even just against George Bush. For example, a leaflet for a teach-in by a coalition called Mobilization for Global Justice, which prominently includes reformist left groups like the Canadian International Socialists (recently split from the American International Socialist Organization), begins: "The FTAA is a trade agreement that will overrule our democratic power, and will eliminate many of the things that make this country one of the best places to live in the world." As we remarked in *Spartacist Canada*, tell that to Native people or refugees! The implications of such politics are to amnesty the crimes of the brutal ruling classes of the imperialist countries and to cover up or even push for increased imperialist forays worldwide.

There was a vast range of political opinion present at the protests, and our front-page headline in *Spartacist Canada*, "The Main Enemy Is the Capitalist Class at Home!", was therefore quite polarizing. It raises the need to fight to bring the social power of the working class to bear against the imperialist rulers, in the struggle for state power, as the only way to end the depredations of capitalism.

Many youth we spoke to thought of themselves as being pro-working class, but they also argued that whatever the leadership of the demonstrations, the fact

that so many people were out was enough, that just building a large protest was in itself a progressive act. The next argument would often be that the best way to effect change within society is to "work within the community." These politics reflect a kind of bewilderment about political reality, which was expressed in several comments that protesters made to me that "this kind" of capitalism is bad and harmful, but that there's no realistic way to reorganize society, so we should just look to change people's minds about things little by little and as long as enough people voice "opposition" to the decisions of the leaders, things will change.

A youth I spoke with at Laval University on Saturday night, where many of the protesters were staying, said that he perfectly well understood that globalization is just an expression of capitalism, and that what's needed is socialist revolution, but that more immediately the "movement" must do community outreach. He cited the example that people who live in Old Quebec had been taking protesters who were suffering from exposure to the tear gas into their homes, and he argued that the next thing should be to go back to the community rather than continue "summit-hopping." Even the left wing of the protest had a profoundly idealistic view of politics—that is, that social

Villeneuve/Le Soleil

Over 400 protesters were arrested during the course of the protests; police brutality was rampant.

change is simply a matter of changing pervasive social attitudes. The ideas in people's heads are those inculcated by the ruling class through various means—i.e., the family, schools, religion—in order to preserve their class rule. Racial and sexual oppression and oppression of the working people of the world are not a matter of bad ideas; they are materially rooted in a *system* that is based on exploitation and oppression. Our goal is to change that material reality.

The left anarchists like CLAC oppose the vicious protectionism pushed by the labor bureaucracy, yet they hark back to the "battle of Seattle," the protests against the WTO in 1999, as the spirit of leftist radicalism that must be recaptured. The main demand of that protest was that Clinton's Democratic Party administration pressure the WTO into adopting and enforcing an international code of labor and environmental standards. In other words, the U.S. should use the threat of putting up tariffs to dictate the economic policies of neocolonial countries like Mexico and Indonesia. The Seattle mobilization was politically dominated by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which staged an orgy of anti-Communist China-bashing. They denounced "slave labor" in China and symbolically dumped a load of Chinese steel in the harbor. This racist protectionism would hardly look like a demonstration of leftist radicalism to Chinese steel workers, for example.

On Friday we went to the Carnival Against Capitalism organized by CLAC. This began with a rally at Laval University, which is west of Old Quebec where the Summit of the Americas was held. Several hours before the march was to take off, there were thousands of youth milling around. The event was targeted toward the more left-leaning part of the overall crowd, but the politics were all over the map. So one banner read, "FTAA 'Democracy' Clause—Trojan Horse for Imperialism" while another read "Canada 1867-2005—It Was Fun," referring to the founding of the country and the proposed date of implementation of the FTAA—i.e., patriotic defense of the country.

The Carnival began with a march of about 5,000 youth. There was immediately a split in the demo between pacifist types of a group called GOMM, or Group Against Market Globalization, and CLAC. A few months ago, CLAC walked out of a joint coalition with the likes of GOMM because the latter insisted they renounce all "violence." This march made clear who has the upper hand: the split went four to one in CLAC's favor and about 4,000 proceeded on a five-kilometer march along Rue René-Lévesque toward the infamous cop barricade. Several blocks before the wall, CLAC called on all those who did not want to risk arrest to veer to the left to go to a safer area. Fewer than a dozen went.

By this point it was impossible to tell how big the demo was, as it spread out into side streets. There were several thousand youth milling up and down Rue St-Jean, a classic Quebec City street winding down a small incline, narrow and cobblestoned. We spent a few hours selling papers hand over fist and left after a large part of the youth dispersed when the area was attacked with tear gas. This was after some protesters breached the fence for the first time (it was breached twice on Saturday). Then the riot police went into a frenzy. By the end of the day, they had used their entire stock of tear gas and had to ask the Ontario police for more. Early on, cops disguised as protesters had arrested Jaggi Singh.

When we asked youth what they thought of the politics of the demo, most would start describing the debate about tactics, counterposing confrontations with the cops to lobbying bourgeois politicians. But at bottom, without challenging the rule of these politicians, these confrontations are simply the streetfighting face of reformism. As we emphasized in our statement in defense of the arrested protesters, the perpetrator of violence last weekend was the capitalist state. Of course the mainstream media was on overdrive in the lead-up to the protests, demonizing anarchists and other demonstrators as "violent." And revoltingly, they were echoed by some protest organizers and even "leftists." For example, Socialist Action raved in its Canadian press about the "hooliganism of a few adventurists" and did not call to defend the youth against the capitalist state!

Also on Friday were sessions of the People's Summit. This was organized by the union tops and social democrats who wouldn't go anywhere near the Carnival Against Capitalism. The Summit's Friday teach-in was the biggest advertised event, so it drew some leftist students and young workers. The chair of the event was Naomi Klein, prominent anti-globalization spokesman known for her book *No Logo*. This was largely a mainstream crowd, far to the right of the anarchoid youth gathered elsewhere.

Labor Tops Push National Chauvinism

On Saturday, the same groups behind the People's Summit organized the main legal demonstration, the March of the Americas. Around 50,000 people showed

Young Spartacus

Nationalist defense of Canada's "democracy" from the U.S. was a common theme at trade-union dominated March of the Americas, April 21.

up, including busloads of unionists from all over Quebec and English Canada. There was a real desire among the base of the trade unions to go to the wall to back up the youth who were rallying there. Leaders of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) put out a statement announcing that they would do so, and CUPE leader Sid Ryan briefly did lead a contingent up the hill away from the main march, but came back saying the tear gas was too intense. The left-posturing Canadian Auto Workers union tops acknowledged pressure from the base and also demanded that the march route be changed. But this got shot down and the demo snaked through deserted side streets in exactly the opposite direction from where thousands of youth were facing down near-continuous volleys of tear gas.

It was obvious that there was nothing the Canadian Labour Congress and its Quebec affiliate, the FTQ, feared more that morning than 50,000 workers marching up the hill to join the young protesters. When CLAC's Anti-Capitalist Contingent of several hundred tried to enter the march, they were blocked by a squad of FTQ goons. CLAC was eventually allowed in at the tail end. Then when the tear gas attacks at the wall became so intense that clouds of it could be seen rising from the cliffs of the Old City and just being downwind of it was extremely painful, several thousand people started splitting off to join the other protesters in solidarity. The FTQ marshals tried, not always successfully, to restrain them physically. Protesters denounced the FTQ for "being in the pocket of the government." It was almost eerie, but the cops were nowhere in evidence on this march, as they allowed the union bureaucracy to do the job for them.

Here was a concrete example of the labor bureaucracy as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. In his 1916 book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin explained the material basis for the role of the labor bureaucracy:

> "The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or a given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created a bond between imperialism and opportunism."

Lenin described how Cecil Rhodes, infamous millionaire proponent of British imperialism, stated frankly in 1895 after observing a meeting in London's East End of disgruntled, hungry workers: "If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."

The bureaucracy is part of a privileged sector of the working class bought off by the profits extracted from imperialist exploitation of the rest of the world, and it ropes the workers into defense of the national interests of their "own" bourgeoisie. Lenin described how the labor bureaucracy plays a key role in maintaining the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

So when the trade-union bureaucrats speak against "globalization," they are talking about global corporations supposedly usurping control from national states. This is in line with their essentially nationalist program, which serves their role of policing the labor movement on behalf of the national interests of their "own" ruling class. It is spelled out in their protectionist calls. In the lead-up to the Quebec protests, Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove was campaigning to "save jobs" by offering up his members as a low-wage alternative to foreign labor. In the U.S., this finds expression in anti-Mexican racism. So it was an encouraging sign that at a sympathy demonstration with the Quebec City protests at the British Columbia-Washington border, demonstrators had ripped up some of the printed signs that the U.S. Teamsters bureaucracy had mass-produced saying, "Mexican Truckers Off Our Roads." One of the signs was marked up, with the word "racist" and swastikas written on it.

Nationalism is poison to the workers movement because it sets workers of one country against workers of another country and obscures the reality that the main enemy is the capitalist rulers at home, not other workers. The labor bureaucrats cultivate this poisonous attitude among workers. The Quebec demo featured

continued on page 11

Laroche/Le Soleil

Trade-union marshals of the FTQ (Quebec affiliate of Canadian Labor Congress) at March of the Americas attempted to enforce division between official march and Anti-Capitalist Contingent.

Sit-In Protests Sweatshop Wages at Harvard

The three-week sit-in by the Progressive Student Labor Movement (PSLM) at Harvard University this spring focused international attention on the poverty wages this filthy rich elite private university pays its workers. "Hey Harvard, you've got cash, why do you pay your workers trash?" chanted students occupying the president's office in Massachusetts Hall, as they noted Harvard's $20 billion endowment. The obscenely huge gap between the ostentatious wealth at the top and the growing pool of desperately poor at the bottom of American society has led to new student support to workers rights.

Young Spartacus

AP

April 19 rally in Harvard Yard in support of PSLM sit-in for "living wage" for Harvard workers. Students occupying Massachusetts Hall on day seven of sit-in (right).

Far less national attention went to another Boston sit-in, at Northeastern University, where black students exploded in protest at the administration's plans to raze the historic John D.O'Bryant African-American Institute. Meanwhile, at working-class Roxbury Community College, the largely black student body has had to resort to protests for even basic services like sufficient supplies of toilet paper. These demonstrations starkly reflect a growing national pattern of renewed attacks on blacks and minorities. The forcible subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism, and either the struggles for black rights and labor rights will go forward together or they will fall back separately. The Spartacus Youth Club fights to win students—from Harvard, Northeastern, RCC and throughout Boston—to a perspective of black liberation through socialist revolution.

The SYC joined Living Wage rallies at Harvard, supporting the fight for higher wages and better working conditions for Harvard's workers, largely blacks and immigrants, many of whom hold down two jobs just to get by. We actively solidarized with the building occupation and sought to engage militant students with our revolutionary Marxist program. We militantly oppose any reprisals against the student protesters. The PSLM's stand for a higher standard of living for Harvard workers is laudable, but a student campaign to pressure the administration will not succeed. A university whose "experts" have braintrusted, and whose graduates have carried out, the immiseration—and occasionally annihilation—of workers across the world, Harvard will only pay a "living wage" when forced to through hard class struggle.

So who won? On May 8, Harvard students ended their sit-in as finals were to begin, when the administration, which at first insisted the issue was closed, agreed to set up yet another committee to further study the matter, to discuss contract issues with some Harvard unions, and halt any further subcontracting. The students had vowed not to come out until every Harvard worker, including those in subcontracted jobs, got a guaranteed $10.25 an hour "living wage" (the rate used by the city of Cambridge).

Thoughtful activists must be wondering: if the worst-off workers didn't actually get any more money—which they didn't—then why is the PSLM being effusively praised as "Harvard's heroes" by everyone from the AFL-CIO to the *New York Times* to Democratic Party politicians like Teddy Kennedy (especially as they were coaxed out of the administration's offices). Still the ultimate seal of approval in this heavily Catholic city, even the Archdiocese of Boston weighed in with a favorable editorial on the "moral category" of the living wage. The new committee is a clear attempt to co-opt any further radical struggle by putting a couple of token student and union representatives on a review board whose final "recommendations" aren't even due until December.

Nonetheless, the sit-in created a potentially explosive situation, with growing and embarrassing media coverage, especially when dining hall workers voted a strike authorization, and workers began coming out in mass rallies. So it's no wonder that as commencement neared and strike fever began to catch on, the "big boys" moved in to ease the students out. AFL-CIO officials were inside hammering out an agreement, as if it were a national steel strike that might get out of hand. On May 17, the dining hall workers union leadership agreed to a five-year contract which allows up to 10 percent of labor hours to be outsourced and maintains the two-tier system which lets Harvard pay workers less than $10.25 an hour for their first year of work.

In this class-divided country, the bourgeoisie is content to let millions of working-class youth and minorities sit in schools that are no more than holding pens policed by armed guards. The bourgeoisie has claimed all human culture, science and knowledge as its exclusive possession. We fight to open it up to all humanity. The achievements of science and culture must be made available to workers and the oppressed. Harvard workers and their sons and daughters should have full access to *all* the educational benefits Harvard offers, as well as stipends and benefits. We are for free, quality integrated public education for all, and call for nationalizing all the private universities. Down with racist assaults on affirmative action! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there!

"Harvard Community" Illusions

In part what caged any potential explosion was the illusions of the PSLM itself in the moral "high ground" of this bastion of white upper-class privilege. Seeing the plight of Harvard workers as a blight on the venerable institution's good name, the strategy of the PSLM was to shame the administration into accepting their demands. So, speaking of the administration's earlier stonewalling of their demands, the PSLM remarked, "These are simple ideas, and we find it morally shameful for the richest university in the world to dance around them" (Response of the Harvard Living Wage Campaign to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Employment Policies, 6 May 2000).

Sit-in rallies frequently evoked the supposedly inviolable "Harvard community." What the "Harvard community" means to the administration was graphically described during a 1968 strike for AFL-CIO recognition, when striking workers were told, "You are no longer part of the Harvard family." To Harvard, the workers there are part of the community only so long as they know their place and are grateful for the scraps off the master's table.

The PSLM believes that the capitalist state can be made truly democratic. Local and national Democratic Party politicians were featured at the daily support rallies, where AFL-CIO leaders like John Sweeney and Richard Trumka joined in, giving this capitalist party of racism and war a platform to play up its credentials as the "friends of labor." Of course there was no mention that it was the Democrat Clinton who ended "welfare as we know it," throwing thousands of people off the welfare rolls and forcing them into just such low-paying jobs in a desperate attempt to feed their families. We say: Labor must break with the Democrats and Republicans—For a revolutionary workers party that fights for socialist revolution!

The PSLM also embraced security guards as part of the working class. On Harvard's outsourcing of jobs, they wrote, "An egregious case is that of Harvard's security guards, whose ranks have been cut from roughly 120 to 18 by outsourcing, and whose union has been decimated in the process" (Why We Are Sitting In, Press Packet—Harvard Living Wage Campaign [2001]). Security guards, far from being part of the working class, are the hired thugs of the capitalists. Their history is one of defending private property by breaking the backs of workers struggles and *busting unions*! The venal bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO officialdom, who welcome cops and prison guards into the labor movement, wrote at the end of the sit-in, "on behalf of the people who work every day at Harvard we congratulate all involved in today's announcement—the administration, faculties, alumni, students, and Harvard's police officers—for a job well done" (Statement of Harvard unions, Massachusetts and national AFL-CIO, 8 May 2001).

Taking their cue from this, the PSLM thanked the very cops who were stationed

Pohl/NY Times

Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs helped braintrust counterrevolutions in Poland and USSR. Right: Moscow street market. Restoration of capitalism has brought terrible immiseration to working people.

Reiser/Bilderberg

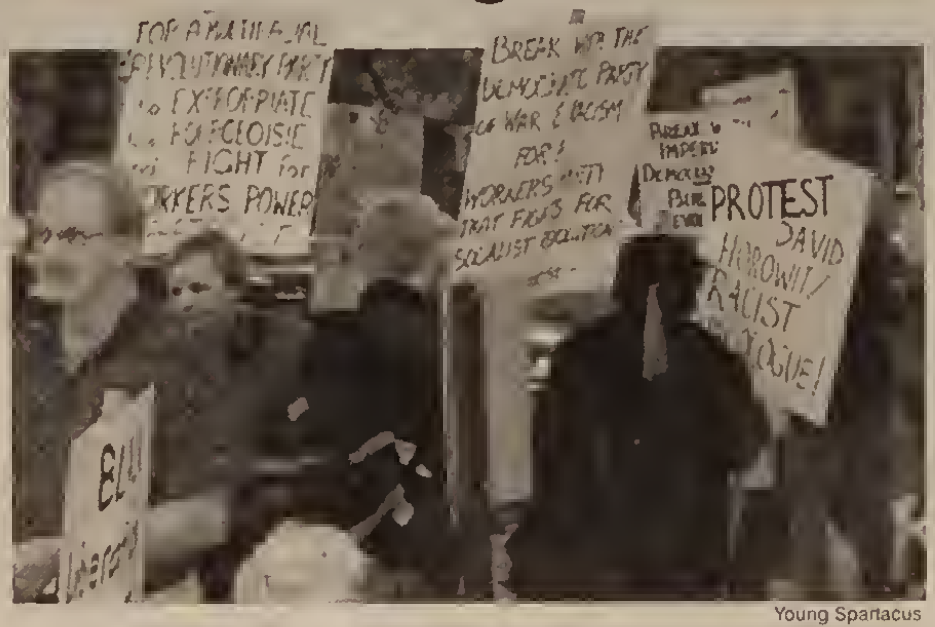
U. of Chicago Protest Against Apologist for Slavery

"David Horowitz, Racist Tool of the Bourgeoisie"

We reprint below a May 29 leaflet issued by the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club following the protest we led against Horowitz at the University of Chicago on May 8.

David Horowitz's grotesquely misnamed "Freedom Tour" has as much to do with "free speech" as the Afghani Taliban has to do with "freedom fighting." His campaign is part of a nationwide racist offensive by the far right to roll things back to the McCarthyite 1950s, when communists, leftists and even liberals were witchhunted off the campuses, while black students were excluded altogether. And he's using "free speech" as a cover for this racist witchhunt. His appearance at the University of Chicago on May 8 was a calculated *provocation*. "Discussion" was limited to written questions pre-selected by the president of the College Republicans. When a member of the Organization of Black Students simply said to Horowitz, "You wish to make us voiceless," armed campus cops grabbed her and unsuccessfully tried to drag her out of the hall as she clung to her chair. Another black female student was actually physically ejected from the event. As his charade unraveled, Horowitz outrageously ranted from the podium that these were "intellectual terrorists" comparable to Nazi fascists!

Horowitz seeks to intimidate leftists and minorities into silence while attempting to disseminate his racist views and make them more widely accepted. When he brought his tour to U of C, the Spartacus Youth Club initiated a united-front protest under the slogan: "Protest David Horowitz, Racist Ideologue!" More than 30 anti-racists joined our picket line—the *only* venue for free speech on campus that night—which fought to *refute* Horowitz's racist bigotry and to defend free speech rights for leftists, radicals and black and minority students.



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club-initiated protest against racist ideologue David Horowitz at University of Chicago, May 8.

The self-styled socialist organization Spark sent a representative who joined the picket line. This stands in stark contrast to their politics. For example, Spark disgustingly claims that the Confederate flag of slavery is a "symbol of the South's resistance to regional domination by the North" (*Spark*, 24 January 2000). Noticeably absent from the protest was the politically bankrupt International Socialist Organization, which fervently raises the call to "fight the right," portraying the racist capitalist Democratic Party as an alternative to the Republicans. When the right reared its head at U of C, these "fighters" refused to join the *only* organized protest against Horowitz.

Horowitz is not some individual nutcase or fringe element. He is well connected to and funded by some big-time right-wing forces, including in the upper echelons of the Republican Party. The inauguration of the Bush administration doubtless encourages the likes of Horowitz while fueling racist intimidation on the campuses. Earlier this month, students at Penn State staged a sit-in to protest death threats directed at black students. At Northeastern University in Boston, multiracial protests erupted against the campus administration's plans to raze the African-American Institute building.

Our protest against Horowitz was part of our effort to win youth to the cause of black freedom. That's why we emphasized at the protest the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose frame-up throws into sharp relief the whole nature of racist American capitalism. The SYC fights to build a youth organization to intervene on the campuses with a revolutionary program and to combat every manifestation of racial oppression and discrimination. American capitalism is based on the forcible subjugation of black people at the bottom of society. What is needed is a revolutionary multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, fighting to achieve black liberation through integration in a socialist society. It is by joining such a struggle that radical-minded students and youth can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten capitalist system and open the door to human freedom.

there to arrest them if they got out of line (though of course the sons and daughters of the ruling class got preferential treatment as usual). On May 9 at New York City's Hostos Community College in the South Bronx, students protesting class cutbacks were seized and threatened by NYPD cops whose job is to terrorize the overwhelmingly Latino and black community. "At Harvard, you're allowed to sit in the president's office for three weeks, and I guess you get tea and crumpets," noted an angry lawyer for the mauled Hostos students. We say: Cops and security guards out of the unions! Cops off campus!

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

Common among students is the view that the exploited working class is just another oppressed sector of society. In fact, the working class produces the vast majority of the wealth of society, and therefore wields the sort of immense social power that students can only dream of, the power to shut down production and freeze the profits of the capitalists. It is precisely this social power that gives the working class its position as *the class* capable of liberating not only itself but all of those who chafe under the oppression of modern capitalist society. It is in fact a power capable of overthrowing capitalism itself.

Essential to the power of the working class are its numbers and organization, which is why the SYC calls for the organization of *one campus-wide union* of faculty, employed graduate students and workers at colleges and universities. The Harvard administration is well aware of this power. In the 1974 merger with Harvard's auxiliary women's college, Radcliffe, they stipulated that Radcliffe employees (who were organized in one union) would have their union broken up along the lines of the Harvard craft constituencies.

When John Sweeney came in as AFL-CIO president, a new program called "Union Summer" sought to steer idealistic youth interested in labor rights into safe channels. Sweeney's "social justice" talk is designed to provide a useful cover for the real content of the AFL-CIO's program: pressuring the government and the capitalist Democratic Party to occasionally grant a few concessions to keep the lid on social explosions. A lot of early Union Summer activists who hoped to organize workers found themselves used for just another voter registration drive for the Democratic Party.

The trade-union tops faithfully carry out the interests of the capitalist class, with whom they feel they have more in common than with rank-and-file workers. Daniel De Leon, one of America's early Marxists, aptly described the union bureaucracy as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." For example, during the Seattle protests in 1999 against the World Trade Organization, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy manipulated liberal student youth (whose concern for global poverty is mixed with illusions in the "democratic" facade of the American state) for their own reactionary ends: chauvinist trade protectionism and anti-Communist China-bashing. These were the same policies that sections of the bourgeoisie were pursuing.

Unions in this country were built in opposition to the bosses' cops and courts. Strikes were virtual wars. Picketing was organized on a mass basis to keep out scabs. Other unions didn't cross picket lines. These militant tactics are what the AFL-CIO today seeks to replace with consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns." What really got the Harvard administration nervous was the potential for united workers *strikes* combining with growing student and community support all targeting Harvard. That's why Sweeney and the AFL-CIO jumped in to "negotiate" the PSLM out of Mass Hall. And you'd better believe all the local Cambridge politicians and Teddy Kennedy will be coming around next election time asking for student support.

The power wielded by these careerists can be easily shattered by a new eruption of class struggle. A fight for even the most basic right of workers—to a job at decent pay—leads in the direction of challenging the capitalist profit system, as the struggle at Harvard should demonstrate. We Marxists seek to fight within the working class and among students to build a multiracial workers party that can revitalize the workers movement and lead future struggles to victory. Revolutionary student youth can play an important role on the campuses by organizing with us in the Spartacus Youth Clubs, which seek to be the student-youth auxiliary to a class-struggle opposition within the labor movement.

Workers World and Progressive Labor: The Tail and the Donkey

Acting to rein in militant workers and students at the PSLM rallies were the so-called "socialists" of Workers World and Progressive Labor. The *Workers World* front-page coverage (May 10) consists of nothing more than enthusiastic journalism, reading more like student reports of their summer vacations than a left-wing press. What's *not* written gives their politics away: their article contains not one criticism of either the Democratic Party or the trade-union bureaucracy; this is in keeping with their politics of seeking to reform capitalism through pressuring the powers that be. This becomes especially clear with a Republican president in office, as these fake "lefts" go into high gear building "fight the right" protests against Bush in the service of Democratic Party electoralism.

Progressive Labor (PL) puts on a much more militant face, even going so far as to call for a campus-wide strike to shut down Harvard and criticizing the venal labor bureaucrats like Sweeney. In a leaflet they put out for the sit-in, they denounce Harvard's "outsourcing jobs to non-union companies." One would hardly guess from this sentence that PL sometimes denounces the unions as run by fascists (meaning in their logic that unions are actually the enemy of workers), but in the same leaflet they label Sweeney and Trumka "liberal fascists." Another example of this was their dismissal of the powerful 1997 UPS strike as "mainly a battle between two sets of bosses" (*Challenge*, 24 September 1997). PL reinforces backward consciousness in the working class, for example in its capitulation to anti-gay bigotry.

From Vietnam to Mexico to Poland: Victims of "Veritas"

The secretive and dictatorial Harvard Corporation is an inbred brotherhood of prigs which runs Harvard as a training ground for the bourgeoisie's most highly paid servants and academic prostitutes in the White House, Congress, banking, law and other professions so necessary to disguising and furthering naked capitalist repression.

Of course the Yard is fertile recruiting ground for even the most filthy jobs. "We always do well at Harvard," as a CIA recruiter put it. The SDS seizure of

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Harvard...

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University Hall in 1969, protesting the Vietnam War, also uncovered evidence of the CIA's understandings with the gentlemen of Harvard, as radical students "liberated" documents confirming links between Harvard's Center for International Affairs and other departments with the CIA and State Department. It's no surprise to us that the most prestigious university in the U.S. has links to the ruling class' Murder, Inc. The administration, stung by the revelations, unleashed hundreds of cops to brutally beat and arrest the students sitting in back then.

While we Marxists hailed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam as a victory for the Vietnamese working people and an inspiration to struggle around the world, Harvard men were busy running a large part of U.S. imperialism's dirty, losing Vietnam War. In 1942, Harvard professor Louis Fieser invented napalm, employed by U.S. imperialism in World War II, the Korean War, and with horrific effect in Vietnam in burning children to death. That operation was carried out by Nixon's Dr. Strangelove, Harvard professor Henry Kissinger and his gang of war criminals. The torching and mass bombing of Vietnamese villages was what Harvard professor Samuel Huntington thought to describe as "accelerated urbanization" and "economic development." Development Harvard style, certainly.

Harvard is a proud anti-Communist bastion. Professor Richard Pipes is infamous for his deranged anti-Soviet screeds. In the 1980s, Harvard (along with apartheid South Africa) was a haven for anti-Soviet Polish ideologues seeking a launching pad to restore capitalism in East Europe and the USSR. Jeffrey Sachs, director of Harvard's Center for International Development, was the brains behind the "free market" misery, poverty, hunger and spiraling unemployment that marked the Solidarność government's capitalist austerity "shock treatment" in Poland in the early 1990s (earlier, AFL-CIO bureaucrats funneled millions in U.S. dollars to Solidarność).

In 1985, Sachs, a pre-eminent advocate of "free market" capitalism, was an economic adviser to the right-wing regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia. His advice on how to end hyperinflation there was to slash wages and state subsidies for food, and fire two-thirds of the tin miners, many of whom were reduced to begging on the streets. Sachs' strategy was to crush the tin miners, the most combative and class-conscious proletariat in all of Latin America. Sachs and his boys braintrusted the capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union which impoverished millions of workers. Today, Sachs says, he worries "not that there are too many sweatshops but that there are too few" (*New York Times*, 22 June 1997). *This* is Harvard's answer to demands for a living wage.

And back in the "good old days" of unabashed white Aryan racism, Harvard president Lowell served proudly as the vice president of the Immigration Restriction League (the name is self-explanatory). Lowell also formed the "review" committee which sent framed-up anarchist labor militants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti to their execution in Massachusetts' electric chair in 1927. Just another Harvard service for the ruling class.

Young Spartacus

Black student protest at Harvard University, November 1994, against racist pseudo-science of Harvard prof Herrnstein's *The Bell Curve*.

Racism: Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism

Since American capitalism has, from its inception, been based on the oppression of black people, beginning in outright slavery, it is no surprise that Harvard is a big proponent of "master race" theories, while closing its ivied gates to all but a few black students. This spring black students and others protested racist assertions by professor Harvey Mansfield that a supposed "influx of black undergraduates" had caused artificial grade inflation. (Actually, Harvard's grades take a dive every time another rich boy Kennedy political hustler enrolls—JFK himself was a classic Harvard product, who as president contracted the Mafia to hustle women and assassinate Cuba's Fidel Castro.)

Racism at Harvard goes way back. Almost 30 years ago former professor Daniel Patrick Moynihan blamed the black family for the oppression of blacks, as justification for his "benign neglect" program to further grind down the ghetto poor and cut social services. The infamous Klitgaard report came out in 1980. Written by a special assistant to then-president Bok, it claimed that since black students were academically inferior they'd be better off at "lesser" institutions where they'd have a "greater overall perceived feeling of equality" once they stopped trying to fit in with the rich white folks. Richard Herrnstein's 1994 racist tract, *The Bell Curve*, written when he was head of Harvard's psychology department, promoted pseudo-scientific garbage to "prove" blacks were genetically inferior to whites.

All this racist "scholarship" is a slightly cleaned-up version of the crude assaults of reactionary demagogues like David Horowitz, whose racist ads in campus newspapers across the country this spring were part of a national drive by the right against blacks and leftists on campus. Elite campuses are being turned into overwhelmingly lily-white institutions where racists and other retrograde jerks think they can act with impunity, while affirmative action rollbacks, escalating tuition costs and racist cutbacks have proliferated everywhere, as the Roxbury and Northeastern University protests reveal.

"We've been lied to for so many years," the president of Northeastern's Black Student Association said, explaining why after a month of sit-ins to save the school's African-American Institute, on May 10 furious students chased off campus the cowardly Northeastern president Freeland, who had refused to meet with them to announce plans to raze the building. Declining black enrollment at Northeastern reflects the bitter fruit of decades of capitalist assaults on the limited gains of the civil rights movement, especially here in Boston, where the 1970s defeat of school busing was a severe setback for black rights everywhere.

The Executive Committee of the Capitalist Class: "Toxic Waste" Summers and His Banker Boss Rubin

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels described the state as the "executive committee" of the capitalist class as a whole. The Harvard Corporation's job is to train those executives. Prime examples: Harvard's new president Lawrence Summers and his former boss Robert E. Rubin, head of the Wall Street megabank Citigroup. Summers, former vice president and chief economist of the World Bank, was Clinton's secretary of the treasury following his boss Rubin's resignation. While at the World Bank, Summers expressed his utter contempt for the world's poor in a memo exploring the economic benefits of dumping toxic waste in Third World countries, as the PSLM cleverly pointed out.

This spring's 350th commencement speaker, Robert E. Rubin, was chosen as a sterling example to the sons and daughters of the ruling class. At least one protest is already planned against this capitalist executive, by Native American Indian students protesting Rubin's role as treasury secretary, when 162 boxes of documents were destroyed that contained evidence of the Department of the Interior's cheating Native Americans living on reservations out of billions of dollars (Rubin was charged with civil contempt of court in the case).

Rubin, the former Goldman Sachs chairman, stepped in as Clinton's treasury secretary to engineer the $50 billion "bailout" of Mexico's debt in 1995—that is to say, he ensured that Wall Street and the imperialist bankers would get paid off on their bloodsucking loans, while driving Mexico's poor and working people ever deeper into poverty and unemployment. Then he hopped back to Wall Street as Citigroup's chairman, while extracting a farewell gift from the Clinton administration of legislation allowing banks, securities firms and insurance companies to merge with each other on a freewheeling scale not seen since the 1929 stock market crash. And now the latest pay-off: this May, Citigroup announced that it will buy the second-largest bank in Mexico, Banamex, for $12.5 billion. A lesson to youth in how the rich get richer. And *that* is why Harvard pays its workers trash.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League at October 1980 protest against Harvard's racist Klitgaard report, which recommended that black students attend "lesser" universities.

For World Socialist Revolution!

Does all this make anyone out there gag with disgust? Then you might as well be a Bolshevik, because you can't really side with the workers without breaking with the bosses—and that means breaking with all their academic prostitutes and front men at Harvard. To fight them requires understanding this and a strategy to mobilize the working class to defeat them. As freed slave and militant abolitionist Frederick Douglass put it, "Power concedes nothing without a demand," and a demand is only as good as the force which backs it. The moral suasion of students, no matter how well intentioned, is not such a force, but the power of the working class is.

We have no illusions that we will actually see Harvard nationalized this side of the socialist revolution. What we are looking for at Harvard are a few good class traitors, like John Reed, from the class of '10. Reed broke from the Harvard elite to become a lifelong partisan of the international working-class struggle. He was in Russia at the time of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, when the working class seized power in the first and only successful workers revolution in history, and wrote what is to this day one of the most powerful popular accounts of it, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. For us, the Bolshevik Revolution was the opening shot in the continuing battle for workers control of the world. Upon returning home, Reed was a founder of the American Communist Party, dedicated to destroying the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to intervene into all social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League, armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We seek to mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class. Our purpose is to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary, multiracial workers party essential for the victory of socialist revolution. If you want to fight for the rights of the working class, for an end to the racism and sexism that is inherent in capitalist society, then you should join us in the fight for international socialist revolution!■

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NEW YORK CITY

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

Beverly confessed that he had been "hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner" because Faulkner reportedly "was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area." Beverly went on to state that police officers were present in the vicinity when Faulkner was shot on 9 December 1981. "I was not worried about the police being there since I believed that since I was hired by the mob to shoot and kill Faulkner, any police officers on the scene would be there to help me."

The prosecution and its local media mouthpieces claim it is "ridiculous" that Beverly could have been hired by cops or the mob to kill Faulkner. Although lie detector tests are certainly not foolproof, they are routinely used by police and government agencies and are admissible in many courts. It is notable that the prosecution is attempting to discredit Beverly as an inveterate liar with the claim that he failed two lie detector tests. But like every prosecution fabrication that preceded it, this new lie was blown away on May 29 when Mumia's lawyers submitted Beverly's actual polygraph reports. According to an affidavit of polygraph expert Dr. Charles Honts, he administered two lie detector tests in 1999 and concluded Beverly was being truthful each time. The *only* time Beverly was being deceptive was when he *denied* being the one who shot Faulkner. Honts also concluded that an earlier test performed by another examiner was "irremediably flawed and without probative value."

WV Photo

Revolutionary Contingent at May 12 Jamal rally in San Francisco. Mobilize labor/black power to fight for Mumia's freedom!

Yet while trying to dismiss Beverly as a liar, the D.A. has sought a blanket ruling knocking his confession out of court and barring Jamal's attorneys from taking Beverly's oral deposition—a simple but essential step to preserve his testimony, given that Beverly is a marked man to the forces who hired him to kill Faulkner. If they really believed Beverly was lying, the prosecutors would want the opportunity of cross-examination afforded by a deposition.

At the time Faulkner was shot, Philadelphia cops were the subject of no less than three FBI investigations, and police brass were hysterical about the possibility of informants. Among the targets were James Carlini, head of homicide; John DeBenedetto, Chief of the Central Division where Faulkner worked; and Inspector Alphonse Giordano, the senior cop at the scene of Faulkner's shooting. The federal probes ultimately led to the convictions of over two dozen cops, including DeBenedetto and Giordano. Carlini was an unindicted co-conspirator. After testifying against DeBenedetto, one FBI informant was gunned down and an ex-cop linked to Giordano was named as a suspect in the murder. Now Beverly's account of Faulkner's killing has been backed up by the "Straight Scoop" columnist in the *Philadelphia New Observer* (16 May), who reported: "I heard this very, same story over a month before the local media released it. The sad tale came from a cop who works a downtown detail."

Beverly's account was also buttressed by the affidavit filed on May 4 of Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, who reported that his partner, Kenneth "Poppi" Freeman, was a passenger in Cook's VW when it was pulled over by Faulkner the night of the shooting. While Billy was looking in the back of the car for his owner's registration, Freeman got out of the VW, shots were fired and then Freeman was gone. "Later Poppi talked about a plan to kill Faulkner," Cook said. "He told me that he was armed on that night and participated in the shooting." Cook's friend Arnold Howard testified at Jamal's 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing that he had loaned Freeman his driver's license the night of the killing; that license was found on Faulkner's body. Howard also reported that Freeman said he'd been present at the scene of the shooting.

Indeed, Beverly's account is corroborated in numerous ways. Beverly asserts that he and another man were hired to shoot Faulkner; no less than five witnesses during Mumia's 1982 trial and subsequent post-conviction hearings said they saw one or more black males flee the scene of the shooting. Beverly says that he shot Faulkner and then "*Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene.*" After debriefing the cops on the scene that night, homicide officers told the medical examiner's office that Jamal was shot by "arriving police reinforcements." But at the trial, the prosecution claimed Jamal was shot by Faulkner in self-defense.

A centerpiece of the prosecution's case in 1982 was the claim that Jamal yelled out a "confession" when he was taken to the hospital for treatment of his near-fatal gunshot wound. The supposed "confession" was only raised by cops *two months after* that night. The cop assigned to guard Jamal from the time of his arrest to his treatment at the hospital filed an official report at the time stating, "During this time, the negro male made no comments." In his affidavit, Mumia states emphatically, "Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to."

In another statement submitted on May 4, Temple University professor and journalist Linn Washington tells how a hospital worker and another reporter told him when he visited the hospital that "police were beating Mr. Abu-Jamal in the ER." A veteran police reporter, Washington describes being shocked by the "total lack of police" when he visited the shooting scene less than five hours after the shooting, saying it brought to mind other instances of "police destruction of a crime scene," the most memorable being after the 1978 cop siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. When one cop was killed by police crossfire, the cops razed the house to cover their tracks. Nine MOVE members were framed up and convicted for the murder.

In the May 29 papers, Jamal's attorneys advised Federal District Court judge William Yohn that they will be filing a new post-conviction relief petition in the Pennsylvania state courts with new evidence of ineffective legal counsel at the earlier PCRA appeal and subsequently. This is based in part on the fact that Beverly's confession was suppressed for nearly two years by Jamal's former legal team of Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams and that Williams authored a treacherous, recently published "inside account" of the case titled *Executing Justice*, after which he and Weinglass were fired by Mumia. It was the suppression of Beverly's confession and Billy Cook's corroborating statement that prompted Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, to resign from Jamal's legal team two years ago. Cook says in his affidavit, "Rachel wanted me to testify but Leonard didn't."

In the 14 years since the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal's fight, we have brought his case to millions of trade unionists, students and minorities worldwide through publicity and labor-centered, united-front protest actions. We pointed to Jamal's frame-up to expose the true nature of the capitalist state as a machinery of organized violence against the working class and the oppressed. While advocating that every possible legal avenue be pursued on his behalf, we place all our faith in the mobilization of the social power of labor at the head of black people and all the oppressed to win his freedom, and no reliance on the "justice" of the capitalist courts.

In contrast, the reformists who have taken up Jamal's cause have demobilized those who want to fight for his freedom by pushing illusions in the capitalist "justice" system. Thus, they have raised calls like "New Trial for Mumia" and "The Evidence Must Be Heard." Now that conclusive new evidence of Jamal's innocence has surfaced, they abet the bourgeois press blackout by ignoring or greatly downplaying Beverly's confession. As Jamal said in a statement to the May 12 defense rallies in Philly and San Francisco, "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go." Despite detailed presentations of the new evidence by Jamal's attorneys at these rallies, in their coverage of the demonstrations *Revolutionary Worker* (27 May) said not a word about the Beverly confession and *Workers World* (24 May) devoted all of one sentence to it. Neither even bothered to quote Mumia's own statement.

Mass protest centered on the social power of the multiracial labor movement is not only urgently needed to free Mumia but would strike a blow against the whole capitalist frame-up system. ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!***■

FTAA...

(continued from page 7)

stickers like "The FTAA Is Treason to Canada." Another example is their support of the war against Serbia in the name of "human rights" or their raving against "cheap labor" in China, which is designed to further the imperialist-backed drive for capitalist counterrevolution to open China—a deformed workers state—to total, uncontrolled imperialist plunder.

In Canada, the role of nationalism and chauvinism in poisoning the consciousness of the working class and serving as a barrier to united class struggle is vivid. Quebec, a separate nation, has been forcibly subjugated by the English Canadian ruling class since before the time of the 1867 confederation. Anglo-chauvinist reaction has always been a cornerstone of Canadian capitalism, and it has sharply divided the working class along national lines. The English Canadian rulers consciously use national chauvinism to undermine proletarian unity. Serving the capitalists in this regard is the English Canadian labor tops' hostility to tumultuous class battles in Quebec, like the 1972 General Strike there, which they opposed. This served to drive the very combative Quebec working class increasingly into support for bourgeois nationalism, which is particularly fostered by the Quebec labor bureaucrats.

There was also a contingent of the Parti Québécois, which rules Quebec and whose government was meting out the repression only a few blocks away. This did not go unnoticed; protesters in the CLAC contingent chanted, "Parti Québécois, parti bourgeois!" Many of the Québécois youth we spoke with were militantly anti-nationalist. Seeing that it was the nationalist Parti Québécois government that was unleashing the cops, and more generally oppressing minorities, youth and workers, they would sharply disagree with our call for Quebec independence. But some would agree once we motivated it, explaining that this was a way to really fight Anglo-chauvinism and nationalism among the working class, allowing the workers of both nations to see that their real enemy is their own bourgeois rulers and getting the national question off the agenda. For both English-speaking and Québécois youth, it was a new thing to consider a perspective of splitting the working class from its chauvinist leadership to forge proletarian class unity and a revolutionary course.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Glase/Seattle Post-Intelligencer

November 1999 Seattle protest against WTO featured protectionist China-bashing. Anarchists of CLAC oppose protectionism, yet hark back to Seattle as spirit of leftist radicalism to be recaptured.

Zionists...

(continued from page 16)

Europe. Meanwhile, largely unreported in the U.S. media, fascistic settlers have staged pogromist rampages on a near-daily basis. To take just a few incidents in the four days beginning May 10: an 18-year-old student in Gaza was so badly mauled by attack dogs that it took him a full day to crawl home, dying hours later; the next day, Arab wheat fields near Bethlehem were burned down as Israeli troops looked on; then eight Palestinians were beaten bloody near Hebron and, a day after that, settlers opened fire on houses in an Arab village near Ramallah.

Far from cowing the Palestinian populace, escalating Zionist terror has fueled growing defiance, bringing to mind the heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943. It has also provoked the sort of frustration and desperation that has led growing numbers of Palestinian youth to enlist as "martyrs" for Islamic Jihad and Hamas. We condemn indiscriminate terror attacks, like that in Tel Aviv and a bombing at a shopping mall in Netanya two weeks ago, which are directed not against the Zionist state's armed forces or its fascistic settler auxiliaries but against all Jews. Such attacks are in keeping with the vile anti-Semitic—and anti-woman—aims of Hamas, which was initially built up with direct aid from the Israeli government as a counterweight to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In seeking to create an Islamic regime in the Occupied Territories, the fundamentalists mirror the fascistic religious Jewish reactionaries who strive for a fully fledged Old Testament theocracy in Israel. In the latter's eyes as well, the Russian immigrant youth who were partying in Tel Aviv on the Sabbath are "infidels"; indeed, three of the dead were initially denied burials in municipal cemeteries because they were children of mixed marriages.

AP

While Israeli troops rampage through Occupied Territories, fascistic settler auxiliaries carry out pogroms against Palestinians.

Reuters

New York Times

Mass demonstration in Baghdad, July 1958. Revolutionary upsurge brought powerful Iraqi proletariat to the brink of power.

Though the Zionist butchers have the whip hand, the Near East provides ample evidence of the genocidal logic of all nationalism, including the secular version espoused by petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalists, who have also engaged in indiscriminate terror. What drives the bloody cycle of Zionist repression and Palestinian defiance is the root cause of this conflict: two peoples lay claim to the same land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples under capitalism. The Zionist state was created through the expulsion of some 700,000 Arabs in 1948, "The Catastrophe" (*Al Nakba*) commemorated to this day by Palestinians. Countless imperialist-inspired "peace plans" since, far from opening up any vista of liberation for the Palestinians, have served only to deepen their subjugation under the Zionist jackboot.

The Palestinians cannot prevail in a military conflict with the Israeli juggernaut. And if threatened militarily by their Arab neighbors, the Zionist madmen would be quite capable of unleashing their arsenal of nuclear weapons. The *only* way to ultimately prevent yet more catastrophes on the scale of 1948—and to realize the national rights of the Palestinians without denying those of the Hebrew-speaking people—lies in workers revolutions to smash all the capitalist regimes in the region. The fate of the Palestinian people, and of all the peoples of the Near East, ultimately hinges on the timely forging of Leninist vanguard parties based on the program of proletarian internationalism.

1993 "Peace" Accord: Recipe for Disaster

The immediate backdrop to the ominous situation currently facing the Palestinians lies in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Though the bureaucratically degenerated workers state under Stalin was among the first countries to extend diplomatic recognition to the Zionist state, hoping to secure an ally against British imperialism, in subsequent decades the USSR tilted toward the Arab bourgeois regimes and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like the PLO. The availability of Soviet military, diplomatic and financial support allowed such nationalists a certain degree of latitude in rhetorically confronting U.S. imperialism.

In 1973, the Arab regimes launched an oil boycott—whose main effect was to enrich their coffers and those of the Seven Sisters oil monopolies—nominally targeting U.S. support for Israel. But in the face of a "nightmare scenario" that "ever bigger attacks on Israelis, ever bigger reprisals against the Palestinians...could lead to the mass exodus of Palestinian refugees across borders once again," a recent meeting of foreign ministers of Islamic countries in the oil-rich Gulf state of Qatar offered nothing more than appeals to the U.S. "to exert pressure on Israel to accept a balanced peace" (BBC News, 27 May).

In early 1990, when Israel was not toeing the American line, George Bush Sr. threatened to cut U.S. military aid. And later that year, Washington warned Israel to stay out of the impending war with Iraq as the American imperialists successfully sought to include the other Arab regimes in their "coalition" against Saddam Hussein. But with the Soviet Union gone, the Arab bourgeois regimes have far less leverage in pressuring the U.S. The *New York Times* (4 June) describes how the Bush administration has resisted pressure, "particularly from the Arab world, to raise its diplomatic visibility" in the Near East.

The destruction of the Soviet Union also conditioned Arafat's acceptance of the ignominious 1993 Rabin-Arafat accord which gave the PLO a handful of trappings of sovereignty while significantly strengthening Israel's position. Palestinian police trained and overseen by the CIA and Israeli security forces would carry out the day-to-day policing of the subjugated Palestinian masses while all Israeli settlements remained in place pending an indefinite "final status" agreement. The PLO, echoed by the Zionist "peace camp," hailed the 1993 accord as a first step toward Palestinian statehood. Rather, as we wrote at the time, this deal did "not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination" and instead placed "the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993).

The accord laid the basis for further devastating the economy of the Occupied Territories. Gaza's GNP plummeted by 37 percent between 1992 and 1996. Even before the start of the recent uprising, average national income in the Occupied Territories, at $1,500, was little more than half what it was before the "peace process" and less than one-tenth that in Israel. The export of agricultural produce to Israel and Jordan was sharply curtailed as was, more importantly, the number of Palestinians allowed into Israel as day laborers, a crucial source of income for the Occupied Territories. Intent on ending any reliance on Palestinian labor in agriculture and construction, the Israeli capitalists have brought in tens of thousands of migrant workers, legal and "illegal," from Thailand and other countries.

In the aftermath of the 1993 accord, more or less sporadic "security closures" became virtually permanent, denying passage not only to workers but to students attending universities in Jerusalem and the West Bank and to desperate patients needing operations in Israeli hospitals. Israel erected an electrified barbed wire fence at the Gaza border crossing and began the construction of a series of fortified "bypass roads" connecting Israeli settlements, which involved further expropriations of Arab land and farms. While the PLO envisaged an end to the settlements as a result of the "autonomy" deal, the number of settlers has in fact doubled, climbing to over 200,000, among them impoverished Russian Jews who were assigned housing in the Occupied Territories. In response to the demand that East Jerusalem become the capital of a future Palestinian state, the Zionists have "created facts on the ground," razing Arab homes and expanding Jewish-only housing, even though thousands of newly built housing units remain unoccupied.

Both Sharon and Arafat claim to support the recently released Mitchell Report, which calls on the Palestinians to end the violence and on the Israelis to end expansion of settlements. It is an indication of how far things have shifted to the disfavor of the Palestinians that the issue in debate is no longer whether such enclaves of murderous Zionist fanatics

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shonld exist but whether they should continue to grow. And Israel categorically rejects any constraint on settlement expansion. Israeli Jews should imagine how they would feel surrounded by militarized Palestinian settlements linked by roads open only to Arabs! *We demand removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the settlements and the apartheid highway network!*

Zionism and "Ethnic Cleansing"

Today, the rhetoric of "negotiation" has given way to denunciations of Arafat as "a leader of terror." The Israeli military has assassinated over 30 middle-level PLO leaders in its campaign of "selective elimination" in the last eight months. While the Zionists and their American backers hypocritically scream for the Palestinian Authority to "end the violence," Israel's rulers are deliberately stoking spontaneous outpourings by killing those Palestinian nationalist cadre they could hope to use to quell the anger on the streets.

Only months after Arafat rejected Israel's "last, best" offer for a final settlement last summer, Barak gave Sharon a green light to stage his provocative "visit" to the Muslim holy site Haram al-Sharif (the Temple Mount to Israelis), triggering the predictable outburst of anger among Palestinians. More fundamentally, what led to the uprising was the despair among the Palestinian masses that the 1993 accord had resulted only in deeper misery and national humiliation. Meanwhile, the Hebrew-speaking population, which had been promised "peace through security," realized that they had neither.

The Zionist "peace camp" has essentially collapsed, utterly silent in the face of ever more murderous terror against the Palestinians. Many Israelis consider the settlements a running sore, and polls indicate that a majority would favor curtailment of settlement construction if it led to peace—and few but the most fanatical, mainly American Zionists, would now voluntarily move to the Occupied Territories. But the hardening of a chauvinist consensus against the Palestinians was clearly reflected in the overwhelming vote last February for Sharon, who was widely reviled as a fanatical extremist in the wake of his 1982 invasion of Lebanon even by large sections of the Zionist establishment.

The Labor Party readily accepted Sharon's invitation to join a "national unity" government, and vaunted "peace" Nobelist Shimon Peres now serves as foreign minister in this war government. Peres was an admirer of the French *colons* in Algeria and an architect of Israel's alliance with the former apartheid regime in South Africa, which involved the development of nuclear weapons for the Afrikaner rulers, who later got the weapons out of South Africa to ensure they would not fall into the hands of the ANC when it took power. "Mr. Dove" Peres would better be called "Mr. Settlement." As Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak noted in his publication *From the Hebrew Press* (July 1996), it was Peres who began the construction of settlements in heavily populated Palestinian areas when he was minister of defense in Rabin's 1974-77 government. Working with Peres at the time was Yigal Allon, who authored the so-called Allon Plan that prefigured the current dismemberment of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories. In the early 1970s, Allon smuggled weapons to fascistic Gush Emunim leader Moshe Levinger to help him set up a tiny settler enclave in the center of Hebron, which has meant an ongoing state of siege against the city's 100,000 Arab residents.

On the right wing of Sharon's cabinet are the likes of Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi, leader of the National Union, which openly calls for the "transfer"—mass expulsion—of all Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank. Serving as minister of infrastructure is Avigdor Lieberman, who vowed in February that a Sharon government would not hesitate to fire missiles at Egypt's Aswan Dam "if, for example, Egypt moves troops into the Sinai," which is Egyptian territory! Lieberman calls for stripping Arab members of the Knesset (parliament) of citizenship. Such views are not confined to settler fanatics and a handful of extreme rightists in seemingly marginal cabinet positions.

In March, President Moshe Katsav staged an official ceremony to publicize the release of a statement titled "The Balance of National Strength and Security in Israel: Policy Directions," which was produced by a conference of 300 "leading figures" described by *Ha'aretz* (23 March) as "the core of Israel's political and defense establishment." This conference smacked of the 1935 Nuremberg conference that promulgated the Third Reich's "racial laws"!

Sneering that "the Palestinians have made a decision that they want the highest rate of natural population growth in the world, but they don't have the means to support it," conference chairman Uzi Arad proposes a "humanitarian solution" detailed as follows in the statement: "It will be necessary to find some place for resettlement outside the State of Israel (perhaps to the east of the Jordan) if the Palestinian population of the territories does not curb its rate of increase." The document also calls for the forcible repatriation of a section of Israel's Arab population near the West Bank to a future Palestinian hantustan. "Asked if the shift to Palestinian jurisdiction will be imposed on Israeli Arabs living near the Green Line, despite their known objections, Arad answers: 'In a democratic state, it is the majority that determines where the national borders lie'."

Implementation of such schemes would doubtless fan imperialist fears of "destabilization" throughout the Near East. Discredited autocratic regimes in Egypt and elsewhere could well face popular upheaval and challenges from Islamic fundamentalists and other proponents of "holy war." But it is fully in keeping with the Zionist drive for a "Greater Israel." As the open "transferist" Zeevi proudly declares, he follows in the footsteps of "Labor Zionist" founding fathers like David Ben-Gurion, who raised the banner of "conquest of the land." Ben-Gurion presided over the 1948 "cleansing" of 700,000 Arab men, women and children, which was not a "by-product" of the war with the Arab states, as the Zionists assert, but was rather a planned and deliberate terror campaign, including a series of well-publicized massacres.

Months after the end of the so-called War of Independence, in September 1948 Ben-Gurion ordered the army to launch an operation "for the conquest of the entire West Bank," according to an Israeli military commander at the time (*Ha'aretz*, 18 April 1994). When Ben-Gurion asked Allon how many Arabs would escape from the occupying forces, he was told: "As many as you decide." Ben-Gurion was forced to scuttle the plan at the last minute when his coalition partners got wind of it and voted him down. Twenty years later, Ben-Gurion's successors did conquer the West Bank, and it is hardly inconceivable that the Israeli occupation forces could today perpetrate massacres on the scale of those in 1948.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. Illusions in the "good offices" of U.S. imperialism, other imperialist powers or the United Nations are suicidal. The U.S. has armed Israel to the hilt. The Bush administration has dispensed with even the patina of evenhandedness under which its Democratic predecessor pursued an anti-Palestinian "Pax Americana." For their part, the European Union imperialists, competing for influence in the Arab countries, have imposed token sanctions against agricultural exports from Israeli settlements. At the same time, Germany has played a prominent role alongside the U.S. in pushing Arafat to bow to Israel's latest dictates. But all of the capitalist powers are adamantly opposed to genuine self-determination for the Palestinians—or the Kurds, carved up and oppressed by Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria—for fear it would plunge the region into even greater turmoil. And the United Nations exists to serve the imperialist powers. It was the 1947 UN partition that paved the way for the 1948 catastrophe, and it was a UN expeditionary force that disarmed the PLO fighters in Lebanon in 1982 on the eve of the Zionist massacre.

Crosscurrents Press

Camera Press

Soviet Union was counterweight to arrogant U.S. imperialism. Soviet premier Khrushchev (left) with Egyptian strongman Nasser, as USSR funneled aid to nationalist regime in late 1950s, '60s. Aswan Dam was built with Soviet assistance.

The Arab bourgeois regimes have neither the military wherewithal nor the interest to come to the defense of the Palestinians against the Zionist terrorists. In recent days, the Egyptian regime of Hosni Mubarak, the second-largest recipient of U.S. financial aid next to Israel, has talked of a military response if Israel attacks Palestinian Authority targets (which it has been doing for months). The Israeli Air Force launched a massive war exercise yesterday, and a military statement last month warning the Arab regimes against taking advantage of the Palestinian uprising gloated: "Syria does not want a war with Israel and the air force's strike against a Syrian radar station just outside of Beirut in April left a deep impression on Damascus, which saw it as just the start of what Israel can do." Israel's nuclear arsenal is now larger than Britain's, and no one takes seriously the occasional military bluster against Israel from Cairo or Damascus.

From the Black September massacre of some 10,000 Palestinians in Jordan in 1970 to the expulsion of 200,000 Palestinian migrants by the Kuwaiti emirate in 1991, the Arab rulers have proven themselves no less hostile to the Palestinian people than the Israeli bourgeoisie itself. When the Arab states have gone to war with Israel—in 1948, 1967 and 1973—it was not to defend the Palestinians. While Marxists gave military support to Egypt against an invasion by imperialist Britain and France (joined by Israel) in 1956, we called for revolutionary defeatism against both capitalist Israel and the capitalist Arab states in the other wars. The Arab rulers' occasional diatribes against Zionism are meant to divert the anger of the toiling masses they exploit and oppress. And the anti-Semitism peddled by the Arab nationalists and Islamic reactionaries serves only to drive the Hebrew-speaking proletariat deeper into the arms of its chauvinist rulers.

Zionist chauvinism today permeates the vast bulk of the Hebrew-speaking working class, which also benefits from an artificially high standard of living. But that relatively privileged bubble in the backward Near East would quickly burst should the U.S. imperialists ever decide that Israel is more of an albatross than an asset. And even today, the huge Sephardic Jewish population is largely impoverished and subjected to discrimination in housing and education by the Ashkenazi (European-derived) elite. Israel is a capitalist society fundamentally riven by conflicting class interests between exploiter and exploited. Hebrew-speaking workers would do well to consider that more Jews were killed by the greed of Israeli capitalists in last week's collapse of a wedding hall in Jerusalem than died in the Tel Aviv terror bombing.

The murderous drive against the Palestinians poses the alternatives pointblank to the Hebrew-speaking proletariat: either embark on revolutionary struggle against their exploiters or the Israeli bourgeoisie will increasingly move toward a Nazi-like "final solution" of the "Palestinian question." If the Israeli Jewish proletariat is to pursue its class interests against its own bourgeoisie, it must champion the defense of the Palestinian people.

No matter how bloody the repression meted out by Israel's rulers, it will not and cannot end the underlying national antagonisms which have helped make the Near East a cockpit for war throughout the past century. If the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole of the region in a holocaust, the Hebrew-speaking proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. Only then can the right of national self-determination for both the Hebrew-speaking and the Palestinian Arab people be assured.

A workers revolution in one of the Arab countries, proclaiming the internationalist unity of all the working people, would have an enormous impact on the Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel. But if Arab, Persian and Kurdish workers are to break the chains of exploitation and oppression, they must be won to a relentless struggle to extirpate the influence of the Islamic fundamentalists who now pose as the enemies of Zionism and imperialism. We look to the legacy of the Iranian proletariat that struggled for power in 1953, of the Iraqi workers who sought to make a socialist revolution five years later. To seize on such opportunities when they arise, and lead them to victory, requires above all the construction of internationalist workers parties, sections of a reforged Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all variants of religious fundamentalism. *Defend the Palestinian people! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*■

Border...

(continued from page 1)

There have been numerous documented cases of beatings, shootings, rapes and deaths at the hands of *migra* thugs. The government's racist crackdown has emboldened fascistic "posses" organized by ranchers, which "deputize" themselves in order to arrest and terrorize immigrants with impunity.

Even as repression is intensified along the border, major sections of the American bourgeoisie recognize that cheap immigrant labor has kept wages down in a period of relatively low unemployment and are now calling for an easing of anti-immigrant laws. In the past two years, the INS has slowed down the pace of workplace raids, and there have been moves in Congress to set aside some of the more draconian features of Clinton's 1996 "Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act," which calls for deporting even longtime permanent residents ("green card" holders) for trivial offenses committed years ago. Where *la migra* hasn't slowed its efforts is in fighting unions, raiding hotels and factories where immigrant workers have joined organizing drives.

The defense of immigrant rights is a crucial task for the labor movement and is integrally linked to the fight against black oppression, the bedrock of American capitalism. Anti-immigrant racism has long been used by the capitalist rulers to divide the working class and as a wedge for attacks against the black masses. The passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in 1994, which sought to

Bisping/Minneapolis Star Tribune

Minneapolis protest against 1999 arrest of eight Mexican hotel workers. While staging fewer workplace raids overall, INS continues to target undocumented workers involved in union organizing.

trade unions, we seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and INS raids through class-struggle means and to organize such workers into the unions with full rights and protections. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism in the working class and especially among black workers, while the immigrant-derived proletariat must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country."

NAFTA Misery and the Flight to *El Norte*

A powerful three-part article in the *Village Voice* (24 April, 1 May and 8 May) by Michael Kamber traced the experience of an immigrant from a village in the state of Puebla, who hired

Starr/SABA

Teamsters tops push "America first" chauvinism in protests against NAFTA provision allowing Mexican truckers on U.S. roads.

han access to social services, health care and public education for undocumented immigrants, set the stage for Clinton's ending of "welfare as we know it," which consigned millions to even more desperate poverty. Prop. 187 fueled the racist forces that two years later pushed through Prop. 209 in California banning affirmative action in education and government contracts. As we state in the SL/U.S. Programmatic Statement:

> "The Spartacist League demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants. We stand for full equality of all languages in all spheres of public life and defend bilingual education against 'English only' bigots. We stand unalterably opposed to the bourgeoisie's anti-immigrant laws and regulations. Against the capitalists' attempts to use undocumented, low-wage immigrant workers as a club against the

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coyotes to cross the desert wastes along the border and eventually made it to the Bronx. Things are so desperately poor in his village that "if Antonio does return, he will be a man very nearly alone.... Fully one third of Antonio's village—including nearly all of the working-age males and 20 percent of the women—is in New York City." Antonio sends the bulk of his earnings back home. Such remittances, now estimated at more than $6 billion annually, are, Kamber notes, "the third largest factor in the Mexican economy."

"Use 'em, abuse 'em and send 'em back" has long been the motto of American capitalists. Thousands of "temporary" Mexican workers were brought in under the "*bracero*" contract-labor program between 1942 and 1964 to slave on railroads and in agribusiness, lacking the most elementary rights. When the need for this labor dried up, over a million Mexican nationals and many Mexican Americans were targeted for mass deportations in the 1954 "Operation Wetback." The original *braceros* are still owed money! A class-action suit filed in California in March against the U.S. and Mexican governments seeks to recover millions of dollars in back pay that was deducted from their paychecks but not sent them as promised when they returned to Mexico.

The Bush administration is proposing a vast expansion of contract-labor programs—a new *bracero* program—that, along with sealing off the border, will allow the bourgeoisie to more effectively match the flow of immigration with their need for cheap labor. In January, Texas Senator Phil Gramm, a virulent immigrant-basher, met with Mexican president Vicente Fox to discuss expanding "guest laborer" programs. U.S. agribusiness, meatpacking and nursing home corporations have come out in favor of such a plan. The U.S. and Mexico are also discussing increasing the number of seasonal farm workers permitted to enter the U.S. from 40,000 to 250,000 per year.

Fox was the first head of state Bush visited as president. The two pledged a "full, mature and equitable partnership of prosperity." But there is not and cannot be anything "equitable" in the relationship of capitalist Mexico to the U.S. imperialist bloodsuckers, who consider Latin America their exclusive sphere of domination, to be used as markets for their products and pools of cheap labor to exploit.

Fox, leader of the right-wing clerical National Action Party and a former Coca-Cola executive, is an even more overt tool of U.S. imperialist interests than his predecessor Ernesto Zedillo of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Before losing last summer's election after 70 years in power, the PRI had dutifully enforced the dictates of the NAFTA treaty and unleashed military terror against the peasant insurgents in Chiapas with full U.S. backing. From the outset, we denounced NAFTA as the "free trade rape of Mexico." Combined with U.S.-dictated austerity measures, NAFTA has meant the plummeting of real wages in Mexico by 75 percent over the last 12 years. In sync with the U.S. militarization of the border, deportations by Mexico increased more than 65 percent in the past five years (*La Jornada*, 11 April), and Mexican interior secretary Santiago Creel boasts that the country detains 150,000 Central American "illegal" immigrants every year.

Fox initially called for an "open border" with the U.S., portraying himself as a defender of Mexican migrants. This stance is a deception designed to mask his plans to open the Mexican economy to even greater penetration by U.S. corporations. Fox boasts that his policies will integrate Mexico into the "First World." The true face of such "integration" was shown by Citigroup's recent purchase of the Mexican bank Banamex, which placed fully 70 percent of the country's banking assets in foreign hands. At the behest of the World Bank, Fox aims to further impoverish workers and peasants—privatizing state-owned industries, imposing taxes on food and medicine and dissolving the state public housing program. Meanwhile, Mexico continues to make enormous debt payments to the imperialists.

The Mexican bourgeoisie is aware, however, that attempts to implement such austerity measures may backfire—the Mexican proletariat is very combative and will not just sit and take it. The flood of foreign, especially U.S., investment in recent years has enormously expanded the numbers and power of the Mexican working class. At the same time, this means that the economic downturn in the U.S. has already led to mass layoffs in Mexican tire, auto and other industrial plants. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, in opposition to all variants of nationalism, to lead the proletariat in breaking the yoke of imperialist subjugation, solving the agrarian problem and emancipating women, the indigenous peoples and all the oppressed. As the GEM wrote in *Espartaco* No. 14 (Autumn-Winter 2000): "It is up to the proletariat to satisfy these democratic demands by establishing its own class rule through a socialist revolution, rallying behind itself the masses of the poor and oppressed of the city and countryside and fighting to extend the revolution internationally, particularly to the powerful multiracial proletariat in the U.S."

For Internationalist Class Struggle!

As U.S. history demonstrates, foreign workers brought into the country during times of economic boom are always made the scapegoats for unemployment and low wages when the boom inevitably goes bust. Looming recession and rising unemployment pose the threat of renewed immigrant-bashing and increased deportations. This underscores the need to mobilize the unions in defense of immigrant rights.

Last year, the AFL-CIO leadership called for a general amnesty for undocumented immigrants and for protections for the right to organize, dropping its longtime support for sanctions against employers who hired "illegal aliens" and its collusion with INS workplace raids. In large part, this shift is animated by the labor tops' need to shore up their shrinking dues base and reflected as well the bourgeoisie's current dependence on immigrant labor. It is also meant to advance the fortunes of the capitalist Democratic Party, as baldly expressed by HERE hotel and restaurant workers president John Wilhelm, head of the AFL-CIO's immigration committee: "The Democratic Party can rely on the votes of African-Americans today because some people in it supported the African-American freedom movement. Those who didn't are still paying the price. It's going to be the same with the votes of immigrants" (*L.A. Weekly*, 9 March).

Even as it voted to demand an amnesty, however, the AFL-CIO called on the government to "maintain efforts to keep illegal immigrants out of the country" (*New York Times*, 17 February 2000). This amounts to a call to bolster the militarization of the border. And in pushing "America first" protectionism, the entire AFL-CIO hierarchy serves to pit U.S. workers against their class brothers and sisters abroad. The campaign of the Teamsters tops to pressure Bush into closing the border to "unsafe" Mexican truckers, which has been endorsed by several Democratic Congressmen, exemplifies the chauvinism of the labor bureaucracy, whose loyalty at bottom lies with the American capitalist rulers against those they exploit and against their imperialist rivals.

Defense of immigrant rights and organizing these workers into the unions is crucial for the revitalization of the American labor movement after decades of union-busting attacks and capitulation by the union tops. But this task is hamstrung by the bureaucracy's ties to the Democratic Party, the political expression of an all-sided program of class collaboration.

There needs to be a new, class-struggle leadership of labor based on the understanding that the international proletariat has common class interests counterposed to those of the capitalist class enemy. We noted in our Programmatic Statement:

> "The vast numbers of immigrant workers now toiling in U.S. factories can be a powerful leaven to the class struggle here, as many of them come from countries with stronger traditions of labor militancy and anti-capitalist struggle. Likewise, these workers are a natural pool for recruitment to the revolutionary party and such recruits can constitute a nucleus for organizing Trotskyist parties in their native lands. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán and throughout the Americas!"■

Texas "Sex Offender" Witchhunt: Cruel and Barbaric

On May 18, a judge in Corpus Christi, Texas ordered 21 people to post signs in their yards and put bumper stickers on their cars reading, "DANGER: Registered Sex Offender." The judge might just as well have ordered them to put up signs reading, "Free Fire Zone," because this is nothing but an incitement to mob murder. A defense lawyer for two of those targeted said, "It's frightening, as if we're going back to the times of scarlet letters, public hangings and witch hunts" (*New York Times*, 29 May). One of the 21 has already committed suicide, two have been evicted from their homes and the others have been subjected to a rash of vandalism and threats. The Texas judge must have been inspired by Afghanistan's Taliban rulers, who dictate that Hindus wear an identifying patch and threaten women who venture outdoors without their head-to-toe *burqas* with death.

The sadistic aspects of the public humiliation of "sex offenders," like the Puritans' branding of transgressors with burning irons or locking them in stocks in town squares to be pelted with stones, are bad enough. But this is part of an ongoing, conscious attempt by both the Democratic and Republican parties of the ruling class at intimidation and social regimentation, aimed at the entire population. The term "sex crimes" covers a wide swathe, from "anti-sodomy" laws based on religious and anti-gay prejudices to "statutory rape" laws based on reactionary definitions of sexually active teenagers as children.

People are rounded up and thrown behind bars for "pedophilia" and "child abuse" for nothing more than viewing pictures of young children in the privacy of their homes. Nearly 900 "sex offenders" nationwide are currently in prison for indefinite terms of "one day to life," many of them convicted of nonviolent offenses yet treated like they had committed murder. And if they do manage to get out of prison, they face being perpetually hounded and persecuted.

The *Times* reports that one of the Corpus Christi men had been arrested "on charges of indecency with a child in 1999 after a night of drinking ended in an encounter with a 15-year-old girl." After the sign went up outside his father's apartment, where the man was staying, his father was evicted. Texas, like many other states, already has a law requiring public "registration" of those convicted of "sex offenses," itself an incitement to mob violence. You can log onto the Internet and get to signposts pointing to registries with access to over 1,800 databases.

The rape and murder of children is a horrible thing, but from the White House and Supreme Court on down, this government is in no way concerned with protecting the interests of youth. Most

Spaulding/NY Times

"Sex offender" signs ordered by Texas judge are an incitement to vigilante violence.

violence against children takes place within the confines of family life, and victimizing someone down the street who got entangled with the law serves to cover this up. Meanwhile, the ruling class is moving to ensure the ignorance of youth by replacing sex education with "abstinence" programs.

These government policies are a poisonous brew of vicious terror and ignorance, serving to bolster the authority and powers of the capitalist state. The U.S. already has a grotesquely huge prison population, with the largest percentage of citizens in jail of any advanced capitalist country. The racist death penalty, carried out overwhelmingly against poor and black prisoners, has taken the lives of 716 people since 1977 (Texas alone being responsible for over one-third of those executions).

Ironically, as it drives to deny the right to privacy to the population as a whole, the White House is now caught pleading for "respect for privacy" in the case of President Bush's 19-year-old twin daughters, who got caught buying booze in Texas. If Jenna Bush gets busted for underage drinking again, she faces 180 days in prison under a law signed by her father when he was governor of Texas.

As communists fighting for proletarian revolution to sweep away repressive capitalist rule, we are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights for the population as a whole. We are for abolishing all laws against so-called "crimes without victims," e.g., pornography, gambling, prostitution, drugs, drinking. We are also for significantly lowering the "age of adulthood" and oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws. We have consistently defended NAMBLA, which has been viciously persecuted for its advocacy of the right of consensual sexual relations between men and boys. The guiding principle for sexual relations should be "effective consent," that is, that the parties involved understand and agree to whatever's happening. It's nobody's business what people agree to do in private. Government out of the bedrooms!■

Mexico

Full Democratic Rights for Gays!

We reprint below an article translated from Espartaco *No. 15 (Spring-Summer 2001), newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

On February 14, hundreds of people congregated outside of [Mexico City's] Palacio de Bellas Artes to celebrate what they called "solidarity unions," where gay, lesbian and heterosexual couples were married and received a symbolic marriage certificate. This same day at UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico], a march of more than 100 demanded "democratic rights for homosexuals and lesbians."

We Spartacists fight for full democratic rights for gay men and lesbians, including their right to marriage, to any kind of union, and to adopt children. We oppose all types of discrimination; we defend all consensual sexual relationships and we sharply oppose any intervention of the state in people's private lives. State and church out of the bedroom! We struggle to forge a workers party of professional revolutionaries that is the tribune of all the oppressed, that knows how to react against all manifestations of oppression and arbitrariness, regardless of the social sector that it affects. This is, in a few words, the Leninist conception of the vanguard party, the indispensable instrument to lead the proletariat to state power by means of a socialist revolution. In Mexico, a merciless struggle against homophobic and *machista* [male-chauvinist] ideology is key to the forging of such a proletarian party.

In this overwhelmingly Catholic country, where a murder of a homosexual is committed every three days, the struggle for democratic rights for homosexuals, like the struggle for the elementary right of women to abortion, is a particularly explosive social question. This is precisely because it goes against bourgeois "family values" and organized religion, which serve to defend brutal oppression through propagation of the most backward prejudices. The demonstrations for the rights of homosexuals, in the wake of the proposed law that would guarantee same-sex unions, have detonated a polemic at a national level. And there have been growing attacks by the church, the PAN [National Action Party] government and various bourgeois politicians, which incite the brutal homophobic violence that occurs daily in Mexico. With the ascension of the rightist clerical PAN to power, increasingly effective attacks have been carried out against the workers, women and all the oppressed, while the doors are opened to the Catholic church as a political force and to reactionary and misogynist organizations such as Pro-Vida [Pro-Life]. So while Cardinal Norberto Rivera compares homosexual partnerships with "criminal acts such as assault and robbery" (*La Jornada*, 15 December 2000), the PAN mayor of Veracruz, Ramón Gutiérrez de Velasco, led a terror crusade "to clean immorality out of the city," brutally attacking homosexuals and prostitutes to remove them from tourist sites (*La Jornada*, 26 January). For his part, the secretary of labor, Carlos Abascal, called on women "not to make themselves masculine" and to carry out their function as women in the home (*La Jornada*, 25 March).

Wanting to take advantage of the situation, the bourgeois-nationalist PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] tried to pose as the "friend" of homosexuals by presenting a proposal to legalize unions between homosexuals in the DF [Federal District], by the legislator Eduardo Quintero. But the PRD withdrew the proposal when inside their own party a heated public debate broke out, making use of the most backward arguments, indistinguishable from those of the church and the PAN, such as that "the proposed law goes against the family and other values characteristic of being Mexican" (*Reforma*, 19 December 2000). There exists no progressive wing of the bourgeoisie. As with the elementary right of women to abortion, the capitalists deny democratic rights for homosexuals as a spearhead in defense of the institution of the family and organized religion, which are strategic, fundamental institutions of the system of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained in the *Communist Manifesto* that the dominant ideology in every society is the ideology of the ruling class. Furthermore, *machismo* and anti-gay bigotry (and other backward ideologies like anti-Semitism) are so ingrained throughout Latin America in part because there were no successful bourgeois revolutions. With the weak proletariat not capable of acting in its own interests at the head of all the oppressed, the Mexican Revolution of 1910 ended with the bloody suppression by bourgeois reaction of the massive peasant insurrection, leaving the material conditions of life for most of the population little changed. This was true despite the anti-clericalism of the revolution, which the bourgeoisie raises, when convenient, to legitimize its rule. In fact, pre-capitalist "tradition" and religious obscurantism survive to this day and are reinforced to assist in subordinating the toiling masses to the interests of their "own" bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism.

The Mexican left is not exempt from the backward, *machista* and homophobic ideology and methods of the ruling class. For example, it is not rare to see leftist students from the CGH [1999-2000 UNAM student strike council] use anti-gay epithets to insult representatives of the bourgeoisie. It is an example of the adaptation of the Mexican fake left to its "own" bourgeoisie that organizations, including those that call themselves "Trotskyist," evade, at best, the issue of homosexual rights, as is the case with the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS), or directly reflect bourgeois homophobic prejudices, as is the case with the Partido Obrero Socialista (see "POS-Z, Caboose of Bourgeois Nationalism" in *Espartaco* No. 5, Spring 1994).

We base ourselves on the experience of the October Revolution of 1917 which, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, began to establish the material basis to replace the family and made a gigantic step forward for the rights of women, homosexuals and all the oppressed. Our struggle for full democratic rights for homosexuals is an integral part of our struggle for new October Revolutions throughout the world.■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Palestinian People!

Zionist Butchers Escalate War on Palestinians

Castelnuovo/NY Times

Palestinian refugee camp in Gaza razed by Israeli army in April.

JUNE 4—Defense of the Palestinian people against the capitalist rulers of Zionist Israel is posed with utmost urgency for working people and minorities around the world. The use of U.S.-supplied F-16 fighter bombers to blast Palestinian Authority (PA) sites two weeks ago was a bloody statement of intent by the government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Responding to pressure from the U.S. in the wake of the F-16 assault, Sharon cynically announced a "limited cease-fire," during which the Israeli military proceeded to kill nearly a dozen more Palestinians and invade supposedly "autonomous" areas of the Occupied Territories, demolishing homes and destroying farms. Now, even that sham cease-fire has come to a shattering end, as the Zionist rulers plot retribution for the reprehensible bombing at a crowded Tel Aviv dance club Friday night.

Faced with the threat of "a very severe air strike" by Israel, which now officially declares the Palestinian Authority to be a "terrorist organization," PA president Yasir Arafat bowed to U.S. and Israeli ultimatums to impose a cease-fire on Palestinians and round up supposed "terrorists." But as one Palestinian militant in Ramallah said, "Arafat gave orders many months ago to stop shooting, but it's not up to Arafat." While the Israelis are holding back for the moment, largely to placate their American patrons, one security official described this as "a stay of execution for the PA."

As the military tightened its strangulation of the besieged Arab ghettos in the West Bank and Gaza, a frenzied mob screaming "Death to the Arabs!" surrounded a Tel Aviv mosque, and Israelis talk of an imminent "apocalypse" against the Palestinians. In the U.S., rabid Zionist William Safire screams in his column in the *New York Times* (4 June), "Let Sharon Be Sharon." This is a barely veiled call for a replay of Sharon's 1982 massacre of some 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon.

Israel's rulers have made it clear that they will stop at nothing to suppress the Palestinian masses. Even before the Tel Aviv bombing, former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu demanded military strikes against "radio, television, media, transportation, gas, and weapons reserves, and the PA's economic infrastructure," railing: "We have not yet used 1 per cent of the power of the IDF [military]. If Arafat continues the terror we will make sure that his terrorist regime will collapse. It is to this end that a unity government was formed" (London *Observer*, 3 June).

After eight months of Palestinian defiance and an escalating war of terror by the Israeli military and its "settler" auxiliaries, the ultra-chauvinist Zionist rulers could well be moving toward a bloodbath of catastrophic proportions. Powerful international protest, including by the large number of workers of Near Eastern descent who are integrated into key sectors of French industry, is vitally necessary. It is particularly crucial for the multiracial working class and all the oppressed in the U.S. to demand: ***Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! U.S. imperialism out of the Near East!***

AFP

Funeral march for 11-year-old Palestinian boy shot in the head by Israeli troops. Zionist terror has fueled Palestinian defiance.

The Genocidal Logic of Nationalism

Israel's rulers responded to an earlier Palestinian uprising, the *Intifada* that began in late 1987, with "force, might, beatings to break bones," in the words of then defense minister Yitzhak Rabin of the thoroughly bourgeois Labor Party. But lethal military terror has been the norm from the very start of the current *Intifada*, beginning with the deployment of missile-firing helicopter gunships and the massacre of Israeli Arab "citizens" by Sharon's Labor predecessor, Ehud Barak. Where over 1,000 Palestinians were killed in the course of three years in the earlier uprising, more than 500 have been murdered in the past eight months alone, many of them young children shot through the head and chest. Some 1,500 others have been left paralyzed from bullet wounds, with upwards of 15,000 injured overall. This amounts to a casualty rate of *one of every 200 Palestinians* in the Occupied Territories.

Palestinian towns and villages have been subjected to a starvation blockade, cut off not only by a network of "strategic highways" but now also with trenches and blockades, increasingly resembling the Jewish ghettos of Nazi-occupied East

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 761 — 6 July 2001

Down With the Military Regime!

Reuters

AP

June 14: One million marched in Algiers (left) in biggest demonstration in Algeria's history, demanding "No to the Dictatorship." Women have played prominent role in protests in Berber region of Kabylia denouncing "Assassins' Regime."

Algeria Rocked by Mass Protests

JUNE 30—For the past ten weeks, Algeria has been swept by a burgeoning popular revolt against the blood-drenched regime of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. What began as a protest against police terror among the oppressed Berber minority in the Kabylia region east of Algiers soon drew in masses of unemployed Arab youth and the dispossessed in cities and towns throughout the country. Far from damping the upheaval, the brutal response by the military-backed regime has only deepened the anger of the populace, particularly the youth who face a staggering unemployment rate of *80 percent*. "You Can't Kill Us, We're Already Dead!" read one of the banners at a June 14 demonstration in Algiers, as one million people marched in the biggest single protest in Algerian history. The bourgeois daily *Le Quotidien d'Oran* warns that the country is "on the edge of insurrection."

After almost four decades of bourgeois-nationalist rule and nearly a decade of bloody civil war between the military torturers and Islamic reactionaries, what is posed in Algeria today is a polarization along class lines. The plebeian uprising was touched off when police machine-gunned a Kabyle youth amid protests commemorating the 1980 "Berber Spring," a near-insurrectionary revolt centered on the demand for official recognition of the Berber language, Tamazight. Like Native Americans in the U.S., the Berbers are North Africa's indigenous population. Largely confined to isolated or mountainous areas as a result of the Arab conquest, the Berbers are now concentrated in Algeria and Morocco, where they have been subjected to forced "Arabization" and cultural and linguistic discrimination.

But where the 1980 Berber revolt remained limited to Kabylia, this time the protests tapped into anger among the Arab majority over unemployment, lack of housing and government corruption and repression. Chanting "Pouvoir Assassin" (Assassins' regime) and "Il y en a marre de ce pouvoir!" (We're fed up with this regime!), the masses who have taken to the streets are openly challenging the rule of the Bouteflika government.

The potential repercussions of the current revolt extend far beyond the confines of Algeria, the third-largest producer of natural gas in the world. Throughout North Africa, the working masses, the poor peasantry and the oppressed chafe under imperialist exploitation and austerity enforced by local nationalist regimes. In imperialist France (and to a lesser extent Spain), there is a large concentration of workers of North African origin, who constitute a strategic component of the industrial proletariat. Systematic racist discrimination and massive unemployment have fueled a series of ghetto explosions throughout France, as minority youth focus their just outrage against the racist occupation forces of the cops, often attacking police stations.

As our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France stressed in a June 15 leaflet translated below, the doubly oppressed Maghrebin workers in France are a living bridge between the multiethnic proletariat there and the workers of the semicolonies, and could be the catalyst for revolutionary struggle in the imperialist heartland. This was evident in a June 17 solidarity demonstration of tens of thousands in Paris, where the LTF leaflet was distributed, which was the biggest mobilization of Algerians in France since the Algerian War.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Large numbers of women joined in the Kabylia protests, something rarely seen since the 1954-62 independence struggle against France. Indeed, the last significant outpouring of women in Algeria came in the early 1990s in response to the murderous fundamentalists of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), its Army of Islamic Salvation (AIS) and the even deadlier Armed Islamic Group (GIA), who singled out unveiled women, trade unionists and secular intellectuals for assassination. But those protests were subordinated to the nationalist military regime, which itself enforces reactionary Islamic strictures against women. After coming to power following the victory over French colonialism in 1962, the National Liberation Front (FLN) proceeded to impose "Arabization" on the Berbers and Islamic law on women, as enshrined in the 1984 Family Code. A proletarian vanguard party, acting as a tribune of the people, would fight against all manifestations of Arab chauvinism and anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry. *Down with the Family Code! For separation of mosque and state!*

The Algerian left sacrifices the fight for women's rights in order to shamelessly tail the nationalists in power or the Islamists or both. This revolting indifference is echoed by the French fake left, which capitulates to the social democrats who administer French imperialism. From opposing the veil to fighting for free abortion on demand, the struggle for women's liberation is a strategic and explosive question in Algeria. The International Communist League's forthright insistence on this drew howls of indignation from one Damien Elliot, then a spokesman for the left wing of the United Secretariat (USec), just at the time the civil war with the fundamentalists was breaking out. Echoing the smug contempt of the French ruling class toward its former colony, Elliot sneered in 1992 that in Paris the fight for abortion rights was fine, but it was an "ultraleftist imbecility" in Algeria!

Both the USec and the left social democrats grouped around the British

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Osama bin Laden and the CIA:

The Afghan Connection

SEE PAGE 4

Macedonia Maelstrom

All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Balkans Now!

JULY 1—Three days ago, the Serbian government of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic delivered former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic to stand trial before a "war crimes" tribunal in The Hague. Milosevic's abduction was an act of sheer imperialist blackmail, as Washington threatened to boycott a "donors" conference the following day that was to allot $1 billion in aid to Serbia. Bowing to the U.S. ultimatum, the Serbian regime rode roughshod over its own constitutional court, which had ruled that Milosevic had a right to appeal his extradition since it violated Serbia's constitution. This is the face of the "democratic revolution"—sponsored by Washington and hailed by the fake left internationally—that installed Djindjic in power last autumn.

AP

U.S. troops, part of 3,000-strong imperialist expeditionary force in Macedonia.

From his prison cell in The Hague, Milosevic aptly remarked: "The Hague tribunal confused the address—the right address for the criminals is NATO." The bounty promised by the imperialists for the head of the former Serbian strongman would cover but a tiny fraction of the enormous damage inflicted by the U.S. and its NATO allies in their war of terror against Serbia two years ago. The U.S.-backed rulers of Croatia and Bosnia were no less responsible than Milosevic for all-sided communalist slaughter in the Balkans, often directly instigated by the imperialists. In 1995, the U.S. colluded in driving hundreds of thousands of Serbs out of Croatia, and in Kosovo NATO has presided over the expulsion of virtually all Roma (Gypsy) people and tens of thousands of Serbs.

Now the imperialists are stoking the fires of nationalist fratricide in the small republic of Macedonia, which teeters on the brink of an all-out civil war between the chauvinist regime and the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (UCK). Albanians, who make up about a third of Macedonia's two million people, face discrimination and harassment at the hands of the government. As the fighting has intensified in recent weeks, chauvinist mobs have rampaged through Albanian areas, chanting "Albanians to the gas chambers!" Some 50,000 Albanians have already been forced to flee to Kosovo and Albania. With 3,000 troops already in Macedonia as backup for the 60,000-strong occupation force in Kosovo, NATO is now vowing to send in an additional 3,000 troops to "disarm" the UCK in the event of a cease-fire.

The Albanian separatists who were embraced as "freedom fighters" when they served as pawns for the U.S./NATO war in Kosovo are today denounced as "terrorists" by the imperialists. Meanwhile, when U.S. troops escorted UCK guerrillas from the Macedonian village of Aracinovo on June 25—after three days of shelling by government forces—this provoked a furious outcry among Macedonian Slavs. Denouncing NATO for protecting Albanian "terrorists," 5,000 people took to the streets of Skopje, the capital, firing guns into the air and occupying the Parliament building for several hours.

The rapidly spiraling ethnic slaughter in Macedonia today underlines our warning at the time NATO forces moved into Kosovo two years ago: "This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed the world over. It will place Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region" (*WV* No. 715, 11 June 1999). During the 1999 war, we called for the military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces, while giving not one iota of political support to the Milosevic regime, and fought for the defeat of the imperialist rulers through workers revolution.

Promoting the "human rights" pretensions of their respective capitalist rulers, the bulk of the reformist and centrist left in the U.S. and West Europe joined in imperialist war propaganda over "poor little Kosovo." The U.S./NATO war had *nothing* to do with defense of the Kosovo Albanians. It was aimed from the start at asserting U.S. dominance in Europe through its control of NATO and realizing Washington's longstanding goal of inserting a substantial NATO presence in the area, on top of the 20,000 troops already occupying Bosnia under the auspices of the United Nations. Now the cynical calculations of the arrogant American capitalist rulers, who thought they could manipulate local nationalist hatreds and turn them on and off like a spigot, threaten to pull them ever deeper into the Balkans quagmire.

The International Communist League has consistently defended the right of self-determination for the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia—including the right to join together in a Greater Albania—though that democratic question was subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against the imperialist onslaught in 1999. But the precondition for any fight for national rights is the expulsion of the imperialist occupation forces. It was the imperialist-inspired counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state that ushered in the last decade of all-sided ethnic bloodletting.

We seek to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties in the Balkans forged in political struggle against all the manifold variants of retrograde nationalism. The conflicting national claims of the various Balkans peoples can only be equitably resolved through the proletarian overthrow of all the capitalist regimes of the region and the forging of a socialist federation of the Balkans. *All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now!* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The October Revolution and Women's Emancipation

In smashing capitalist rule, the October Revolution of 1917 marked a giant stride toward the liberation of women in backward Russia. At a time when women were still denied the vote in the United States and other capitalist "democracies," the Bolshevik regime outlawed all discrimination against women. Despite economic backwardness and poverty, the young Soviet workers state sought to undermine the material foundations of women's oppression, rooted in the institution of the family. Communal kitchens, nurseries and laundries were set up in order to enable women to participate in productive labor and political life. But the Bolshevik leaders understood that complete social equality will only be attained with the abolition of classes in a world socialist society, requiring the extension of proletarian revolution internationally.

Capitalism combines formal equality with economic and, consequently, social inequality. That is one of the principal features of capitalism, one that is deliberately obscured by the supporters of the bourgeoisie, the liberals, and is not understood by petty-bourgeois democrats....

But even in the matter of formal equality (equality before the law, the "equality" of the well-fed and the hungry, of the man of property and the propertyless), capitalism *cannot* be consistent. And one of the most glaring manifestations of this inconsistency is the *inequality* of women. Complete equality has not been granted even by the most progressive republican, and democratic bourgeois states.

The Soviet Republic of Russia, on the other hand, at once swept away *all* legislative traces of the inequality of women *without exception*, and immediately ensured their complete equality before the law.

It is said that the best criterion of the cultural level is the legal status of women. This aphorism contains a grain of profound truth. From this standpoint only the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the socialist state could attain, as it has attained, the highest cultural level. The new, mighty and unparalleled stimulus given to the working women's movement is therefore inevitably associated with the foundation (and consolidation) of the first Soviet Republic—and, in addition to and in connection with this, with the Communist International.

—V.I. Lenin, "International Working Women's Day" (4 March 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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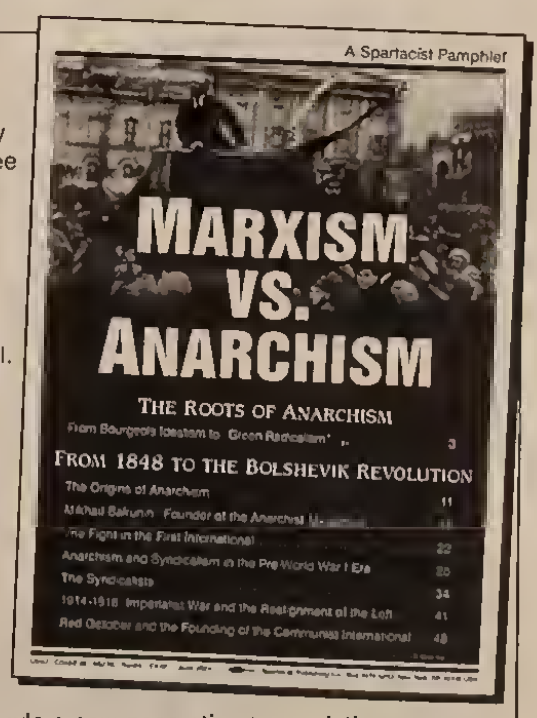
The closing date for news in this issue is July 2.

No. 761 **6 July 2001**

Just Out!



This pamphlet reprints a series by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour originally published in *Workers Vanguard*. It presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

$2 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now!

At a time of increasing national and international scrutiny of the racist death penalty in the U.S., the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is entering its decisive stage. Over the years, Jamal's cause has won support from trade unions representing millions of workers around the world—from Italy to South Africa—and helped galvanize international opposition to legal lynching in the U.S., a barbaric legacy of medieval torture and of black chattel slavery. While the bourgeois media have imposed a blackout on the explosive new evidence of Mumia's innocence, his case was featured in a world conference on abolition of the death penalty hosted by the Council of Europe in late June. We reprint below an article from the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense Newsletter *(June 2001).*

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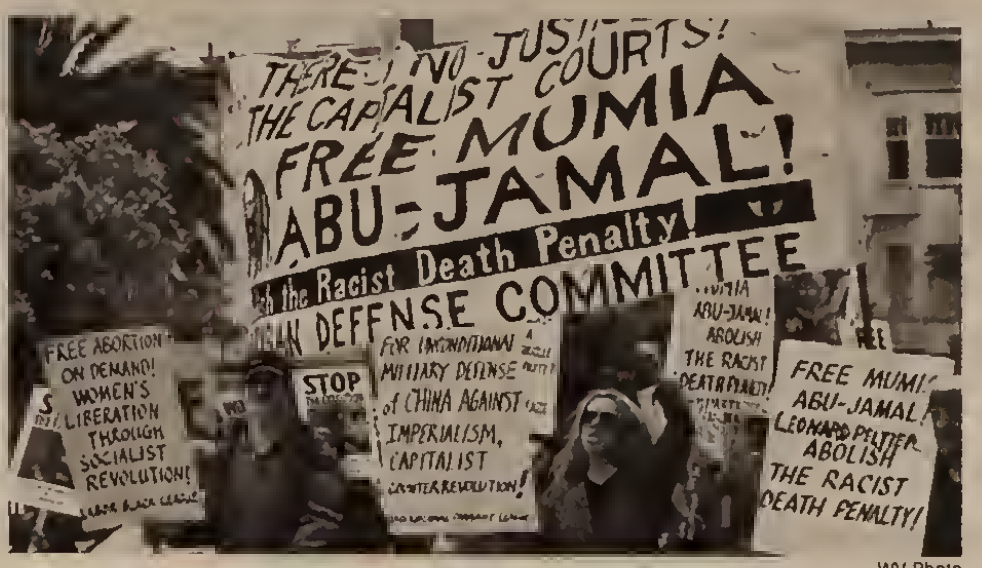

WV Photo

San Francisco, May 12: Labor Black League joined in building Revolutionary Contingent at demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The LBL calls on everyone to join us in our fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Starting in 1968, and into the early 1970s, thirty-eight Black Panthers were murdered in a campaign of racist cop terror directed from the highest levels of government under the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). Mumia Abu-Jamal, who joined the Panthers in Philadelphia while still in his teens, was among those literally in the state's gun sights from an early age. On December 9, 1981, Philly cops—enraged by Jamal's continued courageous defense of the targets of racist cop terror, especially the MOVE organization—almost made it thirty-nine when they gunned him down in the street. When Jamal survived, they moved to finish the job in the capitalist courts with a vicious frame-up and death sentence on the false charge of killing a Philly cop, Daniel Faulkner, at the very place and time where the cops had shot Jamal. The date for his execution has been set twice, only to be stayed in the face of mass, international protest. (For a detailed account, read the Spartacist pamphlet, *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15.)

Explosive new evidence introduced by Jamal's new legal team proving his innocence beyond a shadow of a doubt brings the defense campaign to a new juncture. It includes the *sworn confession* of Arnold Beverly, who states that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting" and confesses that he himself shot Faulkner, whom he was hired to kill because Faulkner was "a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen." This blows to bits the frame-up that railroaded Jamal to death row 19 years ago. For this reason it has been blacked out by the capitalist media. For the same reason, it is a clarion call to redouble our efforts to mobilize the only force which can free him—the social power of the multiracial working class.

With Jamal on death row and the capitalist state still eager to carry out the late FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's policy of killing blacks who "succumb to revolutionary teachings," demonstrations in Jamal's defense were held on May 12 in Philadelphia and San Francisco. The Bay Area Labor Black League joined with the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs to build a Revolutionary Contingent in the San Francisco demo. LBL members joined Spartacists in distributing the contingent's flyer to MUNI and AC Transit workers at bus barn gates, ILWU and AFSCME union halls, to students at community and state college campuses, and at other Bay Area locations.

Our spirited, integrated contingent of over 50 workers and youth made its class-struggle politics seen and heard throughout the 1,500-strong demonstration. The contingent was headed up by the banner of the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense arm of the Spartacist League, declaring: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

An LBL poster quoting Malcolm X, "Show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker," pointed to the class interest served by the state's frame-up of this black journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." But instead of mobilizing working people independent of their class enemy, the demonstration's reformist organizers like Socialist Action and Workers World Party warn the bourgeoisie that the oppressed might lose "faith" in their fraudulent "justice" system if Jamal is executed on the basis of his grotesque 1982 lynch-law trial. To this end they sought to ignore or downplay the dramatic new evidence. In his message to the May 12 demonstrations Jamal criticized those who "...have said that you don't believe in the system, yet in your hearts you refuse to let it go."

In the name of "broadening support" for Jamal, the reformists appeal to the very class that wants him dead. By promoting rather than exposing illusions that justice can be served by the capitalist *injustice* system, their policy has instead

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Spartacist Forums

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The Fight Is On: Mobilize to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Thursday, July 12, 6:30 p.m.
Harvard University, Science Center
Room 109
For more information: (617) 666-9453
or email bostonsyc@compuserve.com
BOSTON

Saturday, July 21, 3 p.m.
University of Illinois—Chicago
Circle Ctr., Rm. 509, 750 S. Halsted St.
For more information: (312) 563-0441 or
email spartacist@iname.com
CHICAGO

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labar Black Leogues were formed as a result of the Spartacist Leogue-initiated, 5,000-strong lobor/block mobilizatian thot stapped the Ku Klux Klon fram morching in Woshington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minarity ond working people in militont integrated struggle ogoinst the brutol system of rocist oppression thot is copitolist Americo. Initioted by ond froternolly ollied with the Sportocist Leogue, o multiracial revolutionory Marxist orgonizotian, the Labor Block Leagues ore port of the revalutianory movement of the warkers and appressed againat the bosses and far saciolism.

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

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Labor Black Struggle League
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Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604

The 1998 Embassy Bombings, Osama bin Laden and the CIA

THE AFGHAN CONNECTION

Kennerly/Gamma-Liaison

Reagan hosting Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats at White House during U.S.-funded war of terror against Soviet soldiers, Afghan women.

In late May, a federal jury in New York City convicted four Islamic fundamentalists allegedly linked to Osama hin Laden's Al Qaeda organization for the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in which more than 200 people were killed and another 4,000 wounded, overwhelmingly local residents. But on June 12, the jury announced that it would not grant the Feds the death sentence they had demanded for one of the four, Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-'Owhali. Coming only a day after the government put to death Timothy McVeigh in the first federal execution in 38 years, the jury's decision was a courageous statement against the barbaric notion of "justice" upheld by the U.S. bourgeoisie in common with the Islamic fundamentalists it has targeted.

An American diplomat who survived the Kenya bombing denounced the jury for failing "to send an unambiguous message to the malcontents of the world intent on terrorizing the United States and its citizens abroad." America's imperialist rulers, wielding an arsenal of terror far more formidable than anything bin Laden can muster, do not need juries to send a "message" to those they deem malcontents. Less than two weeks after the bombings, the U.S. fired *80 cruise missiles* at training camps in Afghanistan and at a "bomb factory" in Sudan, which was in fact the country's only pharmaceutical plant.

The NYC trial was a propaganda platform for U.S. imperialism's war against "global Islamic terrorism." In the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, Washington has sought to find a surrogate for the "red menace" in the spectre of "Islamic terrorism." That spectre is today used to justify everything from imperialist terror abroad (and even Bush's plans for a "Star Wars II" nuclear missile defense) to draconian attacks on immigrant rights and civil liberties at home. Arab immigrants and Arab Americans, including leftist opponents of Islamic fundamentalism, have been witchhunted and rounded up in "anti-terrorist" dragnets. On June 28, Secret Service agents even evicted from the White House a young Congressional intern who was there as part of a delegation of Muslim American leaders.

In language redolent of Cold War diatribes against the Soviet KGB, prosecutors raved that Al Qaeda trained "sleeper" agents or "submarines" to live undetected among local populations. As the trial opened, *Newsweek* (19 February) ran a cover story on bin Laden blaring, "Danger: Terror Ahead." The FBI has a $5 million bounty out on bin Laden, the latter-day equivalent of "Carlos the Jackal," the all-purpose, omnipresent terrorist bogey of the 1970s and '80s. Among other things, bin Laden is blamed for the bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen last fall, and on June 19 Yemeni police rounded up eight alleged bin Laden operatives for "conspiring" to blow up the American embassy.

But bin Laden and his cohorts were armed, trained and financed by U.S. imperialism as part of its war to *smash* the Soviet Union. "The reason he knows those [bombing] tactics," al-'Owhali's attorney told the jury, "is because we opened the bottle and gave them to them. He knows as much as probably the people in the C.I.A. do, because they were his teachers." This is the literal truth, right down to bomb "recipes" provided by the CIA. Throughout its decade-long proxy war against the Red Army in Afghanistan, American imperialism embraced bin Laden and his fellow *mujahedin* (holy warriors) as "freedom fighters." It was only after they had served their purpose in the imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union that these onetime CIA assets were denounced as terrorists.

The methods of indiscriminate, mass terror are fully in keeping with the theocratic aims of the Islamic zealots, who seek to roll back a millennium of human progress. In their eyes, non-believers, trade unionists, leftists and unveiled women are all infidels deserving of god's wrath. In its essence, their outlook is no different than that of Christian fundamentalist bigots who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S. or of fascistic Zionists who seek to "cleanse" the Palestinian nation from what is deemed to be the Jewish "holy land."

But the terrorist acts ascribed to bin Laden & Co. pale in comparison to the mass terror perpetrated by America's "democratic" bourgeoisie in defense of its reactionary capitalist order. As al-'Owhali's attorney noted during his sentencing hearing, this government that screams for the execution of a Muslim convicted of terrorism is itself responsible for the terror bombing and starvation of over a million and a half Iraqi men, women and children. He might have cited as well the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the slaughter of upwards of three million people each in the Korean and Vietnam wars and the countless others murdered in "counterinsurgency operations" carried out by U.S. imperialism and its agents from the Philippines to Central America.

The *Mujahedin* and the CIA

In a three-part series titled "Holy Wars," tracing the origins of bin Laden's organization, the *New York Times* (14-16 January) acknowledged: "Al Qaeda grew out of the jihad inspired by Muslim scholars to combat the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan." It further claimed: "Participants in nearly every plot against the United States and its allies during the last decade have learned the arts of war and explosives in Afghan camps." But this mouthpiece for American imperialism, which supported the anti-Soviet crusade to the hilt, does not say who was doing the teaching. Typically, the *Times covers up* the real story of bin Laden's Afghan connection.

As far back as 1950, Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles pointed to a "common bond" with "the religions of the East" in fighting Communism. In his *Unholy Wars* (2000), ABC News reporter John Cooley described how 30 years later, "Western analysts in the think tanks and intelligence services in Washington, London, Paris, Rome and elsewhere asked themselves, who or what is the principal enemy of *our* enemy, communism?... The tacit consensus was that the Muslim religion, fundamentally anti-Communist, if translated into politics, could be harnessed as a mighty force to oppose Moscow in the Cold War."

Washington started funneling arms to the *mujahedin* from the moment the Soviet-allied People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in April 1978. As modernizing left nationalists, the PDPA attempted to implement a program for redistributing land, lowering the bride price, educating women and freeing them from the prison of the head-to-toe covering called the *burqa*. In the context of backward, benighted Afghanistan, these relatively modest reforms were nothing short of revolutionary. As the huge Islamic hierarchy launched a fierce insurgency against the PDPA, the Soviet Union intervened in December 1979 to prevent the collapse of its client regime. Beginning with Democrat Jimmy Carter and continuing under Republican Ronald Reagan, the U.S. seized on the Red Army intervention to launch a renewed anti-Soviet offensive across the globe—Cold War II—in particular waging a proxy war aimed at killing Soviet soldiers and officers in Afghanistan.

For Marxists, there was no question which side working people and the oppressed the world over had in this conflict. The threat of a CIA-backed Islamic takeover on the USSR's southern flank posed pointblank the need for ***unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union***, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Moreover, the Soviet military intervention opened the possibility of social liberation for the Afghan masses, particularly women (see "Afghanistan: Women Enslaved by Islamic Reaction," *WV* No. 756, 13 April). This was, as we wrote at the time, the first war in modern history in which a central issue was the rights of women. We Trotskyists proclaimed: ***Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!***

Nothing more thoroughly exposes the imperialist rulers' occasional pretense of defending "human rights" than the fact that this was their justification for promoting the Islamic fundamentalists' savage war to keep Afghan women enslaved. But most of the reformist and centrist left was so driven by anti-Communism that it marched in lockstep behind the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats and echoed the imperialist demand, "Soviet troops out of Afghanistan!"

Under that battle cry, U.S. imperialism undertook the biggest covert CIA operation in history. The CIA's "Black Budget" ***quadrupled*** from an estimated $9 billion in 1980 to $36 billion in 1990. Some was used to fund a war of terror by the CIA's *contra* mercenaries against the left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. But most of those billions went to an array of *mujahedin* groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan and to Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI), headed

Afghanistan Today

Der Spiegel

Stinger missiles supplied by U.S. were used to shoot down civilian airliner carrying Afghan schoolchildren, March 1987.

by Lieutenant General Hameed Gul, a fervent Islamist. By the mid-1980s, the *mujahedin* were getting 65,000 tons of war matériel annually.

In 1986, Congress approved a three-pronged plan by CIA director William Casey to step up the U.S. proxy war in Afghanistan. Instead of supplying the Afghan reactionaries only with Soviet- and Chinese-made weapons purchased from Egypt, China, Israel and South Africa—so that the U.S. could "plausibly deny" a direct role in the war—the CIA began delivering American Stinger surface-to-air missiles, along with American military trainers. Secondly, the CIA, the ISI and Britain's MI-6 agreed to launch guerrilla attacks into the Soviet Union itself, targeting the Central Asian republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, which supplied many of the troops for duty in Afghanistan.

Finally, the CIA joined in the crusade initiated by ISI chief Gul to recruit Islamic zealots from throughout the Muslim world, so-called "Arab Afghans," to join the *mujahedin*. According to the CIA's own estimates, as many as 70,000 Islamic fundamentalists from more than 50 countries were trained at the "*jihad* universities" or *madrassas* which still flourish in Peshawar and elsewhere. "We are fighting a jihad and this is the first Islamic international brigade in the modern era," crowed Gul. "The communists have their international brigades, the West has NATO, why can't the Muslims unite and form a common front?" The organizing center for this international effort was the Office of Services (*Makhtab al Khadimat*) set up in 1984 by an Islamic scholar in Islamabad.

Among those who flocked to Peshawar to enlist in the U.S.-sponsored "holy war" against Communism was Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden. According to *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (2000) by Ahmed Rashid, "The ISI had long wanted Prince Turki bin Faisal, the head of *Istakhbarat*, the Saudi Intelligence Service, to provide a Royal Prince to lead the Saudi contingent in order to show Muslims the commitment of the Royal Family to the jihad." Though not a royal, bin Laden was the son of a construction magnate who had been a close friend of the former Saudi king, Faisal. Bin Laden, Turki and Gul "were to become firm friends and allies in a common cause." Another firm friend was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a major recipient of American largesse who got his start as a "holy warrior" throwing acid at women university students in Kabul. It was Hekmatyar whom the ISI chose to lead the raids and rocket attacks inside Soviet Tajikistan in 1987.

After several visits to Peshawar beginning in 1980 to deliver Saudi funds, bin Laden moved there in 1982. It was not only the Pakistani ISI that welcomed bin Laden's presence. As John Cooley reports in *Unholy Wars*: "By 1981, when CIA chief Casey and his Saudi associates, Kamal Adhan and Prince Turki, were casting around for new sources of secret financing for the Afghan campaign, the bin Laden enterprises were all on a short list of possibly helpful families." In 1986, the CIA commissioned bin Laden to help build a huge tunnel complex in Khost, under the mountains near the border with Pakistan. The CIA's aim was to provide its Afghan killers with a major arms storage depot, training facility and medical center. It was here that bin Laden decided to set up his own training camp for "Arab Afghans." He later recounted that his "volunteers were trained by Pakistani and American officers. The weapons were supplied by the Americans, the money by the Saudis" (quoted in *Taliban*).

AP

Clinton administration ordered cruise missile strike against pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, claiming it produced bombs for Osama bin Laden.

Cold War Chickens Come Home to Roost

By 1989, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev had pulled the last Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, echoing imperialist propaganda that Afghanistan had become a military quagmire, "Russia's Vietnam." Gorbachev's betrayal flowed from the whole outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which subordinated the interests of the international proletariat to the defense of its own privileged position as a parasitic layer resting on the collectivized economy, thus undermining the defense of the Soviet workers state itself. We fought for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky.

Rehashing an old canard, the *New York Times* series claims that "the tide of the Afghan war" turned when the Stingers supplied by the U.S. beginning in 1986 "forced Soviet aircraft to fly far above the battlefield." But as American military analyst Alan Kuperman observed in a 1999 article titled "The Stinger Missile and U.S. Intervention in Afghanistan" in *Political Science Quarterly*: "The Stinger effectively was neutralized by technical and tactical counter-measures well before the Soviets actually completed their withdrawal. Thus, there is no evidence the Stinger even hastened Soviet withdrawal."

Where these high-tech weapons did come in handy was in terrorizing civilians. And there was no outcry from Washington against "Islamic terror" when *mujahedin* in Khost used a Stinger in March 1987 to shoot down a civilian airliner taking Afghan children to study in the USSR, killing all 52 aboard.

What led to the Soviet withdrawal was the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy, then in terminal decline, and its bottomless attempts to appease U.S. imperialism. In fact, by the mid-1980s the Red Army had the *mujahedin* on the run. Many of the Soviet troops who fought there truly believed they were fulfilling their internationalist duty, especially the Central Asians, who saw in the poverty and backwardness of Afghanistan the conditions that had existed in their homelands only three generations earlier, before the October Revolution had catapulted them from the Middle Ages to the modern era.

The Soviet military intervention cut against the grain of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." From the outset, we warned that the Kremlin bureaucracy might cut a deal with the imperialists and pull out. At the time of Gorbachev's withdrawal, we stressed to Soviet workers and soldiers that it was far better to defeat counterrevolution in Afghanistan than to confront it in Leningrad. To the beleaguered Afghan government, we extended an offer to organize international brigades to "fight to the death" against the *mujahedin* cutthroats. This offer was refused, but the Partisan Defense Committee took up the PDPA's appeal to organize an international aid campaign for the besieged city of Jalalabad. For the next three years, the Kabul government forces, especially the women's militias, fought valiantly, but were finally overrun by the U.S.-backed fundamentalists.

The Stalinists' betrayal of women, workers and leftists in Afghanistan was to prefigure the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself in 1991-92. The imperialists congratulated themselves over their victory in the Cold War, duly acknowledging the role played by their Islamic allies. Crazed anti-Communist Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under Carter, ranted: "What was more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred-up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War?"

But the "stirred-up Muslims" arrogantly dismissed by Brzezinski had their own agenda. As Ahmed Rashid notes in *Taliban*: "Most of these radicals speculated that if the Afghan jihad had defeated one superpower, the Soviet Union, could they not also defeat the other superpower, the US and their own regimes?" When King Fahd allowed the U.S. to use Saudi Arabia, home to the holiest of Muslim sites, as a staging ground for the imperialist war against Iraq, this sacrilege outraged bin Laden and his fellow fundamentalists. By 1992, bin Laden's disgust for the Saudi regime was open enough that he was forced to flee to Sudan, where another Islamic regime was in power. Driven out of Sudan as well in 1996, bin Laden returned to the training base he had set up at Khost in league with the U.S. during the anti-Soviet war. It was this base that was bombed by the U.S. in '98.

In 1995, a special unit on counterterrorism created by the CIA and the FBI began investigating bin Laden. But, as the *Times* series reported, "The investigation followed leads that dated back even further, to a group of Islamic militants who frequented a small office in Brooklyn whose stated purpose was to raise money and recruit fighters to help in the effort by the American-backed mujaheden in the war against the Soviet Union in the 1980's. Some of the militants in this circle were later convicted in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing case." The alleged mastermind of that bombing, Egyptian cleric Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who is currently serving a life sentence in the U.S., was another bin Laden ally from the Afghan war. At the time, Rahman was deemed a "valuable asset" by the CIA. Despite being on a U.S. "terrorism" blacklist, Rahman was able to enter the country in 1990 on a special visa issued by American intelligence officers in Khartoum, Sudan.

"Human Rights" Imperialism: Cynical and Barbaric

Today, America's rulers want to bury the close relationship they once had with bin Laden & Co. When the head of the FBI's New York office mentioned that the CIA had trained several of those convicted of the World Trade Center bombing during a 1993 TV broadcast, he was quickly transferred out of his position. In its selective account of bin Laden's

continued on page 12

Planeta

Quidu/Gamma

Before Soviet withdrawal in 1989, over half the students at Kabul University were women. Victory of Islamic reactionaries has led to re-enslavement of Afghan women.

Young Spartacus

Mass Protests Against FTAA in Quebec

The following is Part Two of a report on the April protests in Quebec City against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) based on a presentation given by Young Spartacus *pages editor Anna Woodman at the SL Regional Educational in New York City on April 28. Part One appeared in* WV *No. 760 (8 June).*

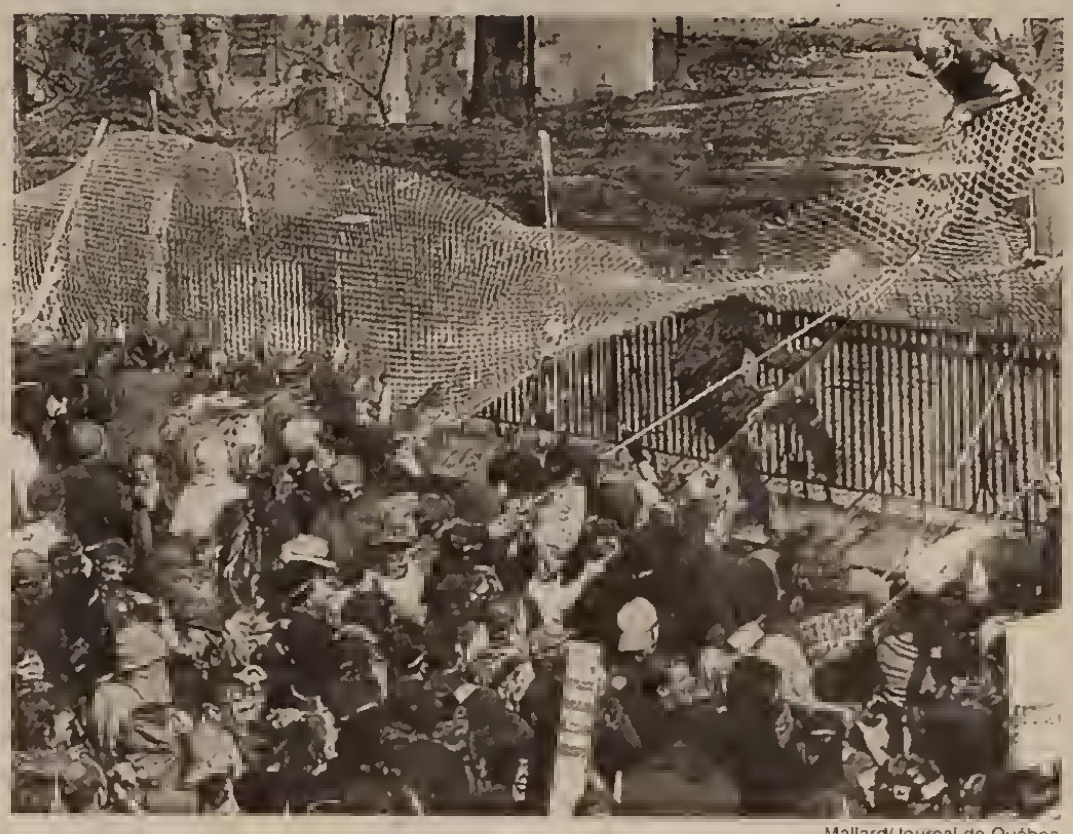
The one country in this hemisphere that was not invited to the Summit of the Americas was Cuba, where the oppressive rule of capitalism and

Part Two

imperialism was smashed through a social revolution. The Cuban Revolution has survived decades of CIA plots, American blockade and imperialist economic penetration, including from Canada. Even though the Cuban workers state was deformed from the outset by the rule of the nationalist Castro bureaucracy, the smashing of capitalist class rule has enabled the Cuban masses to make tremendous gains in health care, education and general social equality. The restoration of capitalism would bring untold misery to the people of Cuba and would further embolden U.S. and Canadian imperialism in exploiting the peoples of Latin America, more than any "free trade" agreement could ever do.

Defend Cuba, China!

Our defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution was met with sympathy by youth at the anti-FTAA protests. However, this did not come from a clear recognition of the gains of that revolution, but more from a romantic identification with guerrilla struggle and Che Guevara, or simply from seeing Cuba as a little country oppressed by the United States. So while most youth were sympathetic to defense of Cuba, when it came to China many said they had no opinion, and some said they wouldn't defend China from imperialist attack. Yet there was a revolution in China, too, which in 1949 ripped that country out of the system of imperialist exploitation. One of the central demands of the trade-union bureaucracy here in the U.S. has been to oppose China's entry into the WTO. For our part, we oppose the entry of the WTO into China, i.e., further economic penetration by the imperialist powers, which is already undermining the gains of that revolution.



Mallard/Journal de Québec

Quebec City, April 21: Protesters tore down sections of fence surrounding Summit of the Americas in face of brutal police repression.

Eyewitness Report

Despite their Stalinist leadership, we unconditionally militarily defend these states, as well as North Korea and Vietnam, from attacks by the capitalist states or internal counterrevolutionary forces. But we also fight for what Trotsky called proletarian political revolution, which is the struggle to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a genuinely communist leadership. Trotsky made a comparison between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the trade-union bureaucracy. As he noted, despite such a bureaucracy in the unions, workers should still defend them as their basic organization for self-defense against the capitalists. Likewise, workers must defend those states where capitalism has been overthrown. At the same time, just as workers must fight to replace the trade-union bureaucrats with leaders who represent their genuine interests, the workers in Cuba, China and the other deformed workers states must struggle to overthrow the sellout Stalinist bureaucracies.

There was a story in the Canadian paper *The Globe and Mail* on April 20 about miserable young anti-globalization protesters whose bus driver kept stopping at McDonald's restaurants on the way to Quebec City from Toronto, leaving them morally bound to be hungry, though some caved in by the end. Internationally, McDonald's is seen as a symbol of U.S. imperialism. In France, José Bové, who was also prominent at the anti-FTAA protests, leads masses in protest against McDonald's. Leaving aside the idiotic idea that imperialism is a matter of loyalty to your country's cuisine, these kinds of protests are an expression of national chauvinism which poisons class consciousness and international workers' solidarity. Our interest is organizing the underpaid workforces in these fast-food chains to fight for decent wages and conditions, whatever their national ownership.

And we don't go in for corporate boycotting, because it simply posits that one corporation is more benevolent than another, essentially arguing therefore that capitalism can be made into a humane system. Boycott campaigns against goods manufactured in sweatshops have been popular on college campuses. The reality is that the horrific conditions of sweatshop labor are a condition of capitalism, and that the imperialist drive for more and cheaper markets necessarily entails just such suffering around the world. But such an anti-corporate attitude was sometimes what youth meant when they said they were "against capitalism."

P. Glaser

Capitalist counterrevolution devastated East Europe: unemployed and homeless line up at Berlin soup kitchen.

What is "Globalization"?

It is true that there has been a change in the world economy over the past decade. This has largely to do with the opportunities the U.S. saw for greater global dominance once Gorbachev led the retreat of Soviet power in the late 1980s, beginning with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, where they had been engaged in a civil war with CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists. We hailed the intervention of the Red Army in Afghanistan, not least because it was an action in defense of the Soviet Union itself against imperialist encirclement and attack. The Soviet Union was a workers state. Although bureaucratically deformed under the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, it was based on socialized property forms as against the capitalist system which is based on private property and production for profit rather than use. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 was a tremendous defeat for the international working class, and it put the wind in the sails of the imperialists.

In the face of the countervailing military might of the Soviet Union, the imperialists were always uncertain whether a popular revolt or even sometimes an election might result in a Soviet-backed left-nationalist regime. Now the imperialists are more confident. For example, a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations not accidentally coincided with the toppling of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990. Today the bourgeoisie is quite excited about its designs in the area; I just got a piece of junk mail addressed to "Resident Investor" assuring the recip-

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Lethal Cop Violence Against Leftist Protesters in Sweden

Protest by the International Communist League

The International Communist League statement reprinted below was issued on June 16, the day after the shooting attack on "anti-globalization" protesters by police in Göteborg, and has been distributed by ICL sections internationally at protest demonstrations and to trade unions, leftist organizations and the press. Social-democratic prime minister Göran Persson, whose government also includes the Communist Party and the Greens, grotesquely compared the young leftist protesters to "fascist elements of the '20s and '30s" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19 June). Meanwhile, one of the three protesters who were shot by Persson's cops—***shot in the back*** as he was running away—remains hospitalized in critical condition. Over 500 were arrested and several remain in jail.

On June 24, the right-wing government of Spanish prime minister José María Aznar unleashed its cops against "anti-globalization" protesters in Barcelona. Demonstrators reported that police provocateurs staged a confrontation to create a pretext for the cop assault, which resulted in 19 arrests. We demand that all charges against the Göteborg and Barcelona protesters be dropped immediately!

In the wake of these bloody police attacks come ominous reports of the plans being prepared by the newly elected Italian government of right-wing prime minister Silvio Berlusconi to deal with protests against a meeting of the imperialist powers' G-8 group scheduled to begin on July 20 in Genova. According to the German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* (25 June), in addition to providing "special training" and 18,000 reinforcements for the police, the city has set aside ***200 body bags*** and "has been ordered to rent freezer space of at least 500 square meters 'to put corpses in case of catastrophic events'." These horrific plans underline the urgent need for the combative Italian workers movement and unions internationally to mobilize in defense of the leftist protesters.

* * *

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) vehemently protests the brutal attack by Swedish police—shooting into crowds and savaging demonstrators with attack dogs—during the European Union (EU) summit in Göteborg! ***We demand the immediate release of all arrested protesters!***

This is the first time in memory that cops in any West European country have fired live ammunition at demonstrators. One young protester was critically wounded and may die. Those bullets that struck anarchist youth were aimed at the working class of Europe, which increasingly is combatting through strikes and protests the all-sided effort to eliminate jobs and social services. The shootings in Göteborg were a deadly message by the European Union to the workers of Europe.

To a man, the social-democratic heads of state gathered in Göteborg saluted the cop attack and denounced the young protesters. Taking hypocrisy to new heights, British Labour prime minister Tony Blair denounced the "thuggery" of the protesters. German Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder railed, "We have to pursue these rioters with all the might of the law." Their law is to protect their capitalist order and their whole system of exploitation and injustice.

The mask is off—this is the real face of "social Europe." After this, who can believe the lies pushed by the labor misleaders and reformist leftists who peddle illusions in this gang of murderers and thieves? The blood on the streets of Göteborg reveals what the masses of the semicolonial world and ethnic minorities in the imperialist metropolises experience all the time. Now it is increasingly becoming the norm for cop assaults on "anti-globalization" protesters. With international economic recession looming, what's necessary is to mobilize the labor movement in defense of its own class interests and the interests of all of the oppressed against the rapacious capitalist rulers.

The bloody attack on anarchist youth came only a day after U.S. president George Bush visited Göteborg to push his crazed plans for nuclear first strike capability through a "national missile defense." The Bush visit underlined the growing divisions between U.S. imperialism and its would-be EU imperialist rivals. Göran Persson, the Swedish prime minister and current EU president, stated, "The EU is the only counterweight against the raw game of market forces and the world domination of the U.S.A."

The ICL solidarizes with the protests against imperialist warmonger Bush. However, workers and youth must be won to the consciousness that the ***main enemy is at home***—their own ruling class! The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet workers state has ushered in sharpened competition among these imperialist powers for markets and spheres of exploitation which is driving the world toward nuclear war. Already we have seen, in the NATO onslaught against Serbia (and the continuing occupation of the Balkans), the first war on European soil since 1945.

The youthful anarchist protesters who lashed out against the symbols of capitalist exploitation in Göteborg have their hearts in the right place. We understand all too clearly such acts of outrage and frustration against this brutal system. All our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing protesters, even though we do not share the same political perspective. A single isolated hero cannot replace the mass struggle.

We revolutionary Marxists seek to mobilize the power of the multiethnic proletariat in *class* struggle, not just to protest the capitalist system but to *eradicate* it. We fight to forge the Leninist vanguard parties needed to lead the working class to sweep away the capitalist exploiters and their state and to build a workers state and an egalitarian socialist society. ■

Martin Johansson

Göteborg, Sweden: Cops used attack dogs, tear gas and live ammunition to terrorize protesters outside imperialist summit in June.

ient that Latin America's "relatively low-cost labor force" and increased "political stability" make it a good place to put money these days.

Fundamentally, the idea that the capitalist market economy is "global" and that banks and corporations seek out those low-wage countries where they can get the highest return on their investments is not new, nor is the fact that the internationalization of finance capital is a dominant feature of the profit system. It was first laid out by Lenin in 1916 in *Imperialism*. A large part of Lenin's book was a polemic to counter the arguments of Karl Kautsky, a German Social Democrat who early in the 1900s argued that the competing interests of the huge capitalist monopolies could be resolved through peaceful agreements rather than through wars, denying that the workings of the capitalist economic system necessarily lead to interimperialist war. This was essentially an alibi for leftists supporting their own national bourgeoisies. In 1914, the German Social Democrats voted financial support to the war efforts of the German imperialist rulers.

Lenin countered this theory in *Imperialism* by documenting how worldwide competition between these trusts and cartels led to the division of the world by the imperialist states in order to achieve domination over markets and spheres of exploitation. To quote from Lenin: "Salvation lies in monopolies, said the capitalists as they formed cartels, syndicates and trusts. Salvation lies in monopolies, echoed the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, hastening to appropriate the parts of the world not yet shared out."

I want to underline that imperialism arose as a system, part of the development of capitalism. From a system of small producers, within national boundaries, the development of an industrial capitalist economy both allowed and required the individual nation-state to look beyond its national borders for markets. By the beginning of the 20th century, the dominant capitalist countries had begun to export significant portions of the finance capital they had accrued rather than glut the domestic market. Cheap raw materials, cheap labor and cheap land made investment in backward countries a potentially profitable venture. Thus competition exploded between the imperialist powers for the division of the world.

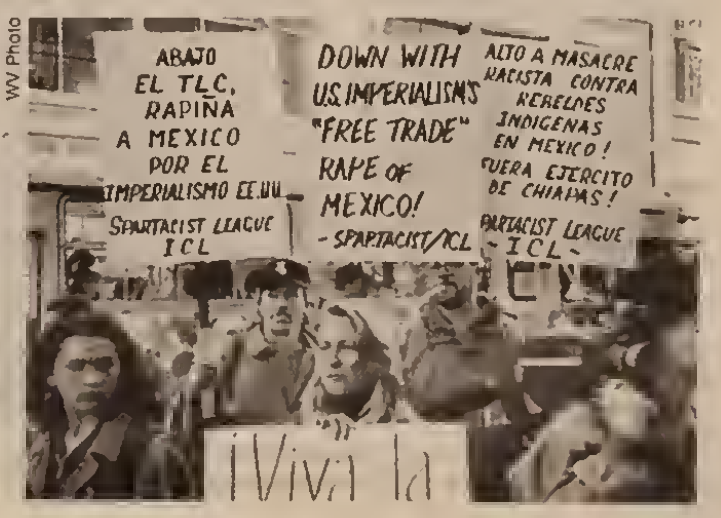
The capitalists protect their investments abroad with military force, but because the world has already been thoroughly carved up, interimperialist rivalries are an inevitable condition of this worldwide mode of production. And so by the beginning of the 20th century, the major capitalist countries had achieved such dominance over more backward regions that they were able to prevent the development of new rival imperialist powers, thus creating the present-day division between the so-called First and Third World, or what is now called the "Global South."

Capitalism Is Not Reformable!

Anti-globalization protesters should consider this historical development and the fact that because imperialism is a system, a mode of production rather than a series of governmental policies, it is irreformable. Capitalist imperialism must be overthrown by the working class, but meanwhile it continues to create famines and wars. The battle for markets and spheres of exploitation was the cause of World War I and World War II, and will be the cause of a third if it is not smashed by workers revolution.

Intrinsically the mainstream organizers of the anti-globalization protests

continued on page 13



San Francisco, January 1994: Spartacist contingent protests NAFTA at demonstration against Mexican government's repression of Zapatista revolt.

France Reels Over Confessions of Army Torture in Algerian War

The following article is translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 156 (Spring 2001), published by the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

Almost four decades after the victory of the Algerian people's national independence struggle against French colonialism, the torture carried out on a mass scale by the French military during

LE BOLCHEVIK

France's dirty colonial war has again become a burning issue. But in the hands of the Communist Party (PCF), liberal civil libertarians and the bourgeois press, this question has obviously been used not to mobilize against imperialism but to create illusions that the racist French ruling class can renounce its bloody crimes and become a force for "human rights" around the world.

The campaign was launched by a series of articles in *Le Monde* denouncing the torture carried out by French troops in Algeria, starting last June with an interview with Louisette Ighilahriz, who, as a young Algerian independence fighter, was arrested and tortured by General Massu's paratroopers during the 1957 Battle of Algiers. This was cynical enough coming from *Le Monde* which, along with virtually all the bourgeois press, sought during the Algerian War to *cover up* the crimes of French imperialism. Then, in October 2000, 12 civil libertarians and prominent PCF members like Henri Alleg, former head of the Algerian CP, issued an appeal calling on the French government to "condemn these acts" (*L'Humanité*, 31 October 2000). What could be more grotesque than the idea of this government, which has made racist police terror against immigrant ghettos one of its hallmarks, sitting in judgment of the crimes of colonialism? And if that weren't grotesque enough, the mass murderer Massu, the living embodiment of the torture carried out in Algeria, came out in support of the thrust of the "Appeal of the 12" for France to recognize and condemn torture during the Algerian War, whining: "We should have proceeded otherwise" (*L'Humanité*, 23 November 2000). The recent, revolting book by the head of the special services in Algeria, General Aussaresses, in which he openly reveals torture in all its horror, as well as the summary executions he ordered with the full consent of the government, confirmed that the torture perpetrated by French colonialism in Algeria wasn't an aberration. This is the true face of imperialism.

AFP

French colonialist army engaged in systematic torture of Algerian prisoners during 1954-62 war of independence.

For the PCF and bourgeois liberals, denunciations of torture in Algeria are a cynical attempt to refurbish the credentials of French imperialism as it intervenes around the world in the name of defending "human rights." PCF leader Robert Hue declared that a condemnation of torture by the French government would make France "more worthy of the credit so many nations give her" and "stronger to combat these actions which are still going on around the world." During the Algerian War, the PCF, though not in the government, provided the firmest support to "Socialist" prime minister Guy Mollet, who came to power at the head of a popular-front coalition including the Radicals and other bourgeois parties. The Mollet government vastly escalated the war, the widespread torture and summary executions. While posturing as an "opposition" force to the war, the PCF went so far as to vote for granting the Mollet regime "special powers" in Algeria.

Today, the PCF continues to serve as a loyal handmaiden to the imperialist bourgeoisie as part of the racist, anti-working-class popular-front government. When France joined the U.S. and other NATO powers in the terror bombing of Serbia two years ago, PCF ministers loyally stayed at their posts while cynically calling for France to "participate in building peace." In 1991, as Mitterrand's France participated in the U.S.-led imperialist coalition that bombed Iraq virtually back into the Stone Age, the PCF presented itself as the most resolute opponent of the war. The PCF's "alternative" to war was to support the imperialist embargo of Iraq, which sought to achieve the same purpose as the bombing—forcing Saddam Hussein to give back Kuwait to its "legitimate" owner, the emir Al Sabah—by starving the Iraqi population. Those sanctions are today criticized by the French government, which sees them as an obstacle to making oil deals with Baghdad, but in the past decade they have killed one and a half million people through lack of medical supplies and food.

Despite the cynical aims of those pushing the campaign over torture in Algeria, it has unmistakably touched a raw nerve in French society and provoked considerable interest, particularly among youth. Since the defeat of French colonialism in 1962, the torture carried out by French troops during the Algerian War has been the French bourgeoisie's "dirty secret," never mentioned in classrooms and treated as taboo by the bourgeois press. More than one million Algerians died in the napalm bombings, the destruction of villages and the mass executions. For the generation of Algerians who lived through that war, the memory that dominates all others remains the ever-present terror that at any minute they could be picked up by French troops and hideously tortured. The Algerian War made dreadful images like "*la gégène*" (electrical generator) and "*les corvées de bois*" (summary executions) a permanent part of the culture of French capitalist society. These terrible crimes of racist French imperialism must be seared into the collective memory of the working class.

The torture perpetrated by French colonialism in Algeria was not an aberration. It shows the true face of imperialism. In Indochina, trade unionists, independence fighters and Communists were routinely arrested and tortured at the notorious Rue Catina in Saigon—under the Popular Front government as under right-wing regimes. In 1945, tens of thousands of Algerians in Sétif and elsewhere were massacred by French forces while the PCF ministers loyally remained in the government. Two years later, tens of thousands more were killed in Madagascar to ensure colonial rule. Today, thousands of French troops are stationed in Africa, intervening at the whim of the Elysée [presidential palace] and Matignon [prime minister's residence] from Chad to Congo and Rwanda to prop up their neocolonial despots and protect French imperial interests.

Underlying the current campaign to pressure the government to condemn the torture carried out in Algeria is the idea that imperialism is a "bad policy" that can be changed through mass pressure. This is a lie. Imperialism is an organic outgrowth of the profit system, the "highest stage of capitalism," as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described it. Whether it is overseen by parties on the left or right of the bourgeois political spectrum, imperialism is a *system* of oppression that condemns countless millions of people around the world to brutal exploitation and misery. Capitalist imperialism cannot be "reformed" or pressured into becoming more "humanitarian." It must be smashed through a proletarian revolution, that expropriates the bourgeoisie and sets up a planned, collectivized economy.

The PCF, Torture and Class Collaboration

The PCF has seized on the issue of torture in Algeria in order to portray itself as the party of opposition to the Algerian War and to bolster its "anti-imperialist" credentials, which are seriously tarnished after almost four years of participation in the Jospin coalition government. *L'Humanité* has run article after article showing that the PCF was among the few political forces in France that spoke out to denounce torture in Algeria. That much is true. But the idea that the PCF mobilized opposition to French imperialism during the Algerian War is a myth. That war provoked wave after wave of explosive working-class

Henissart

Algiers protesters fly outlawed FLN flag in defiant mass demonstration against French colonial rule, December 1960.

LE BOLCHEVIK

Pour un parti ouvrier révolutionnaire multiethnique qui se batte pour un gouvernement ouvrier!

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struggle by French and Algerian workers, which could have placed the perspective of socialist revolution on the order of the day (see our article "1962—Defeat of French Imperialism in Algeria," *Le Bolchévik* No. 152, Spring 2000). Yet the PCF repeatedly derailed this powerful working-class offensive through its treacherous class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

From the fall of 1955 to late spring 1956, France was swept by a wave of mutinies by soldiers refusing to be sent to Algeria. These revolts were often backed up by strikes as French workers—often joined by their Algerian class brothers—battled riot police in defense of protesting soldiers. This coincided with a series of strikes in Algeria—several of which shut the country down—centered on the highly combative dock workers. But the Stalinists did everything possible, as part of their support to the Mollet government, to keep the soldier-worker revolts against the army brass isolated from each other. The PCF did not so much as organize a national protest demonstration in the capital for fear that the localized protests could explode into a conscious fight against the government. Instead, the PCF voted for the Special Powers Act, which would be used by the Mollet government to turn over full powers to Massu's paratroopers, institutionalizing torture on a mass scale in the Battle of Algiers.

As part of its campaign over torture in Algeria, the PCF has gone so far as to recognize "the error" of voting special powers to Guy Mollet. But the explanation given for this "error" underlines how it was rooted in the up the military terror in Algeria.

In April 1961, the social tensions building up in French capitalist society again exploded, as French troops in Algeria revolted against an attempted putsch by officers opposed to de Gaulle's negotiations with the National Liberation Front (FLN). Rank-and-file soldiers seized military bases, arrested their officers and sabotaged vehicles and communications. Instead of seizing the opportunity to mobilize the workers in struggle against the imperialist war, the PCF sought to unite with de Gaulle against the reactionary officers. The PCF called mass demonstrations throughout the country, but they were directed solely against the putschist officers so that even the Gaullists supported the protests.

Throughout 1961, hundreds of Algerian workers in France were killed by French cops and many more were brutalized in police torture chambers. But the Stalinist leaders of the PCF sat by passively, refusing to mobilize the necessary demonstration of united action by French and Algerian workers against the racist terror. The leaders of the French working class did not even protest when Paris police commissioner Maurice Papon ordered a curfew selectively targeting Algerians in words virtually identical to a decree against Jews during World War II. Emboldened by the docility of the reformist misleaders, de Gaulle and Papon organized and carried out the massacre of over 300 Algerian protesters in the streets of Paris on 17 October 1961. When some demonstrators tried to take refuge in the *L'Humanité* building that night, Elie Kagan, who took photos of the massacre, noted that "the gates were

J.-P. Marais

French workers and soldiers defy cops to stop troop transport train at Le Havre during Algerian War, 1956.

PCF's class-collaborationist program. *L'Humanité* (20 December 2000) writes that the PCF "at that time had the hope of giving rise to a new 'popular front,' the effect of which was to tend to make unity with the socialists overwhelm any other consideration." What they don't mention is that the popular front is necessarily based on defending the fundamental interests of capitalist society, including its imperial interests abroad. Back in the 1930s, as the PCF embarked on its class-collaborationist popular-front policy, it *opposed* the call for Algerian independence, calling instead for a more "democratic" French colonial empire. The PCF cheered as Léon Blum's Popular Front government imprisoned the leading Algerian nationalist at that time, Messali Hadj.

By 1958, with the economy in shambles and the country swept by one of the most powerful strike movements in decades, the bourgeoisie turned to General de Gaulle to resolve the crisis. The PCF's response was to pathetically embrace the discredited governing parties that were carrying out the Algerian War, even voting to renew the notorious Special Powers Act. Meanwhile, the PCF's popular-front allies were negotiating with de Gaulle to smooth his ascension to power. De Gaulle quickly cracked down on the working class and stepped being closed in front of them" (Jean-Luc Einaudi, *La Bataille de Paris*). After that anti-Algerian pogrom, there were no protest demonstrations by the PCF or the Communist-led CGT. The only protest strikes were scattered half-hour stoppages in a few plants.

In contrast, when nine *French* people were killed in a police charge against a PCF-led demonstration at the Charonne Métro station in February 1962, the PCF organized a mass demonstration of one million people. PCF speakers did not even mention the slaughter of Algerians which had taken place only four months earlier. The Charonne demonstration is promoted by the PCF as the epitome of their supposed "combat" against French colonialism during the Algerian War. But the Charonne demonstration did not even call for Algerian independence. It was called to protest terrorist attacks by the OAS, a fascist group led by former army officers who sought to head off de Gaulle's negotiations with the FLN.

Throughout the Algerian War, the PCF leaders sought above all to avoid a humiliating defeat for French imperialism. They occasionally uttered words like "independence," but the Stalinists' real policy was to pressure successive bourgeois governments to "negotiate" a settlement. That was simply a call for a neocolonial regime in Algeria under the

L'Humanité

Paris, October 1961: Over 300 Algerians were massacred in police attack on pro-Independence protesters.

boot of French imperialism. Then, as today, the policy of the PCF was to defend the "vital interests" of French capitalism at home and abroad.

LO and LCR Cover Their Own Past

Providing a "left" cover to the cynical campaign of the Stalinists and liberals over torture in Algeria is the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The LCR supported the call by Amnesty International that the torturers be brought to trial, citing as a precedent the trial of Papon for his role in the deportation of Jews during World War II. That trial, like the current judicial proceedings against Pinochet in Chile, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and many others, was calculated to reinforce the illusion that the capitalist rulers had turned the page on their bloody past. And that is precisely the illusion the LCR seeks to bolster, writing: "Our Pinochets have been covered so far; a long struggle will be needed to impose upon our rulers a change in policy" (*Rouge*, 7 December 2000).

During the Algerian War, the forerunners of the LCR uncritically tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist FLN. Their international leader, Michel Pablo, joined the Ben Bella regime as an official adviser. Today, the LCR would like to turn the page on its own past, decrying the "numerous illusions" of "those who hoped that the colonial revolution would be transformed into a socialist revolution" (*Rouge*, 2 November 2000). But if the Pabloites would like to forget their enthusing decades ago for petty-bourgeois guerrillaism, it is to more closely embrace the interests of "democratic" French imperialism. During the imperialist terror bombing of Serbia in 1999, the LCR called for military intervention by the OSCE, a force dominated by the European imperialists, as a way of undercutting the U.S.-dominated NATO in the Balkans. More recently, the LCR Central Committee called for intervention in Palestine by the French imperialists (who have their own interests in the region) to supposedly defend the Palestinians against the Zionists (see our article in *Le Bolchévik* No. 155, Winter 2000/2001).

Not the least cynical in this whole affair is Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which intones against "those pretending to be leftist who did not miss any of the bloody episodes of the history of 'our' national imperialism" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 1 December 2000). Today, Socialist prime minister Jospin is discredited among the working class and oppressed for his capitalist austerity and racist state terror against the population of immigrant origin, so LO attacks him.

LO excoriates Jospin for his refusal to condemn the torture in Algeria; he called instead for "a search for truth." "As if this history remained to be written!" intones LO, citing those who, during the Algerian War, "risking their life and freedom, talked." "Most of their authors were not historians, but just militants" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 1 December 2000). But not militants of LO! One can search the bound volumes of *Voix Ouvrière* (the forerunner of *Lutte Ouvrière*) and of their "political editorials" during the Algerian War. The first time the word "torture" or "torturer" is even mentioned is in May 1959, over four years after the start of the war. As French troops launched the Battle of Algiers, institutionalizing torture on a mass scale, *Voix Ouvrière* (January-February 1957) was running headlines like "High Price of Fuel Because of the War" (for more on LO and the Algerian War, see our article "LO and the Colonial Question," published in *Le Bolchévik* No. 111, May 1991).

Unlike these groups, our perspective is not to pressure French imperialism to clean up its act or to intervene on behalf of oppressed peoples. We know that the French government intervenes only to defend its own bloody imperialist interests at the expense of the people of the neocolonies and the working class. To eliminate once and for all the racism and neocolonial oppression which are inherent to capitalism, we need a workers revolution which expropriates the capitalists on a world scale. The Ligue Trotskyste fights to build the French section of a Trotskyist International which will lead this revolution.■

Srecko Latal

"Human rights" imperialism: French troops in Bosnia, 1995, as part of UN/NATO imperialist occupation force.

Algeria...

(continued from page 1)

Socialist Workers Party of the late Tony Cliff (as well as an array of centrist groups) *hailed* Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" in Iran in 1979, which consigned thousands of leftists to prison and death. In the 1980s, these groups echoed the imperialists in opposing the Soviet military forces fighting Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan. At bottom, what led these ostensible leftists to cheer on the rise of virulently anti-woman Islamic reaction across the region was their anti-Sovietism and capitulation to their own bourgeoisies. The now very dis-United Secretariat and the Cliffites, whose pseudo-international has exploded in the past year, share political responsibility for the living hells that Iran and Afghanistan are for women today. The International Communist League says: *No to the veil! Free abortion on demand! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!*

The imperialists clearly fear that the upsurge in Algeria could be the flame that ignites the social tinderbox across North Africa. At the European Union (EU) summit in Göteborg, Sweden last month, the assembled heads of state called on the Algerian regime "to take a political initiative of great scope to overcome this crisis." The kind of initiative the EU rulers have in mind was made clear when they applauded the shooting of "anti-globalization" protesters by the Swedish cops.

In Morocco, the town of Beni Tadjit, located in an oil region near the Algerian border, recently exploded in four days of fighting with the military following the killing of a Berber youth. The Moroccan weekly *Maroc Hebdo* warned: "There are hundreds of Beni Tadjits. The slightest thing could send them into dispersed but violent revolt against neglect, isolation, unemployment and poverty." Meanwhile, Egypt, which has the largest working class in North Africa, has seen a significant increase in labor protests, strikes and occupations against privatizations in the past few years.

As the Algerian military and its cronies ostentatiously flaunt their wealth, the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that they enforce have cut real wages in half, and basic necessities which were previously subsidized by the state have become virtually inaccessible. The south, with its rich oil and natural gas fields, has essentially been turned into an imperialist enclave cut off from the Algerian population. In preparation for IMF-imposed privatization of the state-owned industrial sector, tens of thousands of workers have been thrown out on the street. The huge El Hadjar steel complex in the eastern city of Annaba has slashed its workforce in half. Nonetheless, these workers showed a measure of their social power when they struck against layoffs and a wage freeze in May 2000. Riot police fired tear gas and rubber bullets into a demonstration of 9,000 strikers. But what brought the strike to an end was the leadership of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), which is closely tied to the military-backed regime.

Not surprisingly given the politics of the UGTA leadership, the organized working class has been noticeably absent from the recent protests as an independent political force. The bourgeois Front of Socialist Forces (FFS)—though discredited by its role as a lawyer for the Islamic fundamentalists, even forming an imperialist-sponsored alliance with the FIS in 1995—has played a prominent and often leading role in the protests. Even the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), which is closely allied with military hardliners and remained in Bouteflika's government until May 1, has recently tried to refurbish its credentials as an opposition force.

Embracing both Berber and Arab workers, the unions could be a vehicle for class unity in struggle against the military regime. The urgent task facing Algerian workers—Berber and Arab—is the forging of a Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat, at the head of all the oppressed, to the seizure of state power. Above all, this means a political struggle to render the proletariat conscious of this revolutionary purpose, to break the stranglehold of the UGTA leadership and to extirpate the influence of both the Islamic fundamentalists and the nationalists who posture as opponents of the regime among the plebeian masses.

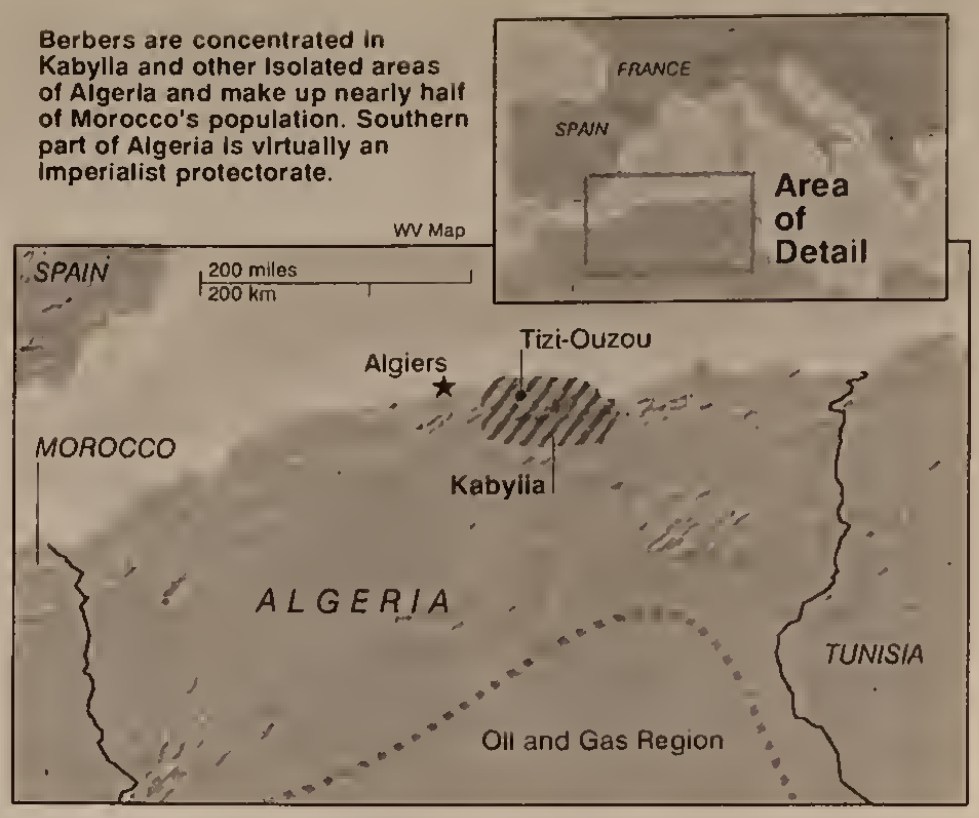
For Leninist Internationalism!

It is precisely this crucial task which is deep-sixed by the centrist Internationalist Group (IG), which has issued one of the more substantive articles written by a left group on the current upheaval, posted in French on its Web site under the masthead *L'Internationaliste* (June 2001). As is typical for this small outfit made up of renegades from the Trotskyism of the ICL, the IG fills its tract with seemingly orthodox rhetoric against the nationalist regime and the Islamic fundamentalists, declaring in its headline, "Only One Solution: Proletarian Revolution!" But all of this is only a smokescreen. Across the board, the IG obscures or denies the political obstacles that a Trotskyist vanguard would have to confront and defeat in order to win the working class to the program of proletarian revolution.

First, the IG prettifies the character of the UGTA bureaucracy, arguing:

> "At the time when the FLN government apparatus controlled all social organizations...the UGTA was a corporatist apparatus, a transmission belt of the single bourgeois party. Following the decomposition and throwing out of the FLN, this relationship was loosened.... Today, the leadership of the trade-union federation has forged links with several bourgeois parties, primarily the RND, the FLN and the RCD."

But all those parties are tied to the military regime and the main one, the RND (National Democratic Rally), as the IG admits, was set up as a political vehicle for the military by the UGTA bureaucracy! In any case, the IG's line reeks of cynicism. In Mexico, they denounce the corporatist CTM union federation as a bosses' organization, "a direct instrument of the bourgeois state" (see "Mexico: NAFTA's Man Targets Labor," *WV* No. 748, 15 December 2000). Was/is the UGTA, therefore, a direct instrument of the bourgeois state, too?



Berbers are concentrated in Kabylia and other isolated areas of Algeria and make up nearly half of Morocco's population. Southern part of Algeria is virtually an imperialist protectorate.

The IG claims to be for "equal rights for Arabic, Tamazight and French." But it simultaneously rejoices that a supposed "absence of slogans calling for Constitutional recognition of Tamazight" in some of the Berber protests "could be the starting point for posing the necessity of an *internationolist* program capable of mobilizing Arabic-speaking workers as well in a revolutionary *class struggle*." This is simply a capitulation to the *dominant* nationalism in Algeria, that of the Arab majority. The starting point for mobilizing Arab workers on an internationalist basis is to win them to active defense of the rights of the Berber minority, not to duck the question.

Most revealing of the IG's capitulation to Algerian nationalism is the fact that—in an article 23 pages long—one can find only three scattered sentences that even refer to the French proletariat. Central to a revolutionary perspective in a dependent country like Algeria is the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist metropolis. But for the IG, it is a point to be tacked on virtually as a footnote.

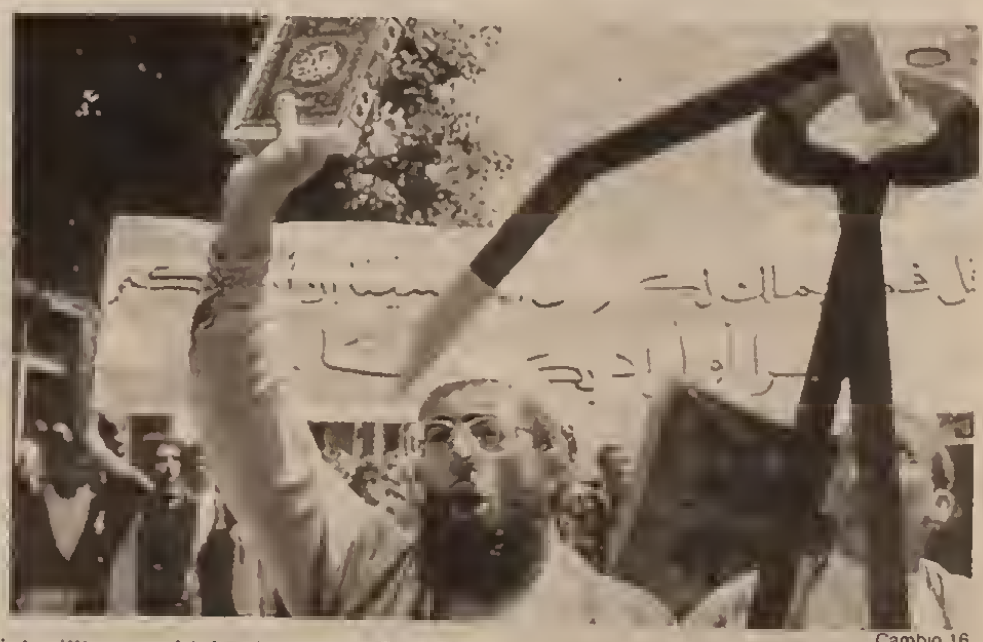
Seeking to deny the obstacles in the path of the insurgent masses, the IG goes out of its way to minimize the danger posed by the fundamentalists. While denouncing Islamic reaction, the IG cynically fulminates that our article "Civil War Bleeds Algeria" (*WV* No. 680, 12 December 1997) is "permeated with the sentiment that all was lost and that the victory of the Islamists was close...precisely at the moment when the armed Islamic groups were checked by the army." The IG's touching faith in the bourgeois nationalists' ability to liquidate the Islamic fundamentalists is belied by its own admission that despite the 1997 "cease-fire" some 9,000 people were slaughtered last year alone. Our warning at the time remains no less true today:

> "The army, or a section of it, could very well apply all or part of the FIS's reactionary program. The forces of repression could very well not limit themselves to imprisoning leaders and activists of the FIS and, in particular, turn on the working class itself."

In its eagerness to wish away the influence of Islamic fundamentalism, the IG generalizes beyond the borders of Algeria, denouncing as "defeatist" our statement that "the 1979 'Iranian Revolution' opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world" ("Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998). Iran continues to be under the grip of the Islamic theocracy that came to power in 1979. That same year saw the beginning of a ten-year war by the CIA-backed *mujahedin* against Soviet troops in Afghanistan—now ruled by the fanatical Taliban. Indeed, the whole civil war in Algeria was fueled by ascendant political Islam, including fundamentalist militias like the GIA spawned by the U.S.-funded war in Afghanistan. And from Egypt to the Palestinian Occupied Territories and Indonesia, the Islamic fundamentalists are today the main forces posturing as an opposition to bourgeois nationalism among the plebeian masses.

The IG obscures the danger of religious reaction the better to capitulate to the "mass movement" under its existing leadership. Denying the enormous impact capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union had in setting back the consciousness of the proletariat internationally, the IG adapted to that lower level of consciousness, willfully misidentifying the will of the workers to struggle with the *revolutionary consciousness* needed to triumph over the bourgeoisie. In practice, this leads to prettifying and pursuing alien class forces. The task of Marxists is not to simply enthuse over the class

Gamma



Cambio 16

Over 100,000 have been slaughtered in decade-long civil war between nationalist military and Islamic fundamentalists.

struggle but to lead that struggle to a victorious conclusion through the establishment of the international dictatorship of the proletariat.

For Workers Revolution in Algeria! Forge a Bolshevik Party!

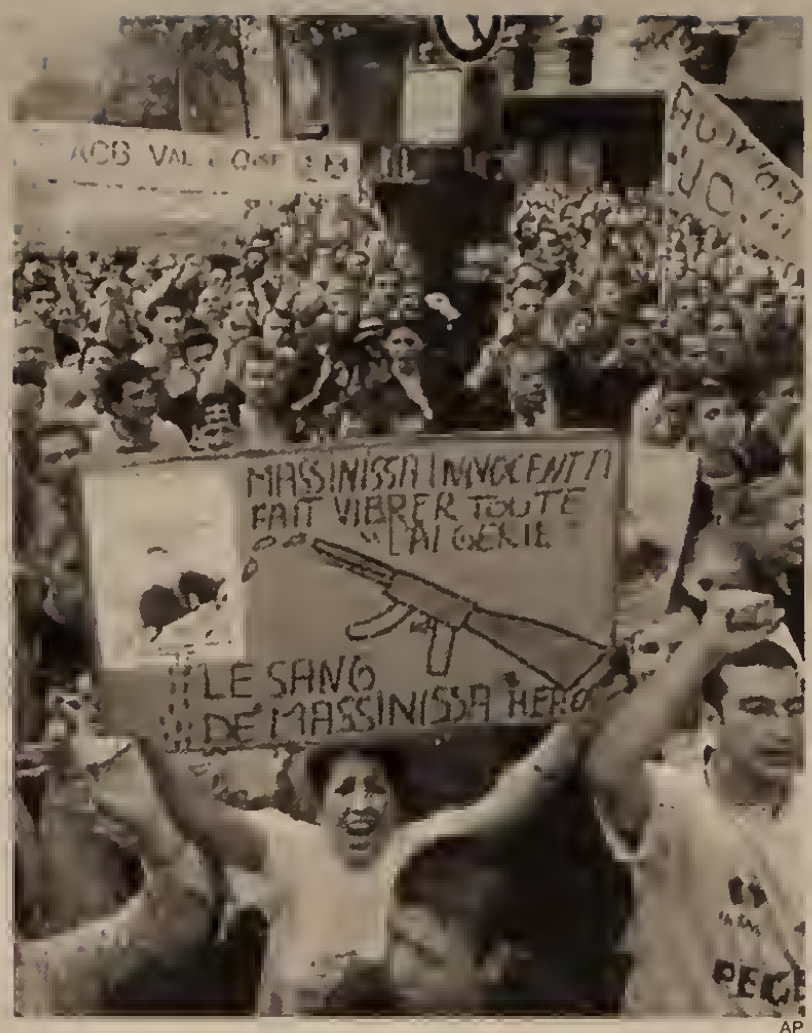
PARIS, June 15—The murder by the police of Massinissa Guermah, an 18 year-old high school student, on April 18 at Beni-Douala in Kabylia sparked an explosion of anger which has blazed across Kabylia. Youth have attacked city halls, police stations—all the symbols of the Algerian bourgeois state—and even of the bourgeois Berber parties, the RCD and the FFS. The Bouteflika government's vicious repression has already meant nearly one hundred deaths and thousands of wounded, but the demonstrations continue in Kabylia, Algiers, Oran, and now in the Chaoui regions in the southeast of the country. Yesterday, a million-strong demonstration in Algiers ended with ten people dead and hundreds wounded. *Down with the repression by the Algerian government against the Berbers! For the immedinte release of all imprisoned youth!*

The youth who took to the streets on the 21st anniversary of the 1980 Berber Spring revolt are demanding that their language, Tamazight, be recognized as an official language. They are also protesting against poverty, mass unemployment which hits 30 percent of the population according to official figures (and is much higher among youth), the severe lack of housing, rampant corruption, the disdain and the injustice to which they are constantly subjected by the Algerian state. The country has been bled white by a civil war during which over 100,000 people have been killed by Islamic fundamentalist groups or by the army and its special forces. This war is the consequence of the bankruptcy of the bourgeois nationalists in power. The growth of Islamic fundamentalism into a mass movement reflected in a reactionary way the absence of a communist alternative as well as the obvious dead end of bourgeois nationalism, in particular after the massacre of youth in 1988. We have consistently refused to support either the military regime or the Islamic fundamentalists, whether during the 1992 elections or in the civil war that followed.

Above all, the government fears the working class which is the one social force with the power to lead the Berbers, impoverished peasants, unemployed youth, women and all oppressed in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order. On March 20, barely a month before the beginning of the revolt, the oil workers went on strike against the privatization of Sonatrach, and there were work stoppages in other sectors. That day *Le Matin* wrote: "Today, the workers' upsurge deeply worries the Algerian authorities.... What was only a threat by one sector ended up taking on the dimensions of generalized anger."

After the victory against French colonialism and independence in 1962, the country built a fairly significant industrial sector using oil revenue to import entire factories. This created an industrial proletariat in light as well as heavy industries (for instance, the El Hadjar steel complex or the truck plant in Rouiba) and in transportation, which—together with oil and gas workers who alone produce 35 percent of the GNP—has social power that far outweighs its numerical size.

Key to mobilizing labor's power is the forging of internationalist Bolshevik parties, in Algeria and in France. Since independence, the Algerian working class has been subordinated to its own ruling class by bourgeois nationalism. The corporatist leadership of the union federation, the UGTA, is directly linked to the regime, and it ended up denouncing its initial support to the June 7 demonstration in Algiers "in defense of democratic liberties." A Bolshevik party would fight to break the working class from bourgeois nationalism and win the workers to the program of socialist revolution.



AP

Paris, June 17: Tens of thousands demonstrate in solidarity with upheaval against Algerian regime. Workers of North African origin are strategic component of industrial proletariat in France.

The Algerian nationalists claim that in the crucible of the Algerian War for independence a homogeneous nation was forged. The revolt in Kabylia—along with the discrimination and repression to which the Berbers are continually subjected—clearly exposes this as a lie. Throughout Africa, "nation-building" is simply a synonym for the oppression of minority ethnic or national groups by the dominant one. That national/ethnic antagonisms in Algeria have not dissipated but have deepened under bourgeois-nationalist rule underlines the necessity of overthrowing capitalism as the precondition for national equality and economic development.

Today, the government seeks to divide the working class by exacerbating the dominant nationalism—that of the Arabic-speaking population—against the Berbers. It is necessary to forge a vanguard party of the working class with a program for taking power. Such a party would fight to mobilize the working class, notably the Arabic-speaking workers, in defense of Berber rights. Trotskyists call for complete equality of all languages used in Algeria—Arabic, Berber and French. Down with forced Arabization! The workers in power would accord local Berber-speaking regions the political power to administer local or regional issues, within the framework of policy decided democratically at the national level. At this stage, the various Berber-speaking regions have not consolidated a nation, although this could happen if the repression by the military regime and/or the virulently Arab-chauvinist fundamentalists intensifies.

In Algeria, the Berber nationalist leaders of the RCD and the FFS are completely discredited. The RCD is closely linked to the "eradicator" wing of the army, while the FFS favors "reconciliation" with the Islamic fundamentalists of the FIS. *Le Monde* (29-30 April) reported the FFS' call on the European Union, including France, "to send a mission to investigate on site." While it is true that the Algerian army has committed its share of crimes, calling on French imperialism is truly obscene, particularly at a moment when the media are overflowing with "revelations" about systematic torture and mass murder committed by French imperialism during the Algerian War (see our article in *Le Bolchévik* No. 156, Spring 2001). What the Jospin-Gayssot popular-front government thinks of Algerian youth can be seen in the deportations of *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] who try to escape the misery and despair of Algeria; in the frame-up trials of so-called "Islamic terrorist networks"; in the stepped-up police terror against revolts by youth of immigrant origin in the ghettos of France itself; and in the exclusion of Muslim girls from high schools for wearing the Islamic head scarf. *French imperialism: Hands off Algeria! Full citizenship rights for all those who make it to France!*

The bankruptcy of the Algerian left has long been evident. Louisa Hanoune's Parti des Travailleurs (PT) has for years been linked with the FIS, from their support to the reactionary strike called by the FIS in 1991 to the 1995 Sant'Egidio alliance with the FIS. During the last election, they were elected with backhanded support from the FIS. The most vicious Islamic fundamentalists were trained by the CIA in Afghanistan to fight the Red Army. The Islamic fundamentalists of the FIS aim to further reinforce the anti-woman *shariah* (Islamic law) which forbids marriage with non-Muslim men, authorizes polygamy, and makes divorce nearly impossible for women (to say nothing of the right to abortion) and relegates them to the permanent status of minors who must "obey" their husbands. The June 4 demonstration in Bejaïa by women against repression testifies to a mobilization of women without precedent since 1962.

As for the Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs (PST)—which is affiliated to the United Secretariat of which Alain Krivine is a spokesman—they currently have a member who is highly placed in the UGTA bureaucracy. They support the village committees in Kabylia and do not talk about the centrality of the working class. Instead of a party, they propose committees with no class basis, where the bourgeois FFS can be rehabilitated. The PST's whole perspective is to turn the current uprising into a "democratic and social struggle against the regime of tyrants in Algeria," i.e., a struggle which remains within the framework of capitalism. This group has always presented itself as a loyal opposition and has even openly supported the nationalist regime. In the early 1960s, their international leader, Michel Pablo, accepted a post in the Ben Bella regime and remained at his post while the army drowned in blood a revolt in Kabylia in 1963. They constantly try to pressure the military regime to make it more "democratic." The goal of such parliamentary cretinism is to channel all working-class struggle onto the parliamentary terrain. This is a truly suicidal perspective in a country like Algeria devastated by war and under the iron heel of imperialism, where bourgeois democracy is nothing but a pipe dream.

The total bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalism in power is a striking confirmation—in the negative—of the correctness of Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which was confirmed by the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. As we wrote in *Le Bolchévik* (No. 145, Spring 1998) [reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 680, 12 December 1997]:

> "Trotsky explained that in economically backward countries, the weak national bourgeoisie—tied by a thousand strings to imperialism and fearful of its 'own' working class—is incapable of realizing the goals of classic bourgeois revolutions like the French Revolution of 1789. He wrote that 'the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses' (*The Permanent Revolution* [1930]). The genuine liberation of colonial and semicolonial countries can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism by socialist revolution. If it is not to be strangled by backwardness, poverty and imperialist intervention, this struggle must necessarily be linked to the fight for proletarian revolution in the imperialist heartlands."

Workers of Algerian origin occupy a strategic position in industry in France, notably in auto, and represent a living bridge linking revolutionary struggle in both countries.

For years the Algerian working class has been crushed by a bloody civil war. That war continues, but today there is a tangible possibility of a polarization of society on a class basis. What is needed is complete and unconditional political independence of the working class, embodied in the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party. That is Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution. That is the perspective for which the International Communist League is fighting. ■

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Labor Department Out of the ATU!

CHICAGO, July 1—Members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) across the country were outraged when their union meetings in May were turned over to agents of the U.S. Department of Labor. The federal agents proceeded to dictate rules for the election of delegates to the ATU international convention in September, the number of delegates to be sent by each local and even the issues they could decide. When Chicago bus drivers arrived at work on June 26, the day of the government-run ATU Local 241 delegate "election," they were greeted by agents wearing Department of Labor badges patrolling the dispatch rooms where ballots were being cast. Angrily gesturing at the Feds, one union official told *Workers Vanguard*, "In 23 years on the property, I've never seen anything like this!"

According to the ATU International's *In Transit* (March-April 2001) magazine, the U.S. government is arrogantly demanding that even the union's Canadian locals bow down to its decrees. The Labor Department reportedly plans to send agents into the convention itself, which will be held in Toronto. In another example of government intrusion, the FBI earlier this year launched an "investigation" of alleged corruption by Chicago ATU Local 308 (rail operations and maintenance). All trade unionists must demand: Government hands off the ATU!

The March 28 federal court order mandating the latest government intervention resulted from a complaint with the Labor Department filed by Local 241 vice president Richard Stomper, leading to a government lawsuit which Stomper and other ATUers signed onto. The suit alleged that ATU election procedures violate the 1959 Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure (Landrum-Griffin) Act, a major weapon in the government's anti-labor arsenal.

Stomper and his allies have invited ***increased government control*** of the ATU at a time of heightened unrest among transit workers across the country, exemplified by last fall's defiant Los Angeles strike. In the San Francisco Bay Area, where union contracts for the BART transit system expired yesterday, management is trying to shove a giveback contract down the workers' throats. The union tops' response has been to plead with Democratic governor Gray Davis to impose an anti-strike, 60-day "cooling-off" period; he has now taken the initial steps to do so. In Chicago, ATU members have been working without a contract for 18 months. Stomper's role as an agent of the bosses was demonstrated in his scab letter to ATU International president Jim LaSala in May, promising to "put obstacles in the way" of the "moronic adventure" of a strike! The Local 241 and 308 bureaucracies have hogtied this powerful union to a binding arbitration scheme making it "illegal" to strike.

Under the guise of providing a "bill of rights for union members," Landrum-Griffin, like the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, aims to shackle the power of the unions by increasingly placing them under government control. The court suit by Stomper & Co. nominally targets a provision in the ATU constitution requiring nominees for convention delegate to have attended a certain number of regular union meetings in the previous year. But as we wrote in "Association for Union Democracy: Lawyers for Government Union-Busting" (*WV* No. 738, 30 June 2000): "The *only* interest the government has in meddling in the unions is to weaken them and reduce their capacity to struggle. Bringing the courts into the unions is counterposed to the very purpose of union democracy: open debate over conflicting strategies in order for the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests *against* the employers and their state.... Labor must clean its own house!"

The same government that Stomper has invited into the ATU smashed the striking PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, jailed and assassinated scores of Black Panther Party militants in the '60s and '70s and is driving today toward the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The government is not a "neutral" body but acts as the central executive committee of the capitalist ruling class as a whole, acting to defend capitalist profits and rule through the armed might of the state—the cops, military, courts and prisons. The violence of the capitalist state is a daily reality for the black and Latino population, which makes up an overwhelming percentage of the ATU membership.

This Marxist understanding of the state is anathema to a host of phony labor "reformers," from the anti-communist Association for Union Democracy, which hailed Stomper's suit, to the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which with the backing of the International Socialist Organization and other reformists abetted the government takeover of the Teamsters. In the San Francisco Bay Area, an outfit publishing the *Transit Worker Frontlines* newsletter in ATU Local 1555 has come out foursquare in favor of the Feds' intervention into the union, defending the move in its May issue as "giving the membership more say." Supporting *Transit Worker Frontlines* is Socialist Alternative (SA), whose faith in the supposedly benign nature of the capitalist state is exemplified by its position that the racist, union-busting cops and prison guards should be part of the trade-union movement.

Chicago transit workers say that the Labor Department's arrogant takeover of union meetings sparked protests by members from the floor, which the ATU leaders tried to squelch. While some local officials hypocritically claim to sympathize with such protests and to oppose the government's intervention, they themselves have tied the union to the capitalists and their state in countless ways, from their support to capitalist Democratic and Republican politicians to forcing the unions into the straitjacket of binding arbitration. To unchain the power of labor, there must be a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership committed to a struggle for the independence of the unions from the capitalists and their government, political parties and courts.■

Afghan Connection...

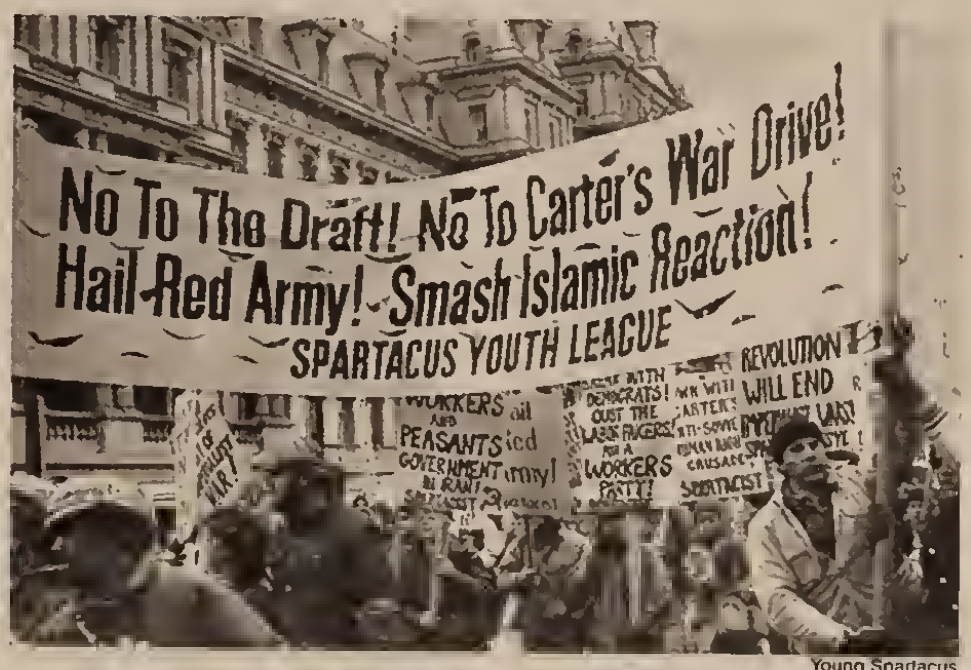
(continued from page 5)

origins, the *Times* studiously avoids citing any direct links between the CIA and bin Laden (or Rahman), omitting even the CIA's role in building the Khost complex.

But facts are stubborn things. When prosecutors in the recent trial introduced an Arab-language "terrorism manual" as evidence of bin Laden's complicity in the embassy bombings, it turned out to be strikingly similar to manuals issued by the CIA to its *contra* assassins and Afghan *mujahedin* in the 1980s. Among the recipes in the CIA manual was one for a bomb—made from a mixture of fertilizer and fuel oil—of the kind that blew a 200-foot-wide gash in one of the World Trade Center twin towers. That bomb was built by an FBI informant!

The Feds also produced a witness in the embassy bombing trial to testify that bin Laden once tried to buy uranium on the black market in Sudan. But the Islamic Afghan war veterans already have plenty of "weapons of mass destruction" courtesy of their former American patrons. It's estimated that over 500 Stingers "went missing" after the 1989 Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Bin Laden alone allegedly has at least a dozen of these sophisticated missiles.

A *New York Times* (18 June) profile on U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White, a Clinton appointee, noted that virtually all of the investigations and prosecutions against "Islamic terrorism" have been run out of her New York City jurisdiction—including the bombing of the *Cole* in Yemen! This is no accident. The New York FBI and CIA offices were the linchpin for recruitment of *mujahedin* in the U.S., largely organized through the Alkifah Refugee Center ("a small office in Brooklyn"). In her book *A Portrait of Egypt*, Mary Anne Weaver reports that a leading Egyptian official told her that Alkifah was "a front organization for the CIA during the jihad: money, he said, had been laundered through it, weapons transferred, and Arab Americans recruited and trained."



Young Spartacus

In face of Cold War II launched by Democrat Carter over 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of USSR.

Fanatical even by the standards of the *mujahedin*, the Taliban militia was born and bred under the patronage of the ISI secret police in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan. The Taliban ultimately emerged as the strongest of the *mujahedin* factions in the internecine feuding that broke out after the downfall of the PDPA regime. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia viewed the Taliban—Sunni Muslims based on the Pashtun, the largest of the local ethnic groupings—as a force for stability in Afghanistan and a counterweight to Shiite Iran.

For these reasons, the U.S. also supported the Taliban's rise to power. But Washington had an additional interest in supporting a strong central government under Taliban rule. The American-based Unocal Oil was seriously investigating the idea of building a pipeline through Afghanistan to exploit rich natural gas and oil fields being opened up in Central Asia. There wasn't a word of criticism from Washington when the Taliban forced thousands of girls to leave school after capturing Herat in 1995 or when it seized Kabul a year later and subjected women to virtual house arrest under the Islamic stricture of *purdah* (seclusion). On the contrary, the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia averred that "it is not in the interests of Afghanistan or any of us here that the Taliban be isolated."

In late 1997, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright signaled a shift in U.S. policy by cynically chastising the Afghan rulers for their treatment of women. The Taliban regime had refused to accede to U.S. demands to hand over bin Laden, and the economics of the proposed Unocal pipeline no longer added up. As well, the plight of Afghan women under Taliban rule had become something of a cause among U.S. liberals and feminists, who had earlier supported the *mujahedin* against the Soviet intervention force. Washington imposed economic sanctions on Afghanistan, deepening the starvation and devastation resulting from nearly two decades of civil war and exacerbated by a recent drought. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues to fund rival *mujahedin* warlord Shah Massoud, another old CIA friend who controls a small slice of northern Afghanistan.

The U.S.-backed war of terror against the Red Army in Afghanistan forced five million people to flee the country, devastated what economy and infrastructure had been built up during the Soviet presence and led to the re-enslavement of Afghan women. That war paved the way to capitalist counterrevolution throughout the Soviet Union and East Europe, reducing tens of millions of working people there to penury. From the Algerian Armed Islamic Group to the Islamic Jihad in Egypt, the "Arab Afghans" spawned and nurtured by the anti-Soviet war went on to foment reactionary movements elsewhere, capitalizing on popular hatred for brutal nationalist regimes and the imperialist austerity measures they impose.

Today, the U.S. cynically declares war on "Islamic terror" in order to impose its will on oppressed peoples around the world. While Osama bin Laden and his ilk are plenty sinister, the most dangerous terrorists on the face of the planet are America's capitalist rulers. Indeed, mass terror to suppress any semblance of social revolution by the worker and peasant masses is integral to the defense of this system based on exploitation of the many by the few.

The horrors produced by U.S. imperialism's "holy war" against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan lay bare that the capitalist system long ago ceased to be an agency for social progress and became instead a breeding ground for barbaric reaction. They put in sharp relief the Marxist understanding that the choices facing humanity are socialism or barbarism. We fight to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International to lead the proletariat in the U.S. and around the world to victory in new October Revolutions.■

FTAA...

(continued from page 7)

serve to draw youth who have a gut hatred of the inequality of the world into the idea that the imperialist powers can be pressured, that they can act in the interest of the oppressed masses. Much of the anti-FTAA protest in Quebec was in defense of Canadian "democracy," targeting U.S. imperialism as the main enemy—this included signs saying "Yankees Go Home." This is the logic of the anti-globalization movement, which posits that the central evil of transnational corporations is to undermine "national sovereignty"—in other words, to undermine the interests of their own capitalist rulers. In the U.S., the central leaders of the anti-globalization protests define their goals as pressuring U.S. imperialism to be the benefactor of the oppressed of the world. For example, at a teach-in on the anti-FTAA protest I went to in New York a couple of months ago, the maximum program of the major speaker was to write letters to your congressman. This was a meeting run by the Green Party and the reformist socialist group the International Socialist Organization, and it is a testament to just how craven they are that they did not speak against such thoroughly pro-capitalist politics.

As a comrade said in a forum on imperialism and the way the U.S. postures as defenders of human rights, during the Vietnam antiwar movement one never had to argue that American imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples. This was accepted as a truism by youthful radicals who were propelled into protest by U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants and also by the massive civil rights protests for black rights.

An example of the ways illusions in imperialism are pushed internationally in this "movement" can be found in a look at the official call for a "global day of action" in Prague for the protests against the World Bank and IMF last September, which proclaimed outrage on behalf of the world's oppressed but failed to mention, among other things, the economic, social and ecological devastation wreaked on the Balkans by the war the year before. Why? Because many of those same leftists supported the imperialist war against Serbia in the name of "humanitarian" concern for the Kosovar Albanians. We were for the defeat of our own ruling class in that war and worked to expose the "human rights" pretensions that the U.S. donned in order to gain popular support for their military destruction of Serbia. The imperialists' hypocrisy in that conflict is laid bare now as they denounce as terrorists the Albanian KLA, which during the war against Serbia operated as the pawns of NATO imperialism.

The fake lefts' and rad-libs' embrace of their own imperialist rulers was expressed in their support for the imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces aimed at the destruction of the USSR and the East European deformed workers states a decade ago. In this case, too, they embraced the imperialist bourgeoisie as a force for democracy and human rights. We fought for the unconditional military defense of these states, which embodied real gains for the working class despite the Stalinist bureaucracies. A simple empirical demonstration of this can be seen in the social devastation caused by the counterrevolutions—this includes the dramatic plunge in life expectancy, the 20-fold increase in the poverty rate and the gutting of women's right to abortion in those countries. In a statement put out by the ICL for the Prague protests, we pointed out that the IMF and World Bank wouldn't even have been meeting in Prague if it weren't for the capitalist counterrevolution, a fact which gave pause to young Czech leftists politicized by the depredations of capitalism who were startled to discover that the supposedly revolutionary parties they joined had supported the counterrevolutions a decade ago.

Herpplch/Cincinnati Enquirer

Police state of siege in Cincinnati ghettos in April. Cop terror is daily reality for black people in the ghetto. Fight against capitalist imperialism must go hand in hand with struggle for black freedom.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent marches in October 1990 New York City demonstration against U.S. invasion of Persian Gulf. U.S. imperialists' "human rights" campaign means continued bombings, starvation blockade of Iraq.

The Fight Against Black Oppression

I have motivated the point that you don't have to be against capitalism to be against "globalization," and that's why you have everything from anti-Mexican, anti-Chinese, pro-capitalist labor leaders to leftist youth with a desire for social change involved with the anti-globalization protests. However, the fact that this "movement" cannot address social questions within the U.S. is its greatest condemnation. It has been noted in the *Village Voice* and *ColorLines*, as well as in activist chat rooms including after Quebec, that this "movement" is overwhelmingly white. Many of the more leftist youth who have come to these protests are upset about this. But to place the blame for oppression simply on transnational corporations and thereby amnesty the very vicious U.S. imperialist state must seem surreal to black youth who face cop terror every day. And these youth are not likely to go in for "direct action," when they know what awaits them at the hands of the cops.

Some organizers of the protests blatantly argue that the fight for black rights or against the oppression of women or immigrants or gays is "divisive." Grotesquely calling the fight for these rights "identity politics," they argue that these have been subsumed by struggle against the global economy. In reality, this is just a justification for their own view of the benevolence of the capitalist state. And in fact, as seen in the Nader campaign, it can be a conscious choice to not deal with black oppression and to appeal to people who are not anti-racist.

"Unity" vs. Program

Today the battle cry of the rad-libs and the left is to "fight the right," which is a longtime codeword for supporting the Democrats. But almost every major war fought by the U.S. in the 20th century was fought under, or at least begun under, a liberal Democratic president, not a right-wing Republican one: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman and the Vietnam War under John F. Kennedy. All of these wars were fought in the name of liberal principles; World War I was supposed to be "the war to make the world safe for democracy," World War II was billed as a war against fascism, the Korean and Vietnam Wars were fought in the name of defending the "free world."

Today's youth came to political consciousness after the fall of the USSR, when the bourgeoisie has been loudly declaring communism to be "a failed experiment." We have grown up with images designed to portray U.S. imperialism as liberating people all over the world. The big one that most youth would remember was the Persian Gulf War in 1991, where terror bombing of civilians was carefully orchestrated by the war machine to appear like a bloodless video game—at all costs avoiding the effect of the images that came out of the Vietnam War. In fact, those photographs that did document some of the horrors were suppressed, the imagery surfacing only years later. This was followed by the occupation of Somalia in 1992, supposedly to relieve the famine raging there but in fact to set up a near-colonial military occupation. Then came the 1995 war in the Balkans, the war in Kosovo supposedly in defense of the Kosovar Albanians in 1999, the continued bombings and UN starvation sanctions against Iraq.

The left has actually abetted the imperialist rulers in this grotesque manipulation, as I indicated earlier with reference to the war against Serbia. So it's not surprising that youth just becoming political will think along the lines of the dominant ideology, and that their expressions of outrage will be framed within what they think is possible, namely, to build an inclusive movement whose main intent is to pressure the rulers.

But just looking at the enormity of the suffering around the world under imperialism serves to explode these illusions. 2.8 billion people—nearly half of the world's population—live on less than $2 a day. And 1.2 billion of these live on less than $1 a day. Of course, this is not limited to other countries; in New York City alone, over 34 percent of the city's children live under the poverty line. The numbers of those living in desperate poverty has risen steadily since the late '80s in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America; in the countries of East Europe and Central Asia following capitalist counterrevolutions, the number of people living in poverty has risen *20 times*. More than one billion people drink unsafe water and 2.4 billion, or 40 percent of the human race, are without adequate sanitation.

Youth are being propelled into struggle to fight against the very real depredations that define the lives of millions around the world. And a section rejects the abject reformism of the left that pushes the lie that the Democrats are some kind of alternative. This is the oldest shell game of politics in the United States. The Democrats—often the preferred tool of the capitalist rulers because they posture as the friends of labor and blacks—are the velvet glove on the fist of the bourgeoisie.

It's not surprising that the most left-wing youth in the anti-FTAA protests identify with anarchism, given the ideological campaign by the world's imperialist rulers to assert that communism was a failed experiment. For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of bourgeois rule, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the reformism of the rest of the left. Lenin himself was denounced as an anarchist when he called for a workers revolution in Russia in 1917. As he put it in his book *The State and Revolution*: "The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

Our aim is a revolutionary leadership, whose cadre must be tested in the class struggle. The way forward is for the presently small forces adhering to the program of Lenin and Trotsky to forge parties with the experience, revolutionary will and authority among the masses to lead successful proletarian revolutions. We have no illusions that this will be an easy road, and we recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational and genocidal ruling class means we don't have a lot of time. The SYCs are training grounds to educate and prepare a new generation of youth for the fight to overthrow the imperialist rulers and bring the workers to state power.■

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 3.

WV Photo

Portraits on Columbia rally stage of five ILA Local 1422 members facing felony charges.

Charleston...

(continued from page 16)

at Republican state attorney general Charles Condon, a notoriously racist union-buster who rails that the ILA picket line was a "brutal mob riot" and is trying to ride the prosecution of the Charleston Five into the governor's mansion this November. Not one of the official speakers pointed to the role of Hodges and other Democratic politicians, including Charleston mayor Joseph Riley, in enforcing the anti-union "open shop." Yet it was Riley's liberal police chief, Reuben Greenberg, who organized the massive cop onslaught last year and was praised by the mayor because it was "better to be over-prepared than under-prepared"!

With Bush, surrounded by open admirers of the old Confederacy, in the White House, the union bureaucracy—which is itself a component of the Democratic Party—is campaigning virtually full-time for Democrats who posture as "friends of labor." But while the Republicans openly repress the working people and minorities, the Democrats lie and do the same thing. Today, Southern Democrats rely on black voters to get elected. But it was their Dixiecrat forebears who placed the Confederate banner atop the State House in South Carolina and elsewhere in the first place as a symbol of racist defiance of the mass civil rights struggles for black equality and integration. And before that, it was the Democrats who enacted the "right to work" laws—which remain in place to this day—aimed at keeping the South free of unions. Those laws were the outgrowth of an entrenched apparatus of segregation and oppression, from the post-Civil War "Black Codes" and "anti-vagrancy" laws to the sharecropping system and prison chain gangs (see "The Fight to Unionize the 'Open Shop' South," *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 16, January 2001).

The Longshoremen's Protective Union Association, formed by Charleston stevedores in 1867, was the first labor organization of black workers. As a speaker for the Partisan Defense Committee underlined in appealing for support for death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in a pre-march rally, labor rights and black rights go hand in hand. As we wrote in our earlier article on the Charleston ILA struggle:

> "Just as at the start of the Civil War the Confederate slaveowners turned their guns on Fort Sumter, a Union Army stronghold in Charleston harbor, today the capitalists aim their fire at the ILA because it is a bulwark of black labor power in the South. The ILA union hall dominates the Charleston port, a symbol of this union's position as a beacon to working people and the black masses."

The ILA's successful battle against the Nordana/Winyah bosses last year has since led to efforts to organize non-union workers at Winyah and beyond the waterfront to public employees in the Charleston tri-county area, while Port Authority crane operators, who are barred from joining unions, have sought and received help from Local 1422 in their contract negotiations. From the earliest labor struggles to the fight against Nordana last year, every gain achieved by working people has been wrested from the employers through class struggle, not through lobbying capitalist politicians or appealing to the capitalist courts.

The defense of ILA Local 1422 against racist union-busting must be the cause of all labor. The fight to extend union power throughout the "open shop" South requires a class-struggle leadership whose starting point is the understanding that the interests of labor and capital are diametrically counterposed. Only when those who labor rule will there be an end to union-busting and racist oppression. ***Drop all charges against the Charlestan Five! Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party that fights far all the exploited and appressed!*** ■

Mic Smith/Post and Courier

January 2000: Union-busting assault by cops against mass ILA picket on Charleston waterfront.

PDC Speaker: Labor Must Fight for Mumia's Freedom

We print below a speech at the pre-march rally in Columbia on June 9 by Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee.

We're in solidarity with the Charleston Five. People should realize this is not just a matter of five brothers who have to be defended. This is a historic issue of fighting for unions in the South. That means fighting against the racial oppression that exists in this country. Racial oppression and union-busting and the fight against labor are directly connected.

The fight to defend the Charleston Five must be turned into an assault by labor to organize South Carolina and the South. That same power must be used to also defend America's most important prisoner, a man on death row. They want legal lynching to take place. As sure as the judges and the cops want to throw a rope over that tree, they want to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal.

We must use the power of labor that's here today and multiply it by millions to free him. He has fired his lawyers and hired new lawyers, and they have come forward with new evidence—another man has said he did the shooting of the policeman who Mumia was falsely accused of killing. But the government has not allowed that testimony to be heard.

We must use our power here, our independent power: No reliance on Democratic or Republican politicians! They have lied to us and they have oppressed us. This whole issue is about the power used on the picket line on the docks of Charleston. That power must be used to defend the Charleston Five. That power must be used to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Workers to power! Thank you.

Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

undermined real support for Mumia's defense, as reflected in the dwindling size of demonstrations even as his case has become more urgent. Many militant workers, youth and ghetto and barrio poor who want to strike a blow against the racist injustice system are repelled by such politics. Many others have been demobilized and demoralized by making Jamal's defense dependent simply on the decisions of the capitalist courts.

The ruling class is not impressed by bluffs, but only by real threats to its property and class rule. What's needed is militant strike action in Jamal's defense by the multiracial working class, showing the way forward for all the oppressed, by demonstrating their power to shut off the capitalists' profits and bring "the system" to a halt. The April 24, 1999 ILWU Local 10 one-day West Coast longshore work stoppage in defense of Jamal points in the right direction, though it was undermined by the union tops' allegiance to the capitalist Democratic Party, as our leaflet explained.

When Pennsylvania governor Ridge signed the death warrant against Jamal in the summer of 1995, the PDC and its fraternal organizations abroad were crucial to extending the international wave of protest, from the dockworkers of Hamburg to the black metalworkers of Johannesburg. As the scheduled date of execution neared, the PDC initiated emergency united-front protests in New York City, Chicago and Oakland, Australia and Canada, centered on bringing to bear the power of organized labor. The protests drew hundreds of trade unionists and were endorsed by dozens of unions and labor officials. This outpouring of protest was the crucial factor in winning a stay of execution. Likewise, it was no accident that a second stay in October 1999 was granted three days after a PDC-initiated united-front mobilization centered on labor/black power brought thousands out to drive the KKK out of New York City.

As the new evidence underlines, the ruling-class drive to kill Jamal exposes the fact that the capitalist state is not neutral but a machine of organized violence against the exploited and oppressed. This understanding is key to winning Mumia's freedom—through the independent mobilization of the working class and oppressed against the class enemy, on the road to winning their own emancipation. As our contingent chanted on May 12th: "Labor/Black power is the key! Smash the rule of the bourgeoisie!" This is what the LBL fights for. Join us! ■

NOTICE

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Berlin Social Democrats Administer Capitalist Austerity

The following article is translated and abridged from Spartakist *(No. 144, Summer 2001), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTAKIST

On June 16, the Berlin Social Democratic Party (SPD) terminated its coalition with the Christian Democrats (CDU) after ten years of joint attacks on the working class. Now an SPD/Green transition government is governing with the support of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism—social-democratic successor to the East German Stalinist SED], with SPDer Klaus Wowcreit as mayor. This provoked an anti-Communist outcry. Michael Peter Glos of the right-wing Christian Socialists (CSU) ranted, "It is shameful for Germany that the SPD is now even pursuing collaboration with the successor party of the SED in the federal capital" (*Berliner Morgenpost*, 16 June). The SPD was also polarized: Berlin SPD representative Anneliese Neef called for abstention on the no-confidence vote in the Berlin House of Representatives. "She is not here to enable 'the heirs of the SED and wall builders' to share power again" (*Berliner Morgenpost*, 17 June).

The reason for this was—as *Der Spiegel* put it—"the biggest bank scandal in the history of the Federal Republic" (11 June). Former CDU minister Landowsky played a central role as a board member in driving the Berlin Bank Association to ruin, bestowing preferred credits and "favors" on party friends. With the CDU now exposed, the SPD is posing as Mr. Clean. But they are just as involved in the scandal.

Naturally, for us Marxists—and for any other thinking person in this city—it is clear that bourgeois politics is corrupt through and through. But what is explosive about this scandal is the scale of the corruption relative to the fundamental attacks on the living standards of the working population of Berlin. Berlin already had a budget deficit of about 63 billion DM; now another 7 billion has been added. Of the 450,000 industrial jobs that used to exist in Berlin, 320,000 have been destroyed in the last ten years. Unemployment rates are 25 percent in the eastern part of the city, in the West more than 12 percent, and among immigrants without a German passport 40 percent. Berlin already has the lowest number of hospital beds, libraries and sports facilities per inhabitant but the highest number of welfare recipients. Accompanying this growing social dynamite, there are more cops than in any other large city. They are the armed thugs of the bourgeois state who daily carry out racist state terror, like on May Day when they attacked the working class and the left. At the same time, the current SPD/Green City Council is still committed to rebuilding Berlin as the German imperialist metropolis of pomp and splendor.

No Vote for the SPD, PDS!

The SPD is now getting strategically important backing from the PDS. [PDS head Gregor] Gysi is saying he wants above all to put an end to the "corruption of politics and the economy"...together with the SPD! The PDS sees the upcoming elections as its chance to jointly govern the capital city, Berlin, with the SPD as they are already doing in the states of Saxony-Anhalt and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. They see Berlin as a springboard for the upcoming federal elections, so they can get closer to their goal of administering German imperialism nationally, also in a "center-left" coalition with the SPD. They want to prove themselves in the eyes of the bourgeoisie in Berlin.

What that means was made clear by Klaus Wowereit: "We have to cut back the administration further and also save on opera halls and university clinics" (*Der Spiegel* interview, 11 June). In the last few years, 60,000 public service employees have been fired. Hospitals took massive cuts in the number of beds and even whole wards, and Moabit Hospital is practically already closed. Now the Charité-Mitte, Urban Hospital, Benjamin Franklin Clinic and Neukölln Hospital are slated for attack. Most of these hospitals are in districts with large immigrant populations. As noted in an SpAD May Day leaflet, "For a Trade Union Fight Against SPD/Green Attacks!", Moabit was one of the few hospitals with doctors who spoke Turkish, and was especially important for ethnic minorities in this city. This gives a small taste of the "hard cuts" the PDS, with its "social responsibility," wants to shove down the throats of the workers and oppressed in this city.

Since the PDS is not involved like the SPD in the current scandal, it is in a position to be an effective instrument for the attacks. The newspaper *Junge Welt* quoted the Berlin PDS fraction chairman, Harald Wolf, "That the switch in government was necessary above all to create the acceptance required for the 'painful incisions'" (29 May). Just as we did in the 1998 federal elections, we call now for: *No vote for the SPD or PDS* in the coming elections!

The PDS' craving to govern—it's now showing its "competence" by suggesting the biggest "money saving" package of all—is being met with disgust inside the PDS and among leftist youth and workers who look to the PDS as an alternative. Every day *Junge Welt*, mouthpiece of the PDS left, publishes articles critical of the PDS, letters to the editor reflecting the indignation of the PDS rank and file, and letters of resignation. This has brought out the PDS "left," which spreads the lie that pressure from the rank and file can make the PDS into an instrument for the interests of the working class. So among other things *Junge Welt* printed the declaration of the leadership of the Hamburg PDS, with the title "Those Who Are Driven by Anger, Stay—A Call from Hamburg on Members of the PDS to Stay in the Party." Here they call for saving the "socialist perspective" of the PDS (*Junge Welt*, 21 June). But the PDS, just like the SPD, is a bourgeois workers party, i.e., it has a proletarian base but a thoroughly bourgeois program. It assists the SPD in controlling the trade unions. Exactly because of the illusions that the workers and left have in the PDS, it is a particularly effective *obstacle* to the defense of even the most elementary interests of the workers in Berlin against the "money saving" attacks of the bourgeoisie. It is an *obstacle* to the fight for a proletarian revolution, which is the only way to end capitalist misery. Workers and leftist youth must *break* from the SPD and PDS and *not* "stay" there. What we need is a multiethnic revolutionary workers party. We Spartacists are committed to building such a party.

Pressefoto Peters

Berlin, March 12: Workers protest closure of Moabit Hospital. Sign reads: "We Demand Job Security!"

We say also: *No vote for the bourgeois Greens!* Together with the SPD, they led the imperialist bombing war against Serbia as part of NATO. And it was the SPD/Green government that mobilized 30,000 cops last year to club and beat their way through the resistance of many thousands to transport atomic waste.

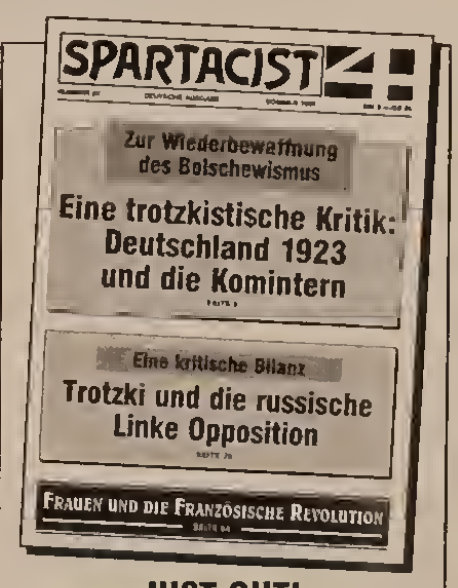
When Wowereit heard that conservative publisher Springer's rag *Bild* wanted to make a scandal out of his being gay, he found himself compelled to go public. The CDU immediately kindled a reactionary homophobic campaign against Wowereit. Berlin's ex-Senator for Internal Affairs, Schönbohm, implicitly attacked the SPD/Green law which makes the small concession of allowing the official registration of homosexual partnerships. Even this law, which essentially formalizes discrimination against gays and lesbians, goes too far for these reactionaries. We communists fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals.

Simultaneously, the CDU is trying to win back lost ground by whipping up an anti-Communist campaign against the PDS. CDU fraction head Steffel stated that the SPD wanted to "feed [the city] to the Communists" (*Der Spiegel*, 11 June). Ex-chancellor Helmut Kohl will be intervening in the Berlin electoral campaign, even though [CDU head Angela] Merkel & Co. are very much afraid that the ex-chancellor of the illegal donations scandal will cost more votes than he brings. Kohl stated, "Whoever courts the successors to the SED as if there had never been a Berlin Wall and barbed wire, incriminates himself" (*Financial Times Deutschland*, 17 June). And the PDS is trying to prove itself "worthy to govern" by making anti-Communist "apologies" for the building of the wall in 1961. This is their contribution to the anti-Communist witchhunt against the DDR [East Germany], the purpose of which is to criminalize any fight against capitalism. The wall was a bureaucratic measure by the Stalinist bureaucracy against the economic bleeding of the East German deformed workers state by West German imperialism. Against the German bourgeoisie, we Trotskyists defended the wall.

In fact, the social misery of the city of Berlin is the result of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the DDR deformed workers state, where the German bourgeoisie had been expropriated and the economy socialized. West Berlin was the anti-Communist propaganda showcase and bulwark of West German imperialism. A relatively high level of industry and infrastructure was maintained through special subsidies. After the counterrevolution, Berlin's Cold War intravenous nutrition was cut off. East Berlin's industry, which provided hundreds of thousands with jobs and livelihoods, was destroyed by the vindictive German bourgeoisie, as was industry throughout the entire ex-DDR. At the same time, in West Berlin one industrial plant after another was closed or drastically reduced. Today miles of industrial ruins line the banks of the river Spree, and the long lines in front of the unemployment and social welfare offices give witness to the counterrevolution's devastation.

The PDS, with its slogans "We Are One People 1:1" and "Germany, One Fatherland," was decisive in driving the pro-communist workers of the DDR into the counterrevolution in 1990. We Trotskyists were the only party that said clearly, "No to capitalist reunification!" and fought with all means available to our International against it. We warned then that a capitalist reunification would carry the counterrevolution to Moscow and mean mass unemployment, strengthening of the fascists and the danger of new wars. We were proved right in a most bitter way.

Hard class struggle is needed today against the massive attacks of the bourgeoisie, their capitalist SPD/Green government and their governing Senate in Berlin. That requires forging an international, revolutionary, multiethnic workers party that fights to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie through a socialist revolution and to construct a rational planned economy. For a red Germany of workers councils! Join us!■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

South Carolina

Thousands Rally to Defend Charleston Longshoremen

Upwards of 4,000 trade unionists and other defenders of black and labor rights from throughout the South and across the country marched and rallied in Columbia, South Carolina on June 9 to demand: "Free the Charleston Five! Drop the Charges Now!" The Charleston Five—Kenneth Jefferson, Elijah Forde Jr., Peter Washington Jr., Rick Simmons and John Edgerton—are members of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422 who are under house arrest and face up to five years in prison on bogus felony riot charges for defending their union picket line against a massive police assault.

On 20 January 2000, Locals 1422, 1422A and 1771 mobilized on the Charleston waterfront to stop attempts by the Nordana shipping company to use the non-union Winyah stevedoring outfit to unload one of its ships. These workers were met by an army of 600 municipal, county and state police, including prison guards, clad in riot gear and backed up with armored vehicles and helicopters. Firing tear gas, shot grenades and pellet bags, the cops waded into the largely black union picket swinging long wooden clubs and arrested eight workers (see "Charleston ILA Battles Racist Union-Busting Assault," *WV* No. 728, 28 January 2000).

In a protest statement issued the day of the cop attack, the Partisan Defense Committee noted that only three days earlier, Local 1422 had participated in a 50,000-strong protest in Columbia demanding the removal of the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror from atop the State House: "The cops who were mobilized from across the state to enforce the Nordana shipping bosses' efforts to bust the ILA union brought home what this flag represents—the 'open shop' enforced through racist terror of the cops and their KKK auxiliaries."

WV Photo

June 9: As trade unionists from around the country streamed into Columbia to demand freedom for Charleston Five, labor tops preached reliance on capitalist Democratic Party.

The Charleston ILA's defiant stand, which forced Nordana to pull back from its scabherding efforts a month later, inspired longshoremen and other workers around the world. Speakers at the June 9 rally included a representative of the International Transport Workers Federation from Sweden and a South Korean trade unionist who spoke about their battle against the mass layoffs threatened at Daewoo in the face of a GM takeover.

After ILA International president John Bowers spoke, trumpeting that he would march into the courtroom with the Charleston Five the day the trial begins, longshoremen in the crowd chanted, "Shut the ports down! Shut the ports down!" But the union bureaucrats' purpose in organizing the rally was not to organize labor action in defense of the Charleston ILAers but to create a vehicle for promoting Democratic Party politicians. In a statement building for the demonstration, the South Carolina Progressive Network glowingly wrote that "labor helped elect the first Democratic governor in South Carolina in 12 years." The liberals and labor tops brag that they brought back into office the Democratic Party which for decades ran the state as a bastion of Jim Crow segregation and the "open shop." Grotesquely symbolizing that message was the fact that the rally was held not on the Charleston waterfront but outside the State House, right under the Confederate flag which had been moved there in a "compromise" worked out last year by Democratic governor Jim Hodges.

The labor tops sought to diminish the real story of what happened on the Charleston waterfront—class struggle against the employers and the armed thugs of their capitalist state apparatus. The union officials aimed all their fire

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Statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal: Defend the Charleston Five!

The following statement to the Columbia rally was issued by Mumia on June 6.

In this day and age the sight of black suited, jack booted, billy club wielding riot cops assaulting the citizenry they are allegedly sworn to protect, evokes images of WTO protests in Seattle, or other conflicts where youth protested against the globalist menace. We have come to expect it, unfortunately.

When workers strike or form informational picket lines we don't expect this response. Rarely is such an image reflected in our history books even though such attacks were as common as rain showers in April.

The brutal unprovoked and unjustified attack on members of the ILA Locals 1422, 1422A and 1771 in Charleston proves to us that history ain't long gone.

This vicious clubbing of ILA 1422 President, Ken Riley, by Charleston riot police and the false riot charges lodged against the Charleston Five proves once again how history repeats itself. We live in a new century yet the earnest and hard fought conflict between labor and capital continues unabated.

ILA's picket line was a righteous response to the violation of a labor contract that assured that shippers at the port at Charleston would use union labor. For daring to protect their just bargaining rights and the right of working people to a living wage ILA's leaders are beaten, its members imprisoned on trumped up charges and a proud historic union is maligned in the corporate press.

I support the Charleston longshoremen's fight for freedom to protest free from state violation and judicial repression.

All working people should unite behind this union fight in defense of the First Amendment right to assembly and protest and to defend the right to fight for compliance with a broken shattered contract.

When the Danish ship owner Nordana brought in non-union scabs to work the jobs, they created an affront to union members accustomed to loading and unloading.

Charleston was once a flash point of great civil conflict in this nation that raged into a war. The rich and powerful planters thought nothing of forcing tens of thousands of people, men, women and children to labor for free for centuries. The war has ended. But there remains bitter resentment over the simple demand that laboring people be paid a living wage in accordance with their contract.

WV Photo

Let Charleston once again spark a conflict where the right of working people is first, is fundamental, and is respected. Throw out the charges against the Charleston Five and leave labor alone.

I thank you. Ona move. Long live John Africa.

Your union brother, Mumia.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 762 3 August 2001

Overthrow the Imperialist Butchers— For Global Workers Rule!

Blood and Bullets in Genoa

The following article is based on eyewitness reports by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I).

MILANO, July 30—As the imperialist rulers met in palatial surroundings at the Group of 8 (G-8) summit in Genoa (Genova), the rest of the city was subjected to one of the biggest "security" buildups in Italy since the downfall of Mussolini's fascist regime and the end of World War II. Cops killed at least one young protester in cold blood on July 20 and carried out repeated rampages against thousands of others. On Saturday, July 21, after the "anti-globalization" demonstrations in Genoa had come to an end, the police staged Gestapo-style raids in the dead of night against a number of protest headquarters, including the Genoa Social Forum (GSF), smashing into sleeping protesters with their nightsticks and leaving the floors and walls spattered with blood.

At least 49 people remain under arrest. Hundreds more were tortured by cops screaming fascist slogans, while for days political police prowled the hospitals looking to round up those who were injured. Initial reports of a second demonstrator, a young woman, killed by the cops have been utterly buried by the bourgeois media. But with dozens still reported as "missing," there is no way of knowing how many protesters may actually be dead. *Il Manifesto* (25 July) reported that a doctor had told Rifondazione Comunista (RC) parliamentarians that a young woman named Lisa had been killed. It also reported that a protester in Alessandria Prison "had seen a woman being shot in the throat with a tear gas canister, fall down and get hit by a police jeep," adding that he was "sure she was dead." A subsequent article reported that 18 of the "disappeared" might still be held in police barracks because "evidence of beatings on their bodies was too serious and too visible" to let them be seen in public (*Il Manifesto*, 28 July).

The outrage provoked by the massive police repression in Genoa has created a sharp polarization within Italian society. The day after the killing of 23-year-old protester Carlo Giuliani, the son of an official in the CGIL trade-union federation, a demonstration expected by organizers to bring out 100,000 drew as many as three times that number, as workers took to the streets in outrage when they heard the news. In the days that followed, cities and towns throughout Italy were rocked by spontaneous outpourings against state repression and the right-wing government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

Reuters

Riot cops in Genoa charge past body of Carlo Giuliani, July 20. Killing sparked mass protests, including 30,000 in Rome (below) on July 24.

AP

But the reformist leaders of the working class—the Democratic Left (DS) of Massimo D'Alema, Fausto Bertinotti's RC and the trade-union bureaucracy—aimed their fire not at the uniformed killers of the capitalist state but at anarchist protesters in the so-called "Black Block." DS withdrew its support for the Saturday demonstration, while Bertinotti solidarized with the "forces of order" and complained that the police had not stopped the "troublemakers" and "anarcho-insurrectionists."

Our leaflet "Berlusconi and the G-8: Imperialist Butchers!"—produced through the night under conditions of a state of siege—was the first statement to be issued in response to the killing. Our call for massive protest strikes against the deadly police rampage went down well with the many members of the FIOM metal workers union who joined in the Saturday demonstration and with marchers in the syndicalist-influenced COBAS union contingents. "When is the strike?" one FIOM worker asked. Another said that we're absolutely right in saying that the bullets that struck down Carlo Giuliani were directed against the working class. Workers listened attentively as one of our comrades leafletting the union contingents soapboxed, "What will we have after Berlusconi? This struggle must not end in another five years of capitalist popular-front government. We should fight for workers power and for socialist revolution!"

Genoa Draws a Blood Line

The massive and murderous police repression in Genoa was on a level usually seen in the suppression of working-class upheavals or popular insurgencies in the neocolonial "Third World." Yet here it was directed at a protest movement which does not in any immediate and direct way threaten the material interests of the Western imperialist bourgeoisies. Behind the bloody crackdown on the streets and the hysterical uproar over "anarchist hooligans" lies the climate created by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Drunk with glee over the "death of communism," the capitalists and their social-democratic lap dogs imagined that there would no longer be left-wing tendencies that rejected the ultimate authority of bourgeois parliamentary rule.

The re-emergence of anarchism as a militant and growing current among young radicals was an unexpected as well as repellent development for West European ruling circles, especially for the social democrats, who regarded their political/ideological victory over Communism as final and irrevocable. In their eyes, the very existence of a militant anarchist movement is a crime against the natural (i.e., bourgeois) order. Internationally, the most bloodthirsty defense of the repression in Genoa came from social-democratic rulers like British Labour prime minister Tony Blair. Echoing the imperialist butchers were the reformist organizers of the mainstream "anti-globalization" protests, who denounced the cops for not being hard enough against "violent" protesters or smeared the anarchist youth as "provocateurs."

In the wake of Genoa, there is now a clear left-right division—written in blood—within the "anti-globalization" movement. That division is not primarily over protest tactics, or "violence" versus "nonviolence." Rather, at root what is at issue is the question of the "democratic" legitimacy of the existing parliamentary capitalist governments. On that question, we stand with the anarchists against the left social democrats, including those who occasionally masquerade as Marxists or Trotskyists. Having capitulated to their own bourgeoisies from the Cold War

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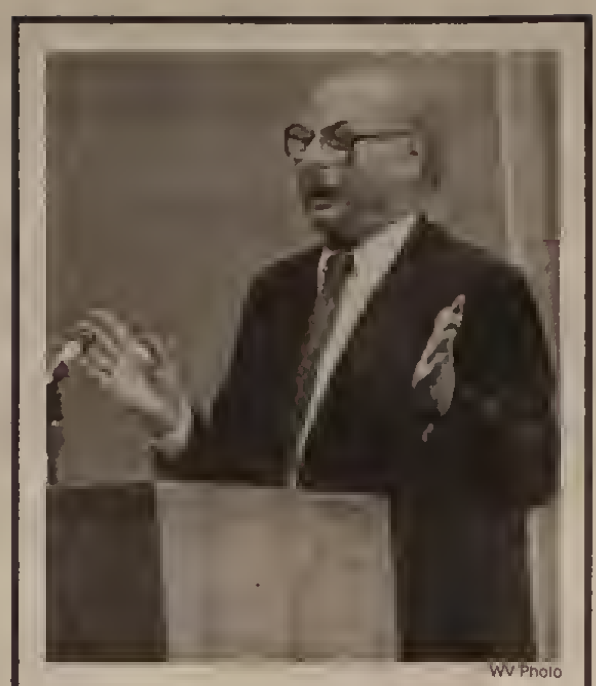
Falun Gong: Force for Counterrevolution in China

SEE PAGE FOUR

Israel Shahak
Opponent of Zionist Repression



WV Photo

1933-2001

Israel Shahak died on July 2 from complications caused by diabetes. He was 68 years old. Shahak was a courageous opponent of the semi-theocratic Zionist state and its bloody repression of the Palestinian people, a declared enemy of racism, chauvinism and injustice wherever he found it. His scathing exposures of the Nazi-like persecution meted out by the Israeli state, forged through the dismemberment of the Palestinian people, were informed not only by his perceptive and thorough knowledge of Zionist history and current affairs but by his own experience as a survivor of the Nazi Holocaust. A scientist by profession, he was an acidly analytical and richly informed opponent of religious fanaticism and obscurantism, especially Jewish fundamentalism.

Shahak excoriated secular cant and hypocrisy as well, especially that of the so-called Zionist "left" as embodied in the thoroughly bourgeois "Labor" Party. His was a rare voice against the seeming chauvinist consensus among Israel's Hebrew-speaking population. Though not a Marxist, he stood head and shoulders above those fake leftists who capitulate to the pretensions of "Laborite" Zionism or the Zionist "peace camp" exemplified by Meretz. He denounced the U.S.-brokered 1993 sham "autonomy" agreement between Labor prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat, hailed by such groups as a step toward peace. In a typical statement in a May 1995 article attacking the 1993 accord, he wrote that "Labor's version of Jewish racism has always been much more hypocritical and hence more dangerous than Likud's." Regarding Arafat, Shahak pointedly titled one of his articles following the accord, "Oslo Agreement Makes PLO Israel's Enforcer."

Born in Warsaw in 1933, seven years later Israel Shahak and his family were among those Polish Jews consigned to the hell of the Warsaw Ghetto. With the Nazi suppression of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising and the razing of the ghetto in the spring of 1943, he and his parents were transported to the Poniatowo concentration camp. His father would die in the Holocaust. Israel and his mother managed to escape and bribe their way onto a register for Jewish citizens of foreign countries, but were soon re-arrested and sent to a compound for foreign nationals in the Bergen-Belsen extermination camp. Though not himself subject to the "selection" process that led to the gas chambers, the young Shahak watched the heaps of naked corpses being dragged daily to the crematorium.

Liberated from the horrors of Hitler's Third Reich, Shahak and his mother immigrated to Palestine, then still under British rule, in 1945, three years before the creation of the Zionist state. After completing his studies, Shahak went on to become a renowned and popular professor of organic chemistry at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, where he taught for 25 years before he was compelled by illness to retire in 1990. But when Israel seized the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, as Shahak later put it, "I ceased being just a scientist and became a political being."

Though raised in a Zionist family, Shahak had been critical of Israel's expansionist policies at least from the time of the 1956 invasion of the Sinai peninsula, carried out in league with the British and French imperialist attack on Egypt. But the conquest of the Occupied Territories, which led immediately to the razing of Palestinian homes and the construction of fortified Zionist "settlements," turned him into an active opponent of Zionism. In 1968, he became head of the Council Against House Destruction, one of the first organizations to oppose the Israeli occupation. Two years later, he was elected chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, which had been founded in 1937 by Arabs and Jews to support a prisoners hunger strike against the British colonial administration.

In the years that followed, Shahak prodigiously documented and indicted the Zionist rulers' genocidal drive for a "Greater Israel" over the living body of the Palestinian nation and their support to reactionary regimes around the world, including through such books as *Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression* (1982), *Open Secrets: Israeli Nuclear and Foreign Policy* (1997) and *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (1999). He also compiled monthly mailings of key articles from the Israeli press that he translated and circulated to opponents of Zionist repression around the world until he became too ill to continue several years ago.

Beginning in 1977, *Workers Vanguard* also had the benefit of direct correspondence and interviews with Shahak. One of these, under the headline "Israel Shahak: I Accuse!" (*WV* No. 314, 1 October 1982), was published immediately after Ariel Sharon, then head of the Israeli army and now prime minister, orchestrated the infamous September 1982 pogrom of over 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. Shahak compared the death squads recruited by Israel from the Lebanese fascist Phalange with those, like the Croatian Ustashi, recruited by Hitler from indigenous fascist forces in the occupied Baltic republics, the Ukraine and East Europe:

> "As I can testify, those forces were fully armed and their special units had a very important role in the extermination of Jews (and of course in the extermination of other peoples), and were much more horrible and much crueler than even the SS."

Shahak denounced as "presumptuous and racist" those who sought to exploit the Nazi Holocaust in order to amnesty Zionist terror against the Palestinians and to brand all gentiles with "collective guilt." He was wont to observe that, like many other Polish Jews, he and his mother were hidden by a Catholic family after their escape from Poniatowo concentration camp, while the Jewish ghetto police were no less guilty of collaboration with the Nazi extermination machine than were Polish anti-Semites.

Shahak endorsed a number of labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop Nazi/KKK provocations in the U.S. His voice was particularly important in countering attempts to sabotage these mobilizations by American Zionist organizations like the misnamed Anti-Defamation League, who seem to think of the Nazis as a lesser evil than black militants and reds. This never surprised Shahak, who observed that the American Zionists backed the most fanatical, racialist and militaristic policies of the Israeli Zionists. For exposing Israel's sinister ambitions for a "Greater Israel" and its role as a regional gendarme for U.S. imperialism, he earned the hatred not only of the Israeli ruling class but of the American Zionist establishment.

Characteristically, one of his last acts was to write a letter to *Ha'aretz*, Israel's leading bourgeois daily, protesting the introduction of the religious dogma that the universe is but 6,000 years old into a school physics exam. Shahak embodied many virtues of the Enlightenment and in that tradition was truly "a citizen of the world."

Israel Shahak was a humanist, "an old-fashioned liberal," in the words of an obituary in the London *Guardian* (6 July). Naturally, we had a range of political differences with him, including when he argued that the presence of imperialist "peacekeeping" forces in Lebanon would have prevented the Sabra/Shatila massacre. But his love of a good argument was an essential ingredient in his willingness and ability to stand up to the stultifying climate of hysterical chauvinism and fanatical obscurantism that dominates Israeli society. The hellish fires of the Warsaw Ghetto and Bergen-Belsen might have left little more than an infirm, burnt-out shell. But in the case of Israel Shahak (and not him alone, though these are exceptional people), they forged a character that drew its sustenance from resistance. They fought not simply to live, but hung on to life in order to defy.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Origins of Chinese Communism

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) marked the 80th anniversary of its founding congress in July by inviting capitalists into the party. Today, the CCP is an instrument of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, key elements of which are openly pushing for the restoration of capitalism. Revolutionary-minded Chinese workers and intellectuals should look for inspiration to the early CCP, which was based on the revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. This was evident in a November 1920 draft manifesto which helped cohere the founding cadre of Chinese Communism.

The goal of Communists is to create a new society in accordance with communist ideals. In order to make the realization of our ideal society feasible, the first step is the elimination of the present capitalist system. The elimination of the capitalist system requires strong power to defeat the capitalist countries. The power of the laboring masses—the proletariat—is growing stronger and is becoming more concentrated. This is precisely the result of class conflicts within capitalist countries. The form that this power takes is class struggle....

The CP is to guide the revolutionary proletariat to fight against capitalists and to seize political power from them. This power is used to maintain the capitalist system. Instead, power will be placed in the hands of workers and peasants, just as the Russian CP did in 1917....

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia only demonstrates that in one part of the world victory has been achieved in the struggle between the proletarian and capitalist. It would be a major mistake to believe that a single communist state can be established within the boundary of Russia at a time when the proletariat in other countries is still struggling against capitalism and has yet to achieve victory. Since the Russian proletariat cannot immediately establish a communist state, and since capitalism has already been overthrown, the proletariat has to defend itself against enemies within the country and without. This is obvious. Therefore only through the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat can the enemies within the country and without be successfully resisted. That is to say, the power of one class is used to create communist society. Furthermore this class will make the society of the future. The fulfillment of this task is ordained by history.

—"The Manifesto of the CCP," November 1920; reprinted in *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis* (1996)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 31.

British Elections

Blair Victory Means Racist Rampage, War on Unions

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 177 (Summer 2001), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

WORKERS HAMMER

The 7 June general election returned Prime Minister Tony Blair's New Labour to office with their huge parliamentary majority intact. But they are hated by millions of workers, youth and minorities. For most of the population the election was mind-numbingly boring; the outcome was a foregone conclusion and both Labour and Tories promised the same thing. Not surprisingly, the turnout was the lowest since 1918. We gave critical support to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) who ran against Blair's anti-working-class New Labour and we used the opportunity to engage SLP members and others with our Marxist programme for international workers revolution. Our campaign found a resonance among workers and youth who were often horrified to learn that Socialist Alliance's "anti-Labour" campaign was subordinate to getting Labour elected.

For four years Labour has been waging unremitting attacks on the poor and the oppressed. Their record includes: privatisations, hundreds of thousands of job losses; a bigoted witch hunt against "sex offenders" and a huge assault on civil liberties. They eagerly participated in the bombing of Serbia in 1999; now they plan to send additional troops to the Balkans and to Northern Ireland. We say: British troops out now!

The bourgeois political establishment and media were near unanimous in support of Blair's re-election, saluting the job he has done so far. The deeply-divided Tories ran almost exclusively on xenophobia and were trounced at the polls. Labour matched the Tories, both in racist policies and demagogy. This culminated in a huge escalation of racist terror and an ominously high level of electoral support for the fascist British National Party (BNP). In Oldham they polled 11,643 votes—almost 16 per cent—and got significant support in nearby Burnley. Asian areas in both towns have suffered fascist provocations and police occupation. We issued a leaflet calling for mobilising the social power of the working class to defend the Asian community in Oldham. We call for trade union/minority mobilisations to stop fascist provocations and fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants as part of the fight for workers revolution.

Reuters

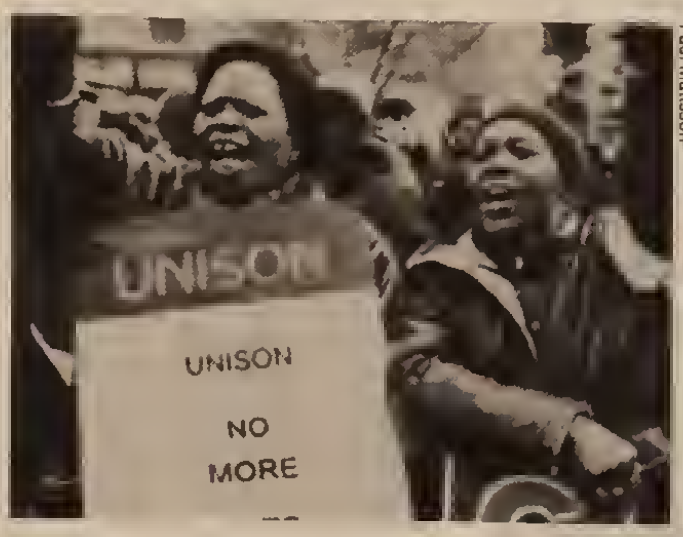
Cops in Bradford attack Asian youth who defended their community against fascists in July. Below: Amid widespread economic devastation, Northumberland coal miners face imminent layoffs.

PA

Unemployment levels in these and other former industrial towns in northern England are phenomenal, which makes them a breeding ground for fascism. Britain is increasingly divided along ethnic lines as well as geographically. The north/south divide—the bloated City of London and southeast versus Scotland, Wales and the north of England—has been exacerbated by economic destruction and anti-working-class attacks begun by Thatcher and pursued by Blair.

Today's Asian youth are the descendants of immigrants recruited during labour shortages but when the capitalists shut the factories and can no longer make profit from these workers they are dumped on the scrapheap and subjected to racist terror. The multiethnic workers movement must take up the fight against racist terror, linked to a struggle for jobs for all through a shorter working week with no loss in pay, under a leadership that fights for what we need, not what capitalism can afford.

In Northern Ireland the election results showed a growing communalist polarisation. David Trimble's Ulster Unionists lost to Ian Paisley's more hardline Democratic Unionists, while among Catholics Sinn Fein gained at the expense of the "moderate" Social Democratic and Labour Party. A wave of Loyalist attacks on Catholic school children in Belfast broke out in June. This prefigures the annual violent onslaught against Catholics during the Orange "marching season." From the outset, we have opposed the "peace" fraud and warned that any imperialist deal would necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority and contrary to the interests of working-class Protestants. We call for British troops out of Northern Ireland now and fight for workers revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.



Paul Mattsson

UNISON public service workers protest Labour government cuts, privatization schemes.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

New Labour is despised by workers and minorities but many simply do not see an alternative. We said loud and clear: "No vote to Labour: imperialist butchers!" and "No vote to Socialist Alliance, lackeys of Labour!" Ditto for their partners in the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP). The SA/SSP did *not* oppose the election of Labour. On the contrary, in the vast majority of constituencies there was no SA candidate and in these areas the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) said vote Labour. Their line was: "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*International Socialism*, Spring 2001).

We were pleased to give critical support to the SLP. Unlike the wretched Socialist Alliance, the SLP opposed voting for Labour and ran against Labour "lefts" such as Jeremy Corbyn and against Socialist Alliance. We seek to break the working class from Labourism and to win them to our revolutionary programme. As the Spartacist League/Britain statement of 14 May said:

> "The key question is what kind of party and programme does the working class need to represent its interests and those of all the oppressed—minorities, women, gays and youth—in the struggle against capitalism. We seek to build a party which is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist, modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the great October Revolution of 1917.
>
> "The SLP, which raises many supportable demands, at bottom is nothing but a party of nostalgia: 'Clause IV socialists' looking to a Labourite past, not a socialist future."

Exemplifying our critical support to the SLP, on 19 May we issued a supplementary statement saying no vote to one SLP candidate—Gordon Potts—who is a probation officer and thus part of the capitalist state's apparatus of repression.

Labour are so right wing that bourgeois nationalist parties such as the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru in Wales, as well as the Liberal Democrats, are able to pose as a "left" alternative—the latter just won the seat formerly held by Labour "left" Tony Benn. The SA and SSP go with the flow of national chauvinism on each terrain: the SA is a convergence of Labourite organisations based in England, dominated by the SWP and incorporating Workers Power, the Alliance for Workers Liberty and *Socialist Outlook*. The SSP is an equally reformist party created by Scottish Militant Labour who until the early 1990s were part of the English-chauvinist Labour Party but today tail the SNP. The Socialist Alliance demonstrated their fealty to British imperialism by consciously removing the call for British troops out of Northern Ireland from their election leaflets and from their Web site. Dave Nellist, SA chairman and leading light in Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party (SP), pointedly refused to call for it at the press conference which launched the SA's campaign. This is not new—the SP (like the SWP and AWL) never call for British troops out of Northern Ireland.

Laying bare their parliamentary reformist framework, the Socialist Alliance responded to the racist terror in Oldham with the slogan: "Don't vote Nazi." They chose not to stand in Oldham, so this meant vote Labour. This is gross. Fascists are genocidal race-terrorists whose "policies" are the firebomb and the lynch

continued on page 8

Spartacist League Said: Vote SLP—Against New Labour and Socialist Alliance

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

Falun Gong: Force for Counterrevolution in China

This March, Senator Jesse Helms hosted the annual Heritage Foundation "International Religious Freedom Award" in a Foreign Relations Committee hearing room. This racist bible-thumper was not honoring some Christian fundamentalist, as might be expected, but a Chinese man named Li Hongzhi, founder of the bizarre mystical group Falun Gong. American politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, have championed this reactionary outfit ever since it was banned by the Chinese government in July 1999. Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, denounced the suppression of Falun Gong in the United Nations Human Rights Commission and George W. Bush's State Department has imperiously lectured Beijing to respect "freedom of religion, freedom of belief and freedom of conscience."

Claiming roots in Buddhism and Daoism, Li preaches that miracles of health can be attained by following his brand of *qigong* exercises and adhering to "moral" precepts larded with the vilest racist, anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry. The sinister nature of Falun Gong jumps out from the swastika prominently displayed on its Web site. His supporters try to dismiss it as simply an ancient Buddhist symbol, but Li's racist notions are certainly not far removed from Nazi ideology. He denounces interracial marriage as degenerate and has no place in his "heaven" for "a person of mixed blood," envisioning a segregationist paradise with separate worlds for "white people," "yellow people," etc. No wonder Jesse Helms likes this bunch!

High on the list of evils denounced in Li's book *Zhuan Falun* (Turning the Wheel of Law) are "homosexuality, sexual freedom, and drug abuse." Lashing out at abortion as "killing," in a March 1997 lecture Li also attacked "advocacy for women's liberation" as a sign of "degeneration." And he's not talking just about the contemporary movement for women's equality. Li wants to go right back to the days when "men knew how to treat their wives," ridiculing the "notion" that "women were oppressed in ancient times," when Chinese women were subjected to the barbaric practice of foot-binding and were so degraded that they generally did not even have names.

While Li claims that his movement is not political, early last year his followers tried to hang a giant portrait of their "master" over the painting of Mao Zedong, founder of the People's Republic of China, that overlooks Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Two months later, in the midst of almost daily Falun Gong demonstrations in Beijing, the *Wall Street Journal* (20 April 2000) salivated over how "Falun Gong faithful have mustered what is arguably the most sustained challenge to authority in 50 years of Communist rule."

As this imperialist mouthpiece makes clear, Falun Gong is the latest weapon in the American bourgeoisie's crusade to overturn the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which ripped China out of the clutches of imperialist exploitation and drove out the Chinese bourgeoisie. The victory of Mao's peasant-based guerrilla forces resulted in a workers state which, despite its bureaucratic deformation under the rule of the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP), created a planned, collectivized economy that led to massive gains for the workers and peasants, especially women. Ever since, the imperialists have sought to reconquer China, repeatedly threatening nuclear attack, massively arming capitalist Taiwan as a bastion for counterrevolution and supporting pro-imperialist forces on the mainland.

From the standpoint of unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state, the International Communist League opposes Falun Gong as a counterrevolutionary menace. Needless to say, to root out such reactionary forces we do *not* look to the venal bureaucracy, which has no moral authority to combat religious reaction and pro-imperialist "dissidents." The CCP regime's "market reforms" have encouraged the growth of new millionaires entwined with the bureaucratic "princelings" while attacking previously guaranteed jobs, health care and other social benefits, driving the masses of workers and peasants into anger and despair. This has led to massive labor struggles on the one hand and created a following for the sinister Falun Gong on the other. The growth of the forces of counterrevolution underscores the burning need for forging a Leninist-Trotskyist party to sweep out the Stalinist bureaucracy and defend and extend the gains of the Chinese Revolution.

Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

AP

Racist Senator Jesse Helms, patron of sinister Falun Gong. Anti-Communist Falun Gong rally on Capitol Hill, July 19.

Li Hongzhi: Bigot and Hustler

Falun Gong is but the latest in a long line of religious movements used by the imperialists as battering rams for capitalist counterrevolution. In 1950, Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles proclaimed: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us." Since 1959, the CIA has sponsored the Dalai Lama's "Free Tibet" movement, which harks back to a Tibet of rampant slavery (sexual and otherwise), nonexistent medical care and an illiterate population. In the early 1980s, Washington (joined by Beijing) funded the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, as well as the Vatican-sponsored Solidarność counterrevolutionaries in Pope Wojtyla's native Poland.

In Vietnam, following the defeat of French colonialism in 1954, the CIA and Vatican hatched the "Virgin Goes South" campaign aimed at weakening the North Vietnamese deformed workers state by promoting the exodus of almost one million Catholics to the capitalist South ruled by the brutal Ngo Din Diem regime, which included the infamous Catholic zealot Madame Nhu. More recently in China, the Vatican has provocatively canonized 120 Catholics, many of whom died fighting for the imperialists during the Opium Wars and the Boxer Rebellion. Meanwhile, the Bush administration, rife with right-wing Christian bigots, has denounced Beijing's moves to suppress underground Protestant "house churches."

Imperialist propagandists point to the growth of religious movements in China to argue that the CCP regime faces a new version of the revolts which shook the Qing Dynasty: the Taiping Rebellion of the mid-19th century and the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Such comparisons are utterly false. While the Taiping leaders embraced Christianity, their revolt was based on an egalitarian program—including giving land to all peasants and special measures to liberate women—and was aimed against a decrepit imperial state in thrall to and militarily propped up by the West. And while the Boxers believed that *qigong* would protect them from bullets, their fire was directed against the imperialists who were plundering China. In contrast, Falun Gong is a tool of the imperialists.

But when Li Hongzhi got his start as a snake-oil salesman in the early 1990s, it was with the support of the Beijing bureaucracy. As Peter Carlson noted in the *Washington Post* (27 February 2000), "The post-Mao government had lifted restrictions on religion and encouraged entrepreneurship.... Scores of self-proclaimed qigong masters competed for followers, frequently touting their mystical healing powers." Based in the northeastern city of Changchun, Jilin province—a center of state-owned mining and machine production hard hit by

AFP

Reuters

Beijing display shows deluded Falun Gong members after January self-immolation; Falun Gong follower arrested in Tiananmen Square.

factory closings—Li gave public lectures sponsored by the state-controlled "China Qigong Research Society," and was soon addressing police and military audiences. Money rolled in from sales of cassettes, videos and books and *Zhuan Falun*, published in 1994, became a best seller.

When the government turned against Li, banning his books and curtailing meetings of his followers, he left the country. He arrived in the U.S. in 1996, in possession, curiously enough, of a permanent residency visa for himself, his wife and daughter. Li eventually settled in Queens, New York, where he runs a worldwide enterprise. When 10,000 Falun Gong followers massed outside the CCP leadership's Zhongnanhai compound in Beijing in April 1999, the regime was faced with what looked like a mass opposition with evident support in the highest echelons of the party, police and military. After Falun Gong was banned, its adherents carried out almost daily protests in Tiananmen and elsewhere, leading to thousands of arrests.

Whatever the immediate cause for Li's disfavor, Beijing was clearly fearful that the growing popularity of his mystical nonsense was detrimental to the task of advancing technology and modernization. The most prominent spokesman against Falun Gong is a theoretical physicist named He Zuoxiu, a pioneer in developing China's nuclear weapons in the 1960s. He is a self-professed Marxist who has lashed out against "market reforms" for steering China away from the socialist path. Today he is spearheading the regime's propaganda campaign against Falun Gong, most prominently in a 1999 article in the magazine *Science and Technology for Youth* that denounced Li for disseminating pseudoscience. In response to that article, Li's followers began hounding He and his family and then staged their mass protest in Beijing in April 1999.

"Pseudoscience" hardly captures Li's outlandish "cosmology," based on the "Dharma Wheel" which, as the *New York Times* (5 July) reports, "he says he installs telekinetically in the abdomens of all his followers, where it rotates in alternating directions, throwing off bad karma and gathering qi [vital bodily energy]." Li insists that he (and the magician David Copperfield!) can fly, that fox and weasel spirits take over human souls, that extraterrestrial aliens have invaded Earth and that the French have discovered a two-billion-year-old nuclear reactor which is proof of an ancient civilization that practiced Falun Gong! He simultaneously preaches that "the story of Noah's Ark is true" and "the theory of evolution doesn't hold at all."

The ideological offensive against Li's quackery accompanying the regime's suppression of Falun Gong has clearly had an effect on the Chinese masses, as the *New York Times* (23 July) acknowledged in an article headlined, "Falun Gong Manages Skimpy Rally; Is Sect Fading?" But what particularly horrified many Chinese was watching the scene on national news of several Falun Gong followers setting fire to themselves and a 12-year-old girl in Tiananmen Square in late January, after being urged by their master to "let go of all worldly attachments (including the attachments to the human body)." The following month, the Ministry of Education, Communist Youth League and All-China Women's Federation jointly launched a book titled *Say No to the Cult*, which exposes Falun Gong as "anti-humanity, anti-society and anti-science."

The suppression of Falun Gong indicates the fragility of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the face of *any* opposition. But what the regime most fears is a challenge to its power by the combative Chinese proletariat. In May, the CCP leadership issued a report openly acknowledging its "tense" relations with the masses in the face of a huge upsurge in labor struggles, particularly in state-owned industry, against the ravages of "market reforms." When 10,000 miners and their families

AP

Pentagon spokesman defends U.S. spy plane provocation against China in April, as capitalist Taiwan engaged in provocative military exercise using U.S.-supplied tanks.

Reuters

blocked a railway line in northern China last month to demand unpaid wages, riot police summoned to the spot made no move to clear the protesters.

While pushing ahead with pro-capitalist measures, now even inviting capitalists to join the CCP, the Beijing bureaucracy is fearful that violent repression against striking workers could provoke a generalized upheaval of the kind that rocked the regime when the working class entered into the student protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989. That would immediately raise the prospect of a proletarian political revolution that ousts the privileged bureaucratic caste and ushers in a government of workers, peasants and soldiers councils (soviets). To bring to the Chinese workers the consciousness needed to wage a victorious struggle for political power requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party based on a program of proletarian internationalism, linking defense of the Chinese Revolution to the struggle for socialist revolution from South Korea and Japan—the industrial powerhouse of the region—to the U.S. and other advanced countries.

"Market Reforms" Roll Back Health Care

Notably, many of those drawn to Li's crackpot schemes for a healthy life are urbanized and well-educated. Many live in provinces ravaged by the privatization or closure of state-owned industries, which have left laid-off workers without the medical, education and housing benefits that came with such jobs.

The enormous gains in health care after 1949 have long stood as a signal achievement of the planned economy, in stark contrast to capitalist India and other "Third World" countries where the abject misery of the masses is reinforced by imperialist subjugation. Even the most remote villages received basic care by "barefoot doctors"—medical personnel (often minimally trained) who in 1975 numbered some 1.6 million. Even a die-hard opponent of the 1949 Revolution like Hong Kong *South China Morning Post* columnist Jasper Becker acknowledges in his book *The Chinese* (Free Press [2000]):

> "When the Communist Party came to power, it embarked on a series of patriotic health campaigns especially directed at exterminating 'the four pests'—birds, rats, insects and flies. Other campaigns targeted specific health problems such as the snails in rice paddies which spread schistosomiasis (snail fever). Mass campaigns to improve sanitation by the digging of public latrines and to make the boiling of drinking water commonplace helped control many diseases, in particular tuberculosis, a leading cause of death, typhoid, neonatal tetanus and leprosy.
>
> "By contrast, since Deng came to power in 1978, statistics suggest that there has been a decline in public sanitation. In 1997, 400 million still lacked access to safe water and 76 per cent lacked access to safe sanitation. Five years earlier the World Bank reported that there were 'substantial parts of China where the decline in diseases has slowed or even been reversed'."

As a result of the "market reforms" initiated by Deng Xiaoping, medical care is now priced out of the reach of many workers, to say nothing of the far poorer peasants who make up the vast majority of the population. Often, hospital staff first ask a patient what he can pay before deciding what treatment he will get. Becker reports that "90 per cent of the peasants are not covered by any form of health insurance. In urban areas too, where so many state-owned enterprises are losing money, fewer and fewer people are covered by adequate insurance."

The central government has increasingly fobbed off responsibility for medical care and schooling to regional and local authorities, which often divert funds to business enterprises. With 80 percent of health care expenditures going to large urban hospitals, cuts in state funding have hit the peasant poor particularly hard and many skilled medical personnel have abandoned the countryside for the cities. In 1986, the "barefoot doctor" title was abolished, part of rural "reforms" whose centerpiece was the destruction of collectivized agriculture in favor of individually tilled family plots. Adding to the shortage of health care personnel is the legacy of Mao's "Cultural Revolution," which shut down high schools and universities for years beginning in the mid-1960s and often persecuted Western-educated doctors.

A particular health problem in China's rural areas is iodine deficiency, which can cause goiter, mental retardation and other maladies. The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) reports:

> "By the 1980s, Chinese officials had made headway in fighting iodine deficiency by providing iodine injections in villages with a high incidence of goiter. But the same years brought economic liberalization and an explosion of private enterprise, including manufacturers flooding the market with usually cheaper noniodized salt. By the early 1990s, this unregulated salt trade, combined with little official oversight, was erasing the public-health gains of the command-economy days."

But the fact that China is still based on a nationalized economy means that the country can marshal its resources to tackle such problems. Reversing its previous policy, Beijing is now enforcing a state salt monopoly to provide even remote villages with iodized salt.

Women's Gains Under Attack

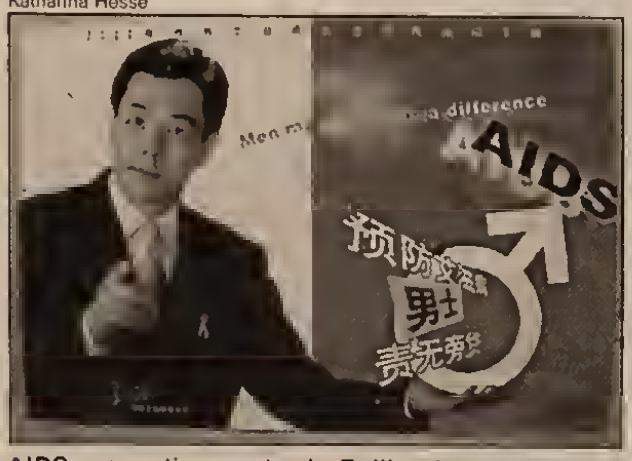
The resurgence of religious reaction in China is a direct threat to women. It is a measure of the political bankruptcy of the Beijing bureaucracy that it has stoked a revival of Buddhism, Daoism and even Confucianism, which enshrined the subjugation of women as household slaves and was wielded by China's dynastic rulers to instill unquestioning loyalty to emperor, father and husband. That oppression was only deepened by the Western imperialists who subjugated China in the 19th century and set up networks of Christian missions and schools to recruit local agents who would defend the West's "civilizing" mission.

The overthrow of capitalist rule in 1949 resulted in enormous advances for women—a leap of centuries accomplished in a matter of years—the right to be educated, to have a job, to marry the husband of their choice. These advances were a measure of the power of the planned economy. But from the outset, they were constrained and undermined by the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. As the regime built up the planned economy, the number of women working in industry soared from 600,000 in 1949 to 50 million by the mid-1990s, though they were largely excluded from skilled labor. In the countryside, the "Great Leap Forward" of the late 1950s created rural communes that included communal kitchens, helping to relieve the burdens on peasant women. But Mao's utopian attempt to catapult China to the level of an advanced industrial society within the nationalist framework of "socialism in one country"—using mass levies of peasant labor to make up for the lack of technology—collapsed after a few years, leading to a horrific famine.

Unlike the Russian October Revolution, the 1949 Chinese Revolution was not carried out by a conscious proletariat led by a Leninist vanguard party. Mao's CCP was modeled not on the Bolshevik

continued on page 14

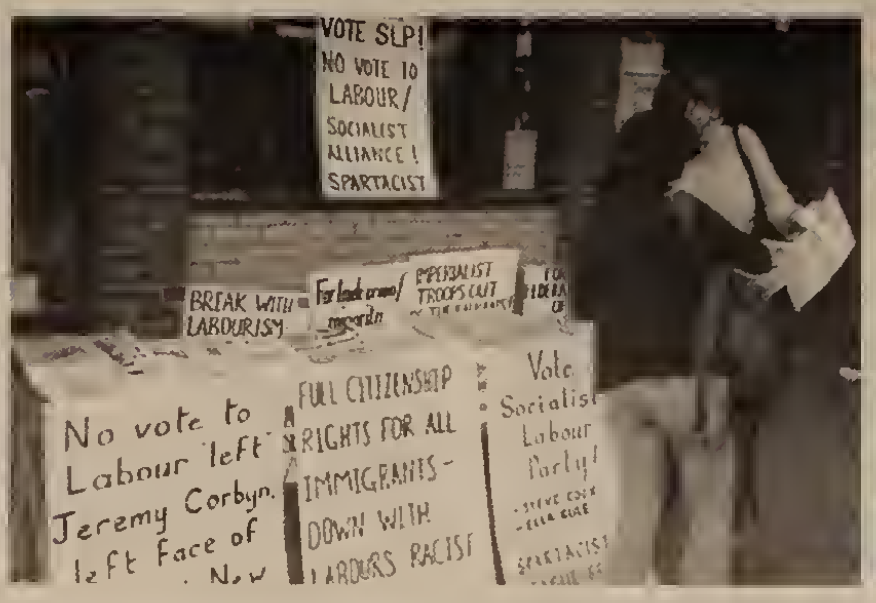
Katharina Hesse

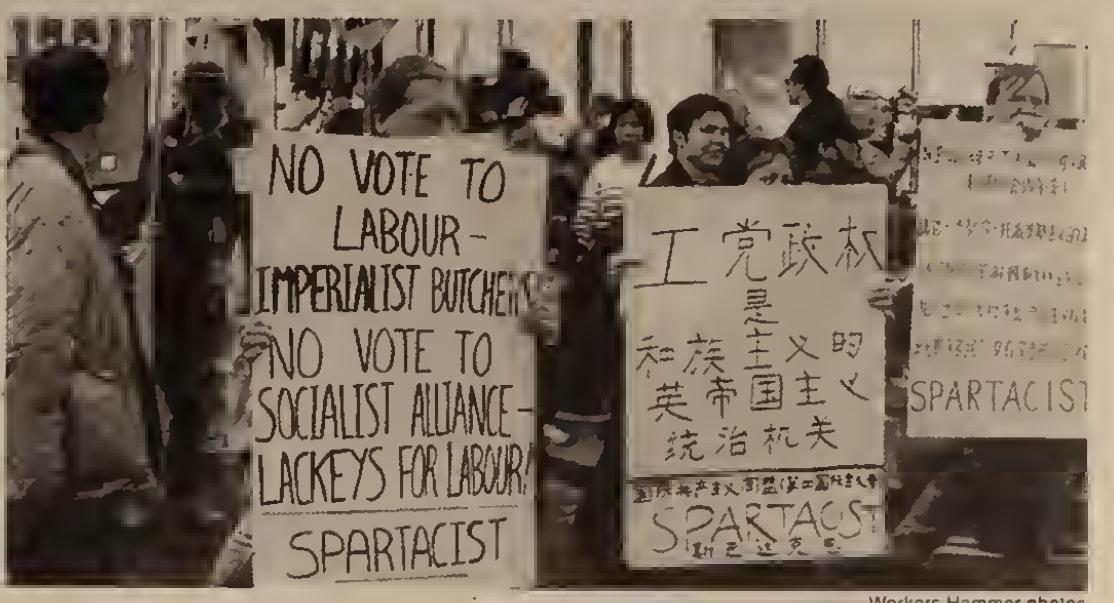


Rosenthal/NY Times

AIDS prevention poster in Beijing hospital. Right: "Market reforms" kill—funeral for AIDS victim in Henan province, where profit-making bloodbanks have caused spread of HIV infection.

Young Spartacus





Workers Hammer photos

How Revolutionists Use Tactic of Critical Support

Britain: Exposing Blair's New Labour

The following is an edited presentation given by James Palmer of the Spartacist League/Britain to a meeting of youth from SYCs in the U.S., as well as internationally, in New York on June 11.

I'm going to tell you about our campaign of critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in Britain in the election that's just taken place. The situation is: Tony Blair, the Lahour Party leader, had called the general election (elections for Parliament as a whole) a little bit over a month ago. He's just been returned after his first term. He won a landslide victory in '97, after about 17 or 18 years of Tory government.

What's basically happened since then is that the Conservative Party in Britain has been very much marginalized by the fact that the overt policies of the Labour Party have been gradually shifting to the right over the last few years. The traditional image of the Labour Party is the party that's supposed to represent the working class in Britain; now that no longer stands in many ways. And the Labour Party, which has now become "New Labour," is quite open in the way it's publicly aspired to become a party that represents big business rather than pretending to actually represent the working class in any way.

When the Labour Party was elected in '97 a lot of people had a lot of illusions in them and they felt that things might be beginning to change. But, not surprisingly, the Lahour Party has ended up ruling effectively for the capitalist class, as the Conservative Party (the Tories) had done. The bourgeoisie didn't actually feel any need to support the Conservative Party in these elections because the Labour Party now is openly ruling quite comfortahly for them.

Since '97 there's obviously been an increase in popular dissatisfaction with the Lahour Party which is reflected in the unions as well. The Labour government's campaign to privatize what remains of nationalized services has led one of the major unions, the Communications Workers Union (CWU), which organizes the postal workers, to vote at their last meeting to break all ties with the Lahour Party if they go any further ahead in their plans to privatize the Post Office.

For those of you who don't come from countries where you have a social democracy, it's important to understand that in Britain the Lahour Party has been the historical barrier to building a revolutionary party for the working class. The Labour Party is what Lenin called a bourgeois workers party, consisting of a proletarian base but a thoroughly pro-capitalist leadership and program. It has always tied the working-class movement to the bourgeois parliamentary system. And all the rest of the "family of the left" and the fake-Trotskyist groups have refused to oppose the Lahour Party—groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the International Socialist Tendency (until recently affiliated with the American International Socialist Organization) and Workers Power.

What you had at this election, when these organizations knew very well that the Labour Party was in for a decisive victory, was that they felt quite comfortable in being able to stand candidates supposedly as an alternative to Tony Blair because at the end of the day they knew there was no real threat of them causing the Labour Party to lose an election. So they could make a pressure group to the left of Tony Blair, which is completely in line with their reformist aims, without actually having to challenge the Labour Party.

AP

Blair's Labour government: imperialist butchers! Labour was backer of 1999 U.S./NATO war which devastated Serbia. Passenger train destroyed by NATO bombs, April 1999.

The Socialist Alliance

So what you have is the Socialist Alliance, which has emerged basically since ahout this time last year. It was first formed during ihe mayoral elections in London in support of Ken Livingstone—then it was called the London Socialist Alliance. Livingstone had a reputation as a leftist in the Labour Party in the 1980s. But he supported the bombing of Serbia in 1999. He's no leftist or friend of the workers—he has appointed Bob Kiley, former CIA man and notorious union-buster in the New York subway system—to run the London Underground.

The Socialist Alliance has been expanded since then and has been used in various local by-elections, which is when they elect members of Parliament when one dies or goes out of action for some reason. And at the general election the Socialist Alliance has been mobilized on a concerted campaign, which is supposedly offering an alternative to New Labour and their capitalist policies. They're representing it as a socialist alternative and their slogans are things like "Oppose New Labour's Tory Policies." The component organizations of the Socialist Alliance include the Socialist Workers Party, Workers Power, the Socialist Party and various other reformist and centrist groups on the left in Britain. In Scotland, where Tommy Sheridan leads the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP)—which was until recently affiliated with Socialist Alternative in the U.S.—and it has much more influence, the SWP is quite happy to have their branches in Scotland actually liquidate into the SSP.

What the Socialist Alliance doesn't do is draw any sort of clear class line at all. Their presentation of left-wing politics is always as "ordinary people" versus fat cats. They don't talk about the working class versus the ruling class. They certainly don't use the traditional language that we do in terms of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The nature of the Socialist Alliance is also very much characterized hy their tactics in the election on where they won't stand and where they will stand candidates. They're quite happy to stand against safe Lahour seats. They won't stand against marginal seats where they're likely to be seen to cause the Lahour Party to lose seats to the Conservatives. That's completely out of the question for them. And they also won't stand against Labour "lefts," like Jeremy Corbyn. So, with all of their pretending to offer an alternative to the Labour Party, in no way will they actually make an effective challenge to them. It is entirely a pressure group on New Labour. Where they are not actually standing candidates, which was about three-quarters of all the seats, they are effectively calling for a vote to the Labour Party.

Build a Revolutionary Party!

This was exposed particularly in the material of the SWP. John Rees wrote an article in *International Socialism* (Spring 2001) several months beforehand saying, and I quote, "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must." That was the whole perspective of the campaign. It was entirely subordinate to a Labour victory in the elections and they would very much like to have actually said, "Vote Labour," but the situation in Britain is such that if they had called openly for a vote to the Labour Party most of their membership, certainly the youth members, would have been quite keen to leave.

An example of how they blur the class line is that they won't ever mention the "R" word. Revolution isn't mentioned in their meetings. At a meeting to launch the whole of the Socialist Alliance campaign several months ago, one of our comrades asked Dave Nellist of the Socialist Party, who's basically the leader of this whole Socialist Alliance milieu, whether or not he stood for revolution. He came back with an obscure answer. "It depends what you mean by revolution," he said, "there's a revolution in education, the Internet revolution, a shopping revolution." He couldn't choke out even a nominal reference to workers revolution. So their form of "socialism" is an entirely parliamentary vision based at the moment on pressuring the Labour Party. You can sit for an entire meeting of the Socialist Alliance for hours and they won't talk about revolution or the proletariat, they'll just talk about the excesses. Their support to the Labour Party is completely counterposed to a Leninist perspective.

The same article in *International Socialism* by John Rees argues that, because Labour is based on the trade unions, the SWP will always vote for it. He says: "We will always support the party of the trade unions against the open and unashamed party of the bosses, we want to build a real socialist alternative to both." But Labour is not the party of the trade unions, as Lenin made clear in 1920 in a speech to the Second Congress of the Communist International. Rather, it is the party of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy.

Lenin argued that, by itself, the composition of the Labour Party does not determine its political character. That depends on its leadership and political program, and, as Lenin said, "Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie. It is an organisation of the bourgeoisie, which exists to systematically dupe the workers..." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 258).

Gamma

SLP head Arthur Scargill (front, right) led 1984-85 miners strike, biggest class struggle in living memory in Britain.

Lenin wrote *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* in 1920 to help provide tactics for Communists to intervene into reformist parties, to split them and win workers to the Communist parties. Most workers in Britain were members of Labour, but they were also electrified by the Russian October Revolution and wanted a system similar to the Soviet system, which they knew was superior to capitalism. In an attempt to undercut the appeal of the Bolshevik example and stave off the threat of working-class radicalization, the Labour Party came up with what was called Clause IV. This is an article written into the Labour Party's constitution after the Bolshevik Revolution promising that they would achieve socialism simply by nationalizing major industry in Britain.

This was done to try to deceive workers into believing that it is possible to achieve socialism through parliamentary means. Lenin proposed a number of tactics, including critical support against openly capitalist parties in elections, to *expose* the Labour Party, to show that once in power they would defend the interests of the capitalists and not the workers. During the recent campaign, the Socialist Workers Party encouraged some of their comrades who questioned their position on the elections to read *"Left-Wing" Communism* with the idea that this kind of argument applied in this situation. If anyone in Britain today thinks that the Labour Party is offering anything to workers that sounds even vaguely socialist, they are completely wrong; nobody feels that—even the least class-conscious workers do not feel the Labour Party stands for anything radical in terms of working-class politics.

The Tactic of Critical Support

In the recent elections we extended critical support to the Socialist Labour Party, which means we called for a vote to the SLP and helped campaign for them while counterposing our revolutionary politics at every step. We used this tactic to point out the contradictions in the SLP's program, which is to the left of Labour on some questions but offers no solution to the problems of the working class. Why should we support the SLP in these elections? Is it not also a reformist party? The answer to that is yes, the politics of the SLP are Labourite reformism. However, what the SLP did do was, by appealing to the more advanced workers with its propaganda, it brought in people with the political consciousness that we want to intersect. The Socialist Labour Party took a crude class line. They talked about the working class and the need to abolish capitalism. They won't make it clear how they feel that should be done except through parliamentary methods, of course.

But they do talk about the working class as distinct from the capitalist ruling class. They do make basic demands all socialists should support and they do talk about British imperialism. They call for British troops out of Northern Ireland, which is something that other groups on the left will not do, and we think this is very significant. More important is that they were clearly against calling for a vote to the Labour Party. They were not saying "you can vote Labour if you want where we're not standing." These fundamental differences are the basis for our critical support of them.

Having said that, the SLP's program is also old Labour politics and it is Clause IV parliamentarism, which can't offer a solution to the working class. We know very well that the only solution for the working class is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has to come through a revolutionary smashing of the state. The SLP combines old Labourism with elements who adulate Stalinism. To give you an example, and they downplay this publicly, but in their internal meetings you have people like Harpal Brar (who is pretty much number two after Arthur Scargill himself in the SLP) who at a recent meeting, which was reported in the *Weekly Worker*, was actually quoted as being in favor of the 1930s Moscow trials. He completely defends the killing of Trotskyists and finishes up the whole thing saying that actually he would have quite liked to conduct a Moscow trial himself. This is the kind of people we are dealing with. The Stalinism and the

Der Spiegel

Lech Walesa of Solidarność, CIA/Vatican-sponsored force for Polish counterrevolution. To his credit, Scargill denounced Solidarność as anti-socialist.

Labourite program go hand in hand, because they are both expressions of reformism, nationalism and class collaboration. So, we have a basis for support for them but we also have a massive basis as well to be very critical of them.

These clear contradictions mean that critical support is actually a quite useful tool, and the SLP is as an organization virtually tailor-made for our use of critical support as a tactic. Through our campaign of critical support to the SLP we were able to intersect and work with more class-conscious workers and militant (or disaffected) youth to whom the SLP had some appeal. As well we are meeting

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Harvard Law Students Victimized for Defending Campus Workers

The Boston Spartacus Youth Club submitted the following letter of protest on July 24 to Professor Richard D. Parker, the chairman of the Harvard Law School Administrative Council, and Lawrence Summers, the president of Harvard. For more on the Harvard Living Wage Campaign, see our article "Sit-In Protests Sweatshop Wages at Harvard" (Workers Vanguard *No. 760, 8 June.)*

The Boston Spartacus Youth Club strongly protests the draconian punishment meted out by the Harvard Law School Administrative Council against four students for taking part in the Living Wage Campaign occupation of Massachusetts Hall. For nothing more than taking part in this protest, which drew international attention to the fact that Harvard pays many of its workers sweatshop-level wages, Faisal Chaudhry, Fatma Marouf, Ashwini Sukthankar and Aaron Bartley were reprimanded by the Law School—a punitive measure that permanently labels them as dissidents, in a move reminiscent of the McCarthyite witch-hunts. This vindictive retaliation will be a permanent part of their record, a scarlet letter following them when they apply to the bar or try to get a job. Such punishment stands in contrast even to the other Schools, such as Harvard College and the Kennedy School of Government, which did not opt for such severe, permanent repression. This is an insidious maneuver obviously aimed at sabotaging any future student activism at Harvard.

In a star-chamber trial which no doubt required all the sage legal wisdom of the Law School to concoct, the "Law School Four" were railroaded for the alleged "misconduct" of protesters, including chanting and smelling too foul for the refined tastes of the Harvard administration, even though there was no contention that they even participated in the alleged deeds! The real reason, however, for this guilt-through-association punishment remains unsaid: the Living Wage Campaign highlighted the regular, systematic exploitation and oppression that lies at the heart of Harvard's race and class elitism. As a socialist group, the SYC says: Protesting low wages is no crime! Hands off the "Law School Four"!

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Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home

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5811 S. Ellis Avenue
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

BOSTON

Friday, August 3, Noon

The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power

Harvard University, Loker Commons
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

British Elections...

(continued from page 3)

rope. They cannot be stopped by electoralism; moreover Labour's racist administration has emboldened them. The urgent question in Oldham was how to defend the embattled Asian community but the slogan "Don't vote Nazi" was not directed at the victims of racist terror, it was an appeal to potential BNP voters! *Socialist Worker* (16 June) scandalously gave sympathetic interviews to BNP supporters, supposedly attempting to win the argument "with people who voted for the BNP that we need black, white and Asian unity to fight for better living conditions for everyone." The article pretends that: "The majority of people who voted for the Nazis are not hardcore racists. Some fell for the idea that voting BNP was a protest vote." In other words these "soft-core" racists are "lapsed" Labour voters whom the SWP seeks to win back into the fold.

Critical Support in Action

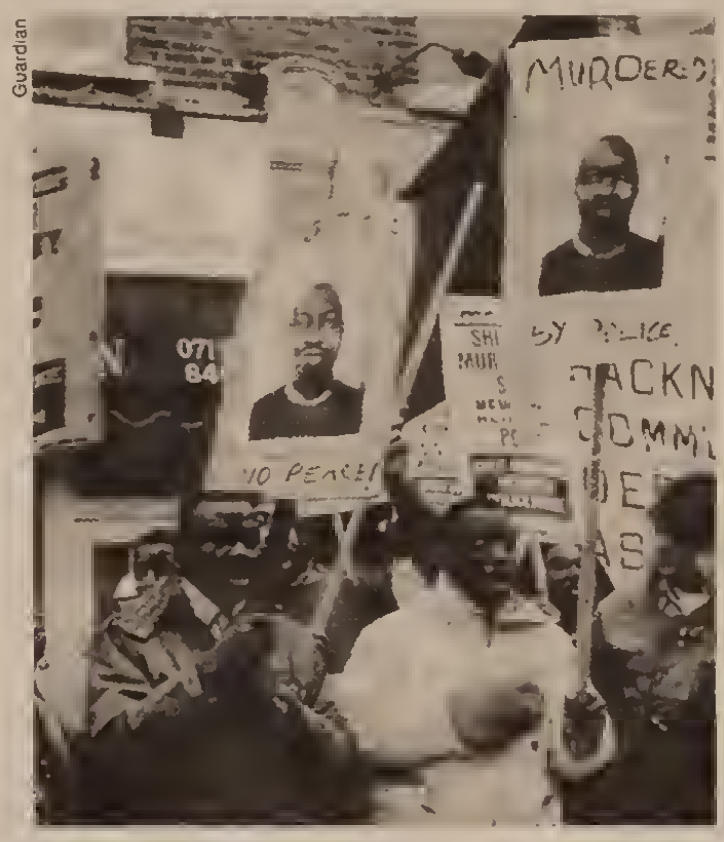
Arthur Scargill had a field day making fun of the Socialist Alliance—for their support to Blair, their constant whining about the SLP "splitting the left vote" and their appeals to the SLP to join the Alliance. At a 4 June SLP meeting in London, there was laughter as he banged the table saying the groups who now form SA have in the past wanted to join the SLP, but they also wanted to continue supporting New Labour: "You're almost like an unrequited lover," he shouted, "We don't want you.... For Christ's sake get it through your heads."

Our critical support met contradictory responses. Some SLP branches were split down the middle over whether to accept our offer to canvass for their candidates. Two London branches—Islington North and Hornsey/Wood Green—rejected, saying they wanted "full support" not "critical support." But in the spirit of the united front we used our own leaflet and made placards calling for votes to the two SLP candidates there—Steve Cook and Ella Rule. Rule belongs to the Stalin-worshipping wing of the SLP and is vehemently anti-Trotsky. Our comrades joked that the placard for her should read: "Vote for Stalinist MisRule!" By contrast, Manchester SLP members welcomed our comrades. We helped distribute SLP election leaflets door-to-door and they expressed their appreciation by publishing a photograph of the canvassing team on their Web site. In most areas the SLP did little or no campaigning and thus were able to tap into only a fraction of working-class anger against Blair.

Many members of the SLP come from a Stalinist background and some got their first introduction to genuine Trotskyism in the campaign. We Trotskyists uniquely fought against counterrevolution in the USSR. In August 1991 we sought to mobilise Soviet workers to defend and preserve the gains of the October 1917 revolution which had been betrayed by decades of Stalinist misrule, but not overthrown until 1991-92. We fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe against imperialism and capitalist restoration. This is also our programme today for the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. We call for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, whose conciliation of imperialism and "market reforms" weaken the planned economy and increase the danger of counterrevolution.

AP

Truckers' protests against Blair government over exorbitant fuel prices last November were widely popular.



Guardian

Protest against 1994 police killing in London. Blair government has intensified racist "war on crime."

The fake-Trotskyist outfits all joined with their own capitalist rulers in fighting for the destruction of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European deformed workers states and today refuse to defend China against imperialism. Within the SLP, the dominant force on the Russian question is the Indian Workers Association (IWA) which regards China as a "socialist" country and opposes counterrevolution but has no programme to prevent it. According to the IWA, the problems in the USSR began with Khrushchev, Stalin's successor, thus they say that in 1991 "the once-mighty Soviet Union itself collapsed, as a culmination of three decades of Kruschevite revisionist betrayal of, and departure from, the principles of Marxism-Leninism..." (*Lalkar*, January/February 2000). A political counterrevolution occurred in the USSR in 1923-24 when a privileged bureaucratic layer led by Stalin usurped political power and then embraced Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." This was a qualitative political break from the internationalism of the Bolsheviks and was used to alibi gross betrayals of the proletariat internationally such as selling out the British general strike in 1926 and the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. Stalin and his heirs destroyed the revolutionary consciousness of the Soviet proletariat and ultimately delivered the degenerated workers state to imperialism.

For Revolutionary Leadership of the Unions

Labour's privatisation plans have been met by strikes in the Post Office and London Underground. Workers in the public sector are also threatening to break the unions' historic link to Labour by withholding their donations. The issue is being debated within the ranks of several major unions: the RMT and ASLEF rail unions, Unison (health and local government workers—the largest union in the country), the CWU postal workers union and the Fire Brigades Union, who pay several million pounds to Labour each year. Glenn Kelly, a supporter of the Socialist Party, aptly described the process as "feeding the hand that bites us" (*Independent*, 22 June). Blair is also threatening to sever Labour's link to the unions and to refashion Labour from a bourgeois-workers party into an open bourgeois party along the lines of the Democrats in the U.S. By 1998, donations to Labour from big business equalled the contribution paid by the trade unions.

Actions to stop union dues being poured into the coffers of New Labour are certainly supportable. However, the recognition that the relationship between Labour and the unions can no longer go on in the same old way begs the question: what kind of party does the proletariat need to represent their interests, independently of the capitalists. What's vital is not simply an organisational but a *political* break from Labourism—the programme which ties the working class to their exploiters. We believe the working class needs a revolutionary internationalist party. This will be built through struggle, not least in the unions to oust the sell-out bureaucrats and to forge the unions as fighting organisations of the working class on the basis of a revolutionary programme.

The reformist Socialist Party uses the slogan "free the funds"; however they uphold the principle that the unions should fund a political party. They are wedded to the Labourite model of a reformist party to which trade union members affiliate en bloc. Labourites regard the existence of such a party as the natural order of things, indeed the SLP copied this structure. This organisational arrangement befits a reformist party but is antithetical to building a proletarian revolutionary party, which must be a party of the most class-conscious elements of the working class capable of translating the historic interests of the proletariat into a fight for socialist revolution. As we wrote:

> "A Leninist vanguard party is counterposed to Karl Kautsky's conception of the 'party of the whole class,' of which the Labour Party and its organisational setup is a particular example. A party 'of the whole class' necessarily submerges the most advanced layers of the class into the most backward ones; hence such parties are inevitably chauvinist, based on the dominant ethnic grouping and tied to the defence of the imperialist interests of its own ruling class."
>
> —*Workers Hammer* No. 158, September/October 1997

Key sectors of the proletariat are willing to resist Labour's attacks through class struggle, but the union bureaucracy is tied to Labour. Sensing the anger against Labour among union members, Sir Ken Jackson, head of the engineering union, has called for a ban on strikes in the public sector and TUC General Secretary John Monks, fearing that Labour's arrogance will provoke a confrontation with the unions, warned Labour politicians:

> "I could not believe it. I say to them 'Look at the lessons of history. Look at 1978-79, when there was such a confrontation and it was an electoral disaster for Labour and trade unionism.' We still walk with those ghosts of 20 years ago."
>
> — [London] *Times*, 13 June

The ghosts haunting the trade-union bureaucrats are previous class battles, most importantly the miners strike of 1984-85. The problem was *not* that this mighty class confrontation took place, but that the miners were isolated, stabbed in the back and sold out by the TUC and Labour Party misleaders. We seek to impart the lessons of that battle to British workers today, and to combat the lie that working-class struggle is a ghost from the past. Scargill led the NUM in a heroic and militant class battle against the full might of the capitalist state but could not win on the merits of trade union militancy alone. We fought to extend the strike to other unions, calling for rail and the dockers to strike with the miners and to shut down the country. Our perspective is one of fighting for working-class power; Scargill's perspective was a Labour government.

The tasks facing the unions today are similar to those described by Leon Trotsky in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940):

> "The trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e. ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either

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Critical Support...

(continued from page 7)

some of the youth in groups like the SWP and the other component groups of the Socialist Alliance. The clear contradiction in the SLP's politics makes it quite easy for us to argue and expose them on their Stalinism and their Labourite reformism. So, that's the basis for critical support as a tactic.

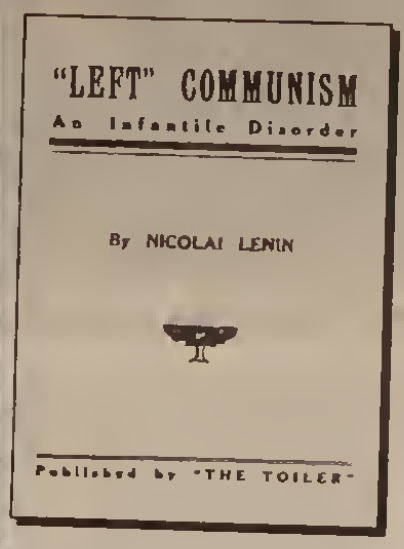
The SLP and the Campaign

The SLP itself was formed by Arthur Scargill. This was prior to the last election in 1997, where he also stood against the Labour Party and we also gave him critical support. Arthur Scargill was the leader of the great miners strike in 1984-85 in Britain. That strike was defeated because the Labour leaders and the trade-union bureaucrats stabbed it in the back by leaving the miners union to go it alone against the state. At the time, Arthur Scargill was tied to the Labour Party and was very much limited by that.

But to give you an idea of Arthur Scargill's status, the miners strike was the biggest class struggle in living memory in Britain. It went on for a year, and Arthur Scargill was virtually worshipped by sections of the working class. The children of miners drew pictures of King Arthur which were pinned up in the school, and they depicted him walking on water with a halo and things like that. That is how he was viewed, because he was the only person who was actually representing their families, and the children thought that was great.

Only months before the strike began, Scargill was denounced and vilified by the Tories, the capitalist press and the Labour leaders for correctly stating that the counterrevolutionary "union" in Poland, Solidarność, was anti-socialist. This was against the cheering support for Solidarność by the British Labour Party and its apologists, including anti-soviet fake leftists like the SWP and Workers Power. That is very much to his credit, and something that we remember.

V.K. Bulla



Lenin at time of Second Comintern Congress, 1920. He wrote *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* for Second Congress to guide interventions into mass reformist workers parties to split them, win workers to Bolshevism.

The SLP is an entirely electoral party. They only have a few hundred members but they had over 100 candidates standing, so that didn't leave very many canvassers in relation to the number of candidates!

We only obtained their manifesto just over a month before the election. We produced a leaflet about it, saying why we were giving them critical support, and what we thought was good about what they were saying, their supportable demands, and what we disagreed about. Our critical support met contradictory responses from the SLP. Some SLP branches were split down the middle over whether to accept our offer to canvass for their candidates.

We received their newspaper and it listed all of the candidates. Now, there was a bit of a surprise here. When we looked through the list of the candidates one of our comrades spotted that one of the candidates—his name is Gordon Potts—is a tutor in the probation service and that he's been active in supporting the National Association of Probation Officers, a cop "union." This wasn't a characterization of the whole organization, as this was one candidate, but it showed that the SLP did not see the class line, so we added a box to our leaflet. We decided it wasn't the basis for withdrawing the critical support to the other SLP candidates. In fact, it was very much to our advantage because it showed a clear contradiction within the organization and something that we can use to draw a much, much clearer line in our interventions against them, and in our discussions with their members about the nature of the state and how they're blurring that line.

We sent comrades up to Manchester to canvass with the SLP, and we were able to meet up with some of their people and have very productive and interesting discussions. We'd also sent our people to a meeting that they were at down in Brighton, where there is a large number of students and the SLP has a big influence.

The campaign wrapped up with Arthur Scargill's meeting in London which was held a couple of days before the election. A comrade had been to a previous meeting and had gotten a flavor of what Scargill's delivery would be; it was highly protectionist and nationalist. He'd basically condemned French imports and other foreign imports, he talked about French mineral water and condemned that—it was coming from basically every angle. So we knew pretty much what to expect. He knew we were at the meeting and he wasn't quite as keen to bring up those kinds of issues again when we were there, but a comrade made an intervention about it, and denounced him for it. He came back and tried to defend his protectionism by going on to the issue of imported coal during the miners strike. That blurred the issue: we were against imported coal at that time because it was scab coal; we wouldn't have been against imported coal because it was from overseas. It had been brought in directly to undermine the strike. But his nationalism and protectionism is inherent to all of Labourite politics and goes much deeper than just that.

We engaged in this election campaign with the perspective of fighting to win the working class, minorities and youth to the understanding of the need for a revolutionary workers party, and that the "parliamentary road" is no road at all.■

> serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution. or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

Down With Protectionist Poison

Among the fundamental disagreements between a revolutionary and a reformist outlook, the issue of protectionism is a sharp difference we have with Scargill's SLP. Intervening at an SLP election rally in London on 4 June, a Spartacist comrade challenged Scargill, citing his nationalist rant at a meeting in Leicester:

> "You were very upset about French water and German car manufacturing, etc. We differ there because we are not for national chauvinism—'British jobs for British workers' or 'American jobs for American workers' or 'German jobs for German workers.' What's necessary is for international struggle across borders for jobs for all, which requires a fight to overthrow the capitalist system."

Scargill replied:

> "Let me make it absolutely clear to you, we are in favour of import controls and we're in favour of controlling our own economy and we're in favour under a socialist society of imposing import controls. I'll tell you why. I don't want to see a situation ever again where the Third World in Africa has its agricultural industry destroyed by the dumping policies of the European Union and its Common Agricultural Policy. That's why import controls would have saved millions of lives. Don't preach to me about internationalism. I know about internationalism. Internationalism is best practised by defending our own class here and that those workers abroad see by our example that it's time, not to work with child labour producing coal, but to overthrow their own system and establish a socialist system of society in their country."

Invoking internationalism and the fight for socialism abroad, Scargill sounds worlds away from the German-bashing chauvinism of the union bureaucrats who organised the Rover demonstration in April 2000, but his line boils down to shared support for import controls to "protect" British jobs. The notion that this would constitute a blow against child labour and poverty in underdeveloped countries is absurd. Imperialist powers are deadly enemies of workers in the Third World; their world market starves the oppressed masses, creating and deepening the abject poverty which forces desperate families to send their children out to work for a pittance instead of going to school. Workers revolution in Britain will indeed strike a huge blow against imperialism in the Third World, but proletarian revolution is not the SLP's goal or programme. Instead its perspective is Labour's "Clause IV" which referred to "common ownership" of the means of production, under capitalism.

Since the bourgeoisie will not willingly submit to being expropriated and has at its disposal the apparatus of state repression—army, police, jails, judiciary—to protect its profits, the socialisation of the means of production can only be realised through revolutionary class struggle culminating in the seizure of working-class power. The SLP's model for "common ownership" is the nationalisation programme of the post-World War II Labour government. Labour was swept to power then by a proletariat anxious for a payback for the sacrifices and privations of the war. But Labour's nationalisations of coal, steel and rail were a giant state bailout of the most inefficient and failing industries, nonetheless vital to the capitalist economy as a whole, in order to make British industry more competitive. Nationalisations by the capitalist state meant massive handouts to the bosses and bleak austerity for the working class. At the end of World War II, the Stalinists and social democrats in Europe had to work hard to prevent the kind of working-class upheavals that followed World War I. The possibility existed to mobilise the proletariat in a revolutionary struggle to ***expropriate*** the bourgeoisie and set up a workers government to implement a planned economy. This would have pitted the proletariat against the Labour government whose bailout schemes saved British capitalism.

Protectionism is a reactionary utopia which cannot defend the British working class from the effects of the world market. It diverts the working class from struggle for full employment and higher living standards across national boundaries into ***competition*** against foreign capital and against workers in other countries in alliance with their "own" bourgeoisie. What's needed is international socialist economic planning for human need and an international division of labour, but capitalism is based on production for private profit and on the nation state, which are fetters to the further development of the productive forces. In order to realise profits the capitalists must have markets for their products but these can only be obtained at the expense of their rivals, so inevitably the imperialist powers come into open conflict. Import controls lead to trade wars, which lead to shooting wars and the final tariff negotiators are the generals. .

Only socialist revolution on a world scale can prevent the outbreak of renewed interimperialist war and barbarism. In Britain, the Spartacist League fights to break workers from Labourism, for the perspective of a new October Revolution. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!■

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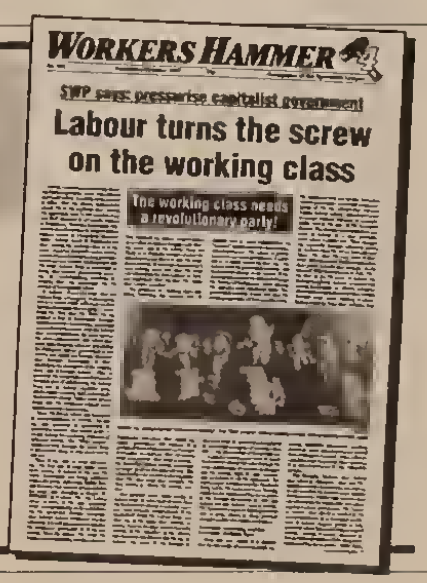


DPA

Action Press

Imperialist rulers gather in palatial setting in Genoa, while world's working masses face exploitation and poverty.

Genoa...

(continued from page 1)

against the Soviet Union in the 1980s to the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, these pseudo-Marxists take their stand with the capitalist state.

The question before the huge numbers of young radicals who have been drawn to the "anti-globalization" protests of recent years is: how do you change the world? While the protests have succeeded in forcing the imperialists to schedule future meetings in isolated backwaters, this does nothing to impede the workings of the capitalist system. To do away with imperialist exploitation requires a political mobilization of the proletariat in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. The large workers contingents on the streets of Genoa in solidarity with the anarchist youth against the state, and also in defense of immigrant rights, point to the potential for realizing this revolutionary perspective. But it is necessary to combat the obstacles that stand in the way: the trade-union bureaucracies and the reformist political parties, which currently govern many of the capitalist states in West Europe, as well as the false, anti-proletarian consciousness of the anarchist youth.

The International Communist League fights for the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Our perspective is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We recognize that the fundamental conflict in society is the struggle between labor and capital. Because of its central role in production, the proletariat has the social power to bring down the capitalist exploiters and their whole system of racism, sexism, class exploitation, national oppression and imperialist war. The proletariat has the power and the class interest to create a society based on collectivized property and a rational, planned international economy, a workers state leading to a classless, communist society and the withering away of the state. To achieve this goal requires the construction of an international Leninist-Trotskyist egalitarian party. We struggle to become the party fit to lead socialist revolutions internationally.

Integral to our fight is holding on to proletarian conquests already wrested from the capitalist class. That is why we Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration. In East Germany in 1989-90 and then in the Soviet Union, we fought to rouse the workers in a political revolution to defend the collectivized property forms and replace the Stalinist misleaders with the rule of workers councils. This perspective is urgently posed in China today in the face of renewed imperialist military machinations and economic encroachments promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms."

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Today the basic premises of authentic Marxism must be motivated against the false and prevalent misidentification of the collapse of Stalinism with a failure of communism. Stalinist rule was not communism but its grotesque perversion. The Stalinist bureaucracy, a parasitic caste resting atop the workers state much like a labor bureaucracy sits atop a trade union, arose in the Soviet workers state under conditions of economic backwardness and isolation due to the failure to extend the revolution to any of the advanced capitalist countries. The Stalinists claimed they were going to build "socialism in one country," an impossibility, as Leon Trotsky (and before him Marx and Engels) explained, since socialism is necessarily international in scope. "Socialism in one country" was a justification for selling out revolutions internationally in order to appease world imperialism.

Today, the proletariat has been hurled back worldwide. Unhindered by Soviet military might, the U.S. imperialists ride roughshod over the planet. America's imperialist rivals, especially Germany and Japan, no longer constrained by Cold War anti-Soviet unity, are pursuing apace their own appetites for control of world markets and concomitantly projecting their military power. These interimperialist rivalries outline future wars; with nuclear weapons, this threatens to extinguish life on the planet. The task of wresting power from the capitalist exploiters is more urgent than ever.

State of Siege in Genoa

When our comrades arrived in Genoa on July 18, they found a ghost town. An inner "red zone" four kilometers (nearly three miles) long was completely encircled by a 12-foot-high metal barrier. Police within the red zone carried out continuous searches of apartments and

Liberazione

COBAS union contingent in Genoa protest.

harassment of the heavily immigrant population. Reports of letter bombs and attempted bombings were wielded to fuel a huge anti-terrorist campaign by the bourgeois media. In preparation for the arrests, an anonymous police official told *La Repubblica*, "The Bolzaneto barracks were transformed into a 'lager' [concentration camp]" by the Mobile Operational Group (GOM), an elite unit formed under the popular-front government in 1997 and headed by a former chief of the military secret service. He reported that arrested protesters "had their heads smashed against the wall" and were "beaten when they refused to sing 'Faccetta Ner' [a fascist hymn]." Protesters were also forced to shout "Viva il Duce!"

On July 19, the first of three days of protests, there was a large anti-racist demonstration of some 50,000 people. Though immigrant contingents were largely lacking due to the fear of repression, there were some contingents from the CGIL and COBAS trade unions. The next day, police gunned down Carlo Giuliani as he, along with many others, stood up to a cop rampage against a demonstration called by the COBAS to coincide with a general strike. Many workers now consider this government to be composed of murderers. A number of workers telephoned *Radio Popolare*, a leftist radio station in Milano, objecting to "nonviolence." One said, "I am nonviolent. I was in Genoa and got shot with a tear gas canister from a police helicopter. My family was attacked. Next time, I will defend myself."

On July 21, workers poured into the streets in defiance of the reformist misleaders and the DS-dominated union officialdom, as did many RC members. Thousands of metal workers, not only from the CGIL-affiliated FIOM but also from the more "moderate" CISL and UIL union federations, joined hands with the protesters against the police. There was a lot of anger, and whenever a police helicopter circled overhead there were chants of "Assassini, assassini!"

The police attacked the middle of the demonstration, cutting off the RC and trade-union contingents, which came under heavy attack and a constant barrage of tear gas. Demonstrators seeking refuge or trying to find their way back to their buses were hunted down by police squads whose orders were clearly to injure as many as possible. In one case, a youth was seized by police, dragged away and beaten. He then fell ten feet into the riverbed. When he managed to scramble up, the police shot him with a tear gas canister at pointblank range; he was saved only by the intervention of other protesters.

That night, police went on a massive rampage. Mounted police entered the Convergence Centre in Piazzale Kennedy while cops smashed their way into the Media Center, headquarters of the Genoa Social Forum and the Indymedia Internet news service, destroying computers and equipment and seizing film and evidence of police brutality. At the same time, hundreds of police surrounded and smashed into the Diaz school and the Casa dei Popoli, bloodying the GSF demonstrators sleeping there. People were dragged along the ground. *Il Manifesto* compared it with Chile under Pinochet's reign of terror. Of the 92 people arrested, fully 62 had to be hospitalized. The "*Digos*" (political police) also searched the homes of many protesters to seize photos and other evidence of police violence. Even the Genoa offices of *La Repubblica*, a leading bourgeois daily, were searched.

Tuesday, July 24, saw huge mobilizations with FIOM and CGIL banners prominent everywhere: 40,000 in Venice, 30,000 in Bologna, thousands more in towns and cities from north to south. In Rome, 30,000 marched screaming "Assassini!" In Milano, as many as 50,000 or more chanted: "Berlusconi resign!" In Genoa, 10,000 marched with a big banner reading "You Believe That You Killed Him, but Carletto Lives Through Us." In Brescia, workers at the Stefana steel plant struck for two hours to protest the arrest of a FIOM shop steward at the march in Genoa on Saturday.

Labor struggle is likely to grow as the Berlusconi government moves to carry through attacks on pensions, public education, health care and workers' living standards. And there is enormous turmoil within the left as many radicalized youth are looking around, and not necessarily to the traditional reformist parties like RC. One young woman was seen on the subway in Milano distributing a leaflet she had written giving her eyewitness account of the cop rampage. The leaflet concluded: "I am starting to think that maybe we live in a society that is only apparently democratic and that showed itself on this occasion for what it really is."

Sections of the bourgeoisie are worried that there is no effective reformist force with the influence to restrain and control the working class. Reflecting this, RC has simultaneously rallied to defense of bourgeois "law and order" while making an appeal to the youthful protesters, writing in *Liberazione* that "a new generation is building itself an alternative political identity: it refuses the existing order of things and dreams of another kind of world. This is the reason they attack it with savage violence."

Many demonstrators tend to see the brutality of the cops as evidence of a turn toward a police state and call for the resignation of the Berlusconi government. The presence of Gianfranco Fini's fascist National Alliance and Umberto Bossi's racist Northern League in the government has surely galvanized the cops, many of whom are genuine fascists. But the reformist misleaders' denunciations of this right-wing parliamentary government as fascist are in the service of building support for a new popular front to "fight the right." In fact, the kind of brutal repression seen in Genoa is part of the normal functioning of capitalist "democracy." In the years following the revolutionary upheavals of the "Hot Autumn" of 1969, the cops assassinated a number of leftist students. Just as DS and RC now rail against "anarchists," their Communist Party predecessor at the time sought to isolate a "violent fringe," thus helping to restabilize the bourgeois order.

The reformist misleaders used the upsurge of workers struggles that brought down the previous Berlusconi government in 1994 to usher in a series of popular-front governments, bringing together D'Alema's DS and openly bourgeois forces, generally propped up by RC. This bloody cabal of fake "socialists" and ex-"communists" presided over Italian imperialism's participation in the U.S.-led 1999 Balkans War. And it was the former DS-dominated government that organized the arrangements for the G-8 summit.

Support for RC in particular as a "lesser evil" is evident within the syndicalist-influenced COBAS unions as well. This is not surprising. COBAS leader Pietro Falanga echoed the reformists in insinuating that the Black Block anarchists are a tool of the cops. While RC lands "progressive" cops who denounce the government's actions in Genoa, one of the COBAS unions itself has a base among municipal cops and also organizes prison guards. In welcoming the hired thugs of the class enemy into the ranks of labor, the COBAS leaders demonstrate their own confidence in the capitalist state.

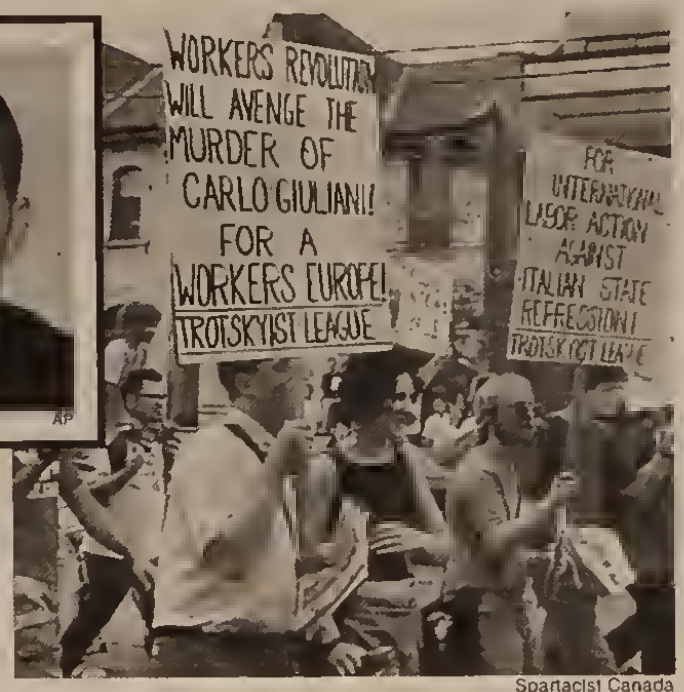
For Workers Strikes to Protest Deadly Police State of Siege!

Berlusconi and the G-8: Imperialist Butchers!

The following statement was issued by our comrades in the Lega Trotskista d'Italia.

20 JULY—The imperialist rulers gathered in Genova to intensify exploitation and starvation of the working masses were thirsty for blood, and they got it. Two anti-globalization protesters were deliberately killed today by paramilitary police in Genova. One young Italian man, Carlo Giuliani, was shot in the head by the cops, who then drove a police van over his lifeless body. According to French and Austrian media, the second was a young woman killed by a gunshot wound. The imperialists prepared and provoked this lethal terror. As a veteran of the Nazi occupation of Genova stated last week, "They have turned the city into a war zone. I lived here under the Nazis as a young resistance fighter...but there was never this oppressive militarized situation." The G-8 imperialist rulers must be hit where they live—in their profit ledgers. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia says: *We need powerful workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression.*

In the weeks leading up to G-8 in Genova, the right-wing government of Silvio Berlusconi ordered that *200 body bags and 500 square meters of freezer space be set aside for corpses*. Having killed two youth, the police continue to rampage through the ghettos set aside as penned protest areas, arresting scores at random. Civil liberties have been suspended, those arrested are being denied access to lawyers; political police (the hated "*Digos*") prowl hospitals to throw the wounded into jail. Surface-to-air missile batteries have been installed at the airport, warships and submarines patrol the coast, and the city has been turned into a medieval fortress with twelve-foot-high barricades: some "free world"! The Italian borders have been sealed off to thousands seeking to join the protests in Genova. A boatload of Greek protesters was turned back in Ancona by police who declared them *persona non grata* and clubbed them back onto the ship. Trainloads of protesters and even bicyclists have been turned back at border crossings. This is the treatment routinely meted out to immigrants and refugees from the imperialists' bloody war in the Balkans and from their impoverishment of Asia and Africa.



Toronto, July 21: ICL sections joined protests internationally against police killing of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani in Genoa.

Spartacist Canada

Preparations for capitalist "law and order" in Genova began last month in Göteborg, when Swedish cops fired live ammunition into a crowd of demonstrators, critically wounding a 20-year-old man who was shot in the back as he tried to escape the police onslaught. British Labour prime minister Tony Blair urged more murderous repression in Genova, ranting that Europe's rulers had been "far too apologetic" to anti-globalization protesters and needed to be "a lot more robust." And let's not forget that it was the popular-front government of D'Alema's Democratici di Sinistra (DS), which organized the G-8 gathering in the first place to boost Italy's standing among its imperialist allies. The DS briefly posed in favor of the protests, but when state terror was unleashed they came out *against* the protesters and banned their own youth from boarding buses to Genova. Rifondazione Comunista (RC) leader Bertinotti echoed this, fulminating that the cops had not taken sufficient action against the anarchists. With such statements the DS and RC expose their appetite to administer Italian capitalist rule in a new popular-front government of anti-working-class austerity, anti-immigrant bigotry and attacks on women's rights.

Echoing the social-democratic rulers of capitalist Europe are the fake leftists who campaigned and voted for them. They played into the state's murderous plans by isolating the militants. In the immediate aftermath of the shootings last month in Göteborg, ATTAC spokesman Susan George alibied the state terrorists and blamed the victims for their own repression, saying she was "sick and tired of these groups...who turn up at demos like venomous flowers in order to cause destruction." Alain Krivine, leader of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and member of the European Parliament, chimed in that he was "sickened that a minority could impose its methods of struggle on the majority, with all its media consequences and the increasing threats of repression facing future demonstrations like those in Genova." With such statements these miserable misleaders prove their loyalty to the capitalist class and its police assassins and expose their attacks on "globalization" as rooted in social-chauvinist, reformist support to their "own" bourgeoisies. Their "movement" aims not to overthrow capitalism but to mask its monstrous reality.

While fake "leftists" flinch in the face of the state crackdown in Genova and criminally denounce the anarchists, we Trotskyists stand in full solidarity with the anarchist youth and other protesters against the G-8 in Genova and against state repression, regardless of our political differences. In shooting down the two young protesters, the state is taking aim at the workers of Europe and the rest of the world, an ominous warning against any proletarian challenge to the imperialists' starvation austerity and crushing exploitation. Only hours before the police killings, *15,000* workers organized by the COBAS rank-and-file unions marched through the streets as part of a political general strike against the G-8. A chief order of business at the G-8 conference was to order Argentina's government to push ahead with wage cuts and starvation measures which have already sparked massive workers' struggles. The capitalist rulers are deaf to appeals to act more "humanely" in the "Third World." But a workers strike against the G-8 and the cop terror would open the door to mobilizing broader class struggle against the capitalists, the only road to combatting and sweeping away the imperialist exploiters.

Drop the charges against all arrested protesters! Down with the police state of siege in Genova! For massive labor protest strikes!

What's needed is a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class, a tribune of the people and fighter on behalf of all the oppressed. It is necessary to break with the class-collaborationist politics pushed by those who, in the name of a "lesser evil," subordinate the vital interests of the proletariat to those of its capitalist exploiters and oppressors. It's necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights to set up a workers government through socialist revolution against the entire capitalist system.

"Left" Fingermen for the World Bourgeoisie

In the wake of the Genoa events, there has been a furious outcry internationally—not against the evident, widespread, murderous violence perpetrated by the cops but against the "violence" of anarchist and other leftist protesters. Going into Genoa, Britain's Blair urged Berlusconi and other capitalist rulers "to be a lot more robust" in cracking down on protesters, while German Social Democrat Gerhard Schröder screamed for responding to "violent" protest "decisively and with full force." Positively dancing on the grave of Carlo Giuliani, Blair admonished any who criticized "the Italian authorities for working to make sure the security of the summit is right," while his cabinet member Peter Hain, a former "peace" campaigner, railed against "balaclava-clad demonstrators out there to basically trash the place and bust a skull."

Sections of the ICL around the world participated in or initiated protests against the bloody repression in Genoa and in solidarity with the anarchist youth under attack. Much of the "left," taking their cue from the social democrats they helped install in power, spat on even the most elementary expression of solidarity with the leftist youth against the capitalist state and joined in the crescendo of attacks against the anarchist Black Block. In Britain, the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attacked the Black Block's actions as "very different from people who defend themselves against police attacks" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 July). In another article in the same issue, SWP honcho Chris Harman favorably quoted a Genoa protester saying, "The police could have chosen to deal with the penetration of the anarchists."

This despicable line was echoed by the French group ATTAC, which includes Cliffites and members of Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec). A 20 July ATTAC statement criticized the Italian police because "they deliberately closed their eyes to the preparation and arming of several hundred provocateur elements of the so-called Black Block." In Germany, Angela Klein, a leading member of the Editorial Board of the USec-connected paper *SoZ* favorably quoted the following rant in her article in *Junge Welt* (23 July): "The black of this Black Block was the black of the fascists, not the black of the anarchists."

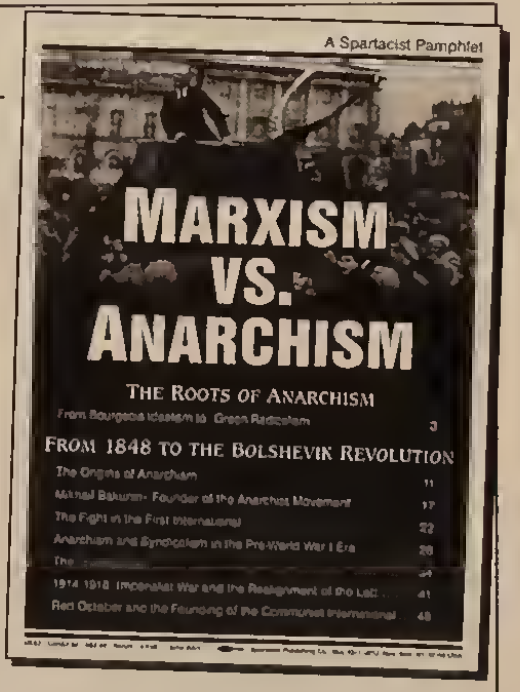
As organizers of the "anti-globalization" movement that is being attacked by the governments they support, these groups try to walk both sides of the street. But even when they denounce the police violence, it is from the standpoint of bolstering the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist rulers. In a 20 July statement on its Web site, the Cliffite-dominated Globalise Resistance in Britain pleaded, "We call on Tony Blair, and other political leaders, to condemn this killing." The French LCR even appealed to Berlusconi, Fini & Co., declaring in a leaflet co-signed with the anarchist Alternatives Libertaires and others: "We call on the Italian government to publicly condemn the methods employed by the forces of order"!

The conflicting opportunist appetites buffeting the USec and Cliffites were most evident in the right-centrist British Workers Power (WP) and its League for

continued on page 12

This pamphlet reprints a series by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour originally published in *Workers Vanguard*. It presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.



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Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

must be suppressed. In the three months since those affidavits were filed, the mainstream media outside Philadelphia have maintained a complete blackout on this spectacular new development in what is the most prominent death penalty case in the U.S. *We accuse the capitalist courts, the forces of racist "law and order" and their auxiliaries in the media of a conspiracy aimed at lynching an innocent man!*

These forces seek to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal because they see in this former Black Panther Party spokesman and MOVE supporter the specter of "black revolution," because they want to silence forever this "voice of the voiceless" who is renowned for his eloquent journalistic exposures of the racist capitalist injustice system. From the time he was a teenager in the late 1960s, Mumia was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation, which resulted in the assassination of 38 Panther activists and the frame-up of hundreds more. When they found Jamal at the scene of Faulkner's killing in 1981, they seized the opportunity to set him up for a legal lynching. In arguing that Jamal should be sentenced to death, the D.A. pointed to his past as a member of the Black Panther Party and his reference to the Maoist slogan, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

In barring the Beverly confession, Yohn cited the one-year limit on new evidence mandated by the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by Clinton in 1996. Yohn falsely claims, "Petitioner chose not to present this claim to the state court or even to this court until May 2001." The new PCRA papers thoroughly document how former defense attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Daniel Williams refused to present the Beverly confession when it was first secured in 1999. When Beverly passed a lie detector test affirming his confession, Weinglass even rejected that, as affirmed by expert polygrapher Charles R. Honts in an affidavit appended to the PCRA filing. The papers establish that "the facts underlying attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams' suppression of this evidence were unknown" to Jamal and that they "misrepresented to him that they were investigating the evidence further when, in fact, they had no intention of ever presenting that evidence in any court."

Mumia fired Weinglass and Williams for disloyalty and conflict of interest last May after Williams authored a treacherous and mendacious "inside account" aptly titled *Executing Justice*, which denigrates the Beverly confession as "bona fide lunacy," "patently outrageous" and "absurd." The aim of this despicable act, as Weinglass himself admitted in a letter to Jamal appended to the new papers, was to carry out a "pre-emptive strike" against the new evidence should it ever surface—and that is how it has been used by the prosecution. Excerpts from Williams' book made up the bulk of the D.A.'s papers opposing the Beverly deposition.

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philly cops screaming for Jamal's execution besiege union hall, 1995. Below: 1998 Chicago conference featured 30 people released from death row after proving their innocence. Courts, prosecution, media seek to suppress new evidence of Mumia's innocence.

AP

The D.A.'s reply to the new PCRA papers relies so heavily on Williams' lies that it does not bother to make a single substantial argument against the 272 pages of PCRA material. As Jamal's new attorneys state in the PCRA petition: "Jamal's interest lay in proving his innocence, overturning his conviction and death sentence and winning his freedom. There can be no strategic, tactical or rational reason for his own attorneys to have suppressed the evidence of his innocence."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows what the racist death penalty is all about. A legacy of medieval barbarism and, in the case of the U.S., black chattel slavery, the death penalty is the ultimate sanction in the capitalist state apparatus of repression against workers and minorities. The capitalist rulers want to kill Mumia in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge cop terror in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest U.S. imperialist mass murder abroad.

The bipartisan rush to speed up the pace of legal lynching, exemplified by the 1996 act now wielded by Yohn against Jamal, led two years ago to the highest rate of executions in nearly 50 years. At the same time, popular support for the death penalty is at its lowest point in more than two decades, as ever more cases come to light of innocent people sentenced to death. The Partisan Defense Committee opposes the death penalty on principle, for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

Yohn's decision, as does every previous court ruling in Jamal's case, highlights that fighters for Mumia's freedom can have no illusions that justice will be found in the courts of the capitalist class. Mass protest centered on the social power of the multiracial labor movement is not only urgently needed to win Mumia's freedom but would strike a blow against the whole capitalist frame-up system.■

Genoa...

(continued from page 11)

a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI). A statement posted on the WP/LRCI Web site on July 23 was headlined, "After Genoa Repression Turn to the Working Class." In the mouth of WP, this means suckering militant anarchist youth back into the social-democratic fold and "left" Labourite parliamentarist lash-ups like the Socialist Alliance, which WP helped build in the recent British elections. Thus, the WP/LRCI statement calls for a revolutionary party "free of all the filth of Stalinism"—but has not a word about the Labourite "filth" in which WP wallows.

Safeguarding its standing in the eyes of the social democrats, WP made clear that "we organised for non-violent civil disobedience" and attacked the Black Block for "the futile activity of smashing up property." Nonetheless, the statement explicitly denounced "those in the movement who have focused condemnation on the 'black bloc'." But in a new version of the statement distributed at a July 28 London protest, WP expunged even this tepid expression of solidarity with the militant anarchists under attack by the whole of the international capitalist order. Falling into line behind the rest of the Blairite "anti-globalization" crowd, WP now joins in the cop-hailing denunciations of the Black Block as "infiltrated by police who use them to provide an excuse for police repression."

That the police insinuate provocateurs into the workers movement and left-wing protests is a given for anyone at all familiar with the workings of the capitalist state, and there is certainly evidence that undercover cops, and the fascists, engaged in provocations in Genoa. But for the pseudo-Marxists, any affront to the legitimacy of parliamentary "democracy" is deemed a provocation. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted in *The State and Revolution*:

> "The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol, denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

For our forthright statement in defense of the anarchists against state repression, our comrades in Genoa were likewise denounced as "provocateurs" by the social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats. And one of our comrades was attacked as a "provocateur" at a July 28 protest in Berlin for denouncing a platform speaker from Schröder's Green coalition partners as a representative of the German imperialist state.

Anarchism vs. Bolshevism

A 21 July statement by "Black Block activists" stands in refreshing contrast to the fake Marxists' kowtowing to "democratic" imperialism. The statement proclaims:

> "Day by day, the capitalist world order produces a diversity of violence. Poverty, hunger, expulsion, exclusion, the death of millions of people and the destruction of living spaces is part of their policy.
> "This is exactly what we reject.
> "Smashed windows of banks and multinational companies are symbolic actions. Nevertheless we do not agree with the destruction and looting of small shops and cars. This is not our policy....
> "We are angry and sad about the murder of Carlo Giuliani. Let us turn our grief and anger into resistance."

Such militants are motivated by rage against the capitalist murder machine. But trashing the symbols of imperialist power does not constitute a strategy for resistance, much less revolutionary struggle, against the bourgeois order. The point is to *seize* the means of production from the bourgeoisie, to overthrow capitalism and replace it with global workers rule. Personal outrage is no substitute for a mass movement centered on the power of the working class, which alone has the social power to lead all the oppressed in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order. Many young radicals do not see the proletariat as an agency for social revolution because they equate the workers organizations with the misleaders who have a stake in preserving the capitalist system. We seek to exacerbate the contradictions between the aspirations of the workers at the base and the pro-capitalist politics of the tops in order to break the workers from reformism and win them to a revolutionary perspective.

Those who call themselves "anarchist" run the gamut from subjective revolutionists who solidarize with the proletariat to right-wing petty-bourgeois thugs who hate the working class and attack communists. At bottom, anarchism is a form of radical-democratic idealism that combines militancy and adventurism with bourgeois liberalism. Rejecting the state in general—and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revolutionary working class in particular—the anarchists are led to genuflect before the existing, bourgeois state. During the Spanish Civil War, anarchists became ministers in the popular-front government which disarmed and repressed the armed workers struggle against capitalism, opening the road to decades of Franco's dictatorship. Today in Italy, the "official" anarchists of *A* magazine rushed to assure the bourgeoisie of their hostility to the "violent" protesters in Genoa: "We believe that indiscriminate violence and terrorism (even psychological) are tools of the power, not of those who want to effect without coercion a deep social transformation of a libertarian nature.... Those who send bombs, who devastate a town with the help and complicity of the police...have nothing to do with us."

For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the parliamentary reformism of the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and the fake leftists who prop up and maintain the capitalist order. In *"Left-Wing" Communism —An Infantile Disorder*, which aimed at winning the best of the anarchists and syndicalists of his day to Bolshevism, Lenin remarked: "Anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement." The Russian Revolution redefined the left internationally, and its final undoing is having a similar impact in reverse.

The murderous state of siege in Genoa was the mark of an economic system which has become a barrier to technological and social advance. The leaders of international capitalism gathered there preside over an anarchic mode of production which is now rapidly spiraling into a global recession. Behind their scripted statements of agreement lie backstabbing intrigues aimed at furthering the interests of their respective bourgeoisies in the face of declining profits and increasing competition. In a leaflet addressed to the COBAS call for a general strike on the eve of the Genoa protests, the LTd'I declared:

> "Many in the anti-globalization movement see the enemy in the 'transnationals' or in the international financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc. As revolutionary Marxists, we understand that the main enemy is at home! For the Italian workers and oppressed, it's the Italian capitalists, their state, cops and army, courts and prisons. They must be disarmed, overthrown and expropriated. We fight for a system where those who labor rule, not based on bourgeois parliamentarism but on forms of proletarian power, like the Russian soviets in 1917, and where the means of production will be used in the interests of everybody to build a socialist egalitarian society on an international scale....
> "In order for the workers struggling at the head of all the oppressed to win and to uproot the rotten capitalist system, we need a revolutionary leadership that fights irreconcilably against class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and their governments. The ICL fights to build such a multiethnic, revolutionary workers party, struggling for workers power worldwide. Join us!"■

Three Legs, All Lies

New Jamal Legal Papers Rip Frame-Up to Shreds

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal represents one of the more chemically pure examples of the frame-up machine, called the "American justice system," which is wielded by the rulers of this country to silence those who are perceived as getting in their way. In this case the means is to be state-sanctioned murder. It matters not to the powers that be in this society that another man, Arnold Beverly, has confessed to the crime for which Jamal has spent the last 20 years entombed in a death row cell. But it had better matter to the rest of us—working people, blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society who could just as easily be lined up in the sights of the state for opposing the grotesque inequities that define capitalist class rule in the "land of the free."

As we documented in a 1995 article titled "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"), Jamal was framed up hy the courts, cops and prosecuting attorneys who coerced false testimony, suborned perjury and manufactured "evidence" to secure a conviction and a sentence of death. The prosecution's case rested on "three legs"—a fabricated "confession" that materialized two months after the fact, lying "eyewitness" testimony coerced through cop terror and phony ballistics evidence. The Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal liled by Jamal's attorneys in Pennsylvania state court on July 3 completely demolishes every last vestige of the discredited "three legs." As the papers state, Beverly's confession that he killed policeman Daniel Faulkner conclusively confirms Mumia's innocence and "destroys the whole edifice of the case which the prosecution constructed" at the 1982 frame-up trial.

The Prosecution's "Eyewitnesses": The central premise of the prosecution's case—as articulated by its star "witness," a prostitute named Cynthia White, after she had been subjected to intimidation and coercion by the cops—was that the only people at the scene of the shooting were Faulkner, Jamal and his brother Billy Cook. In fact, of the many witnesses who were at the scene, none testified to having even seen White there at all! Nonetheless, she served as the central witness for the prosecution at both Billy Cook and Jamal's trials. At Cook's trial where he faced assault charges arising out of the case of Faulkner's death, she testified in court that there was a fourth person at the scene, a passenger who got out of Billy Cook's Volkswagen. Significantly, the same D.A., Joseph McGill, who had questioned White at Cook's trial was the prosecuting attorney at Jamal's 1982 frame-up trial three months later. As the PCRA papers state, McGill "knowingly misled the court when, on the back of what he knew was Cynthia White's perjured evidence that there had been no passenger in William Cook's car that night...he had presented the Commonwealth's case to the jury on the basis that there were only two people who could have killed Police Officer Faulkner"—Jamal or his brother.

In an affidavit submitted with the Beverly confession, Cook identified the passenger in his car as his business partner, Kenneth Freeman. Freeman later told Cook that he was part of a plan to kill Faulkner and had participated in the shooting. The new PCRA papers reveal that Freeman had "specifically told" another man "that Cynthia White had twice picked him out of a lineup" following the shooting. They also attest that Jamal was denied his request to he put in a lineup before alleged "eyewitnesses."

The other key prosecution witness at Jamal's trial was Rohert Chobert, a cah driver previously convicted of an arson attack on a schoolyard who was working without a license. Like many other witnesses at the scene, Chobert initially told police that "the man that shot the policeman ran away." The new papers report that in 1995 Chohert admitted to one of Jamal's investigators "that, at the time of the shooting, his cab had been parked at a completely different location to where he had claimed it was at the original trial and that he had been unahle to see what he had testified to." When the investigator read him the 1981 police account of what Chobert had supposedly seen, Chobert blurted out, "That's a lie."

Five eyewitnesses reported seeing a man flee the scene the night of Faulkner's shooting, just as Beverly testifies that he did after shooting Faulkner. *This wos the original early testimony of the cops on the scene themselves.* The PCRA papers state: These "were not the only people who helieved that night that the person who shot Police Officer Faulkner had fled the scene. The police radio transcript makes clear that no police officer at the scene reported to central division that a suspect with a weapon had been found until some 14 minutes after [the first two cops] arrived at the scene. In the meantime, there were radio enquiries and flashes that the suspects had fled with officer's gun."

Four witnesses, *including two cops*, said that they saw a man at the site wearing a green army jacket, just as Beverly testifies that he was wearing when he shot Faulkner. Jamal was wearing a blue and red ski jacket.

Ballistics: The new PCRA filing states, "The limited scientific and physical evidence which is available is much more consistent with Arnold Beverly's confessions than it is with the prosecution's case." The location and trajectory of the bullet fragments found at the scene rule out the prosecution lie that Jamal emptied his gun into Faulkner as Faulkner lay on the sidewalk. In fact, there is not one shred of evidence that Mumia's gun was even fired that night, let alone by him. Moreover, as the PCRA papers note: "Similarly, no trace of Police Officer Faulkner's blood was ever identified on the Petitioner's trousers or other clothing. No tests appear to have been carried out, even though [Jamal] allegedly 'blew out Faulkner's brains' as he was standing over him." As for the prosecution's claim that Jamal was shot by Faulkner while standing over the dying police officer, the downward trajectory of the wound to Jamal's chest makes this physically impossible. Again as the PCRA papers note: "The Petitioner would have had to have been doing handstands for Police Officer Faulkner to have shot him in this way from a prone position."

Beverly says that Mumia arrived on the scene after Beverly had shot the cop, and that another cop then shot Jamal. A cop at the scene the night of Faulkner's shooting reported at the time that Jamal had been shot hy arriving cops. This information was suppressed at the 1982 trial. So how could Beverly have somehow concocted this, or other evidence which obviously corroborates the testimony of many others as to what happened that night? In fact, Beverly's account explains the "otherwise inexplicable" fact, as the PCRA filing notes, that none of the prosecution witnesses claimed to see how Jamal was shot. His statement also squares with a police medical examiner's report just five hours after the shooting that Jamal "was shot subsequently by arriving police reinforcements."

As the PCRA papers state: "There is no other explanation for how, in its details, Arnold Beverly's account of what happened finds such close corroboration with so much of the evidence in this case which Arnold Beverly could not possihly have known about."

Confession: It has already been more than amply demonstrated that Jamal's purported "confession" was a total invention, concocted *over two manths later*. The original *official* police report by Officer Gary Wakshul, who was with Jamal the entire time from his arrest through medical treatment, said that "during this time, the negro male made no comments." Two months later, prosecutor McGill convened a "round table" where he asked the police officers in attendance "to raise their hands if they heard" Jamal confess. Wakshul complied, testifying later that he hadn't recognized the "importance" of Jamal's purported confession at the time. As the new PCRA papers note, the ranking officer at the scene the night of Faulkner's shooting, Alfonzo Giordano, was the first to state that Jamal had confessed. Yet McGill never called on Giordano to testify for the prosecution at Jamal's 1982 trial. Giordano resigned as soon as the trial was over and later went down in the FBI's investigation of police corruption in Philadelphia, as did the two other ranking police officials who constituted the chain of command for investigating Faulkner's shooting.

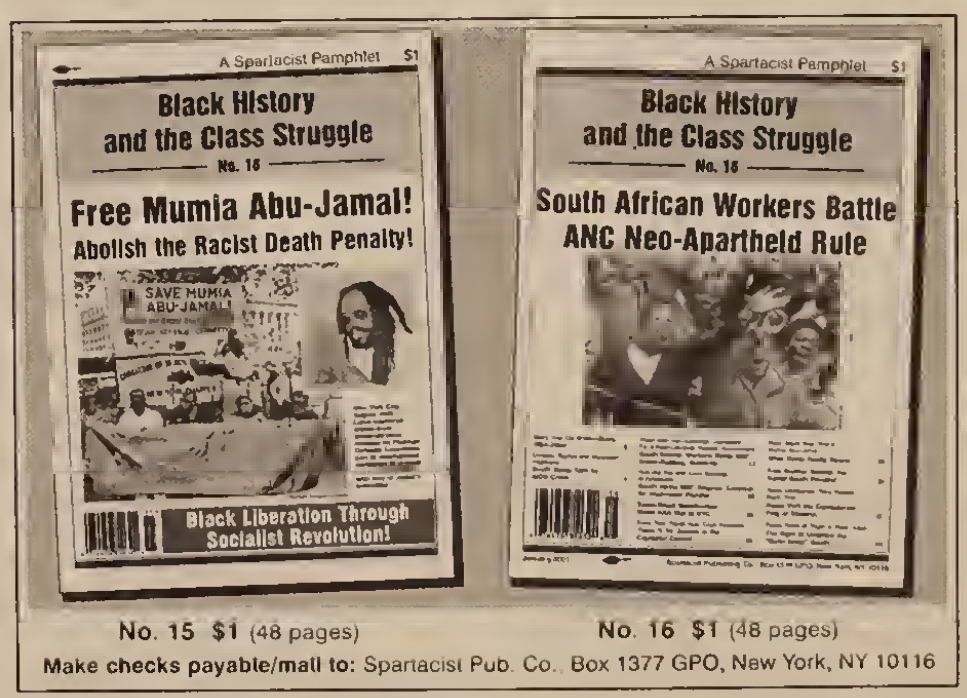
Beverly's confession and the evidence corroborating it were all availahle to former defense attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams in 1999. The confession and the supporting evidence had been pulled together by Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, who were also then on Jamal's legal team. When Weinglass and Williams refused to present this explosive evidence of Mumia's innocence, Wolkenstein and Piper were compelled to resign from Jamal's legal team. Weinglass and Williams tried to justify their treachery to Mumia by claiming that it was "absurd" that the police would kill one of their own and then frame an innocent man for the crime.

Such a scenario is hardly far-fetched. When the cop who blew the whistle on the LAPD Rampart corruption and murder scandal was secretly released from jail last week after serving time for allegedly stealing cocaine from the police evidence room, he immediately went into hiding for fear of being blown away by his former fellow cops.

In Jamal's case, the record is replete with evidence pointing to the fact that Faulkner was set up for the kill. How did it happen that Faulkner was working alone that night, without his normal partner and without his usual hulletproof vest? Why was no ambulance called to the scene? Why did the cop who claimed to have retrieved Faulkner's and Jamal's guns take over two hours to turn them in at the police lab? And why, as Temple University professor and journalist Linn Washington affirmed in another affidavit filed last May, was the crime scene left completely unprotected by the police?

A veteran police reporter, Washington describes being shocked by the "total lack of police" less than five hours after the shooting, saying it brought to mind other instances of "police destruction of a crime scene." Washington refers to the similar cover-up over the 1978 police siege of the MOVE organization's compound, after which nine MOVE members were framed up for killing a cop who by all evidence was shot by "friendly fire" (i.e., he was caught in the crossfire of the cops' own bullets). But here you have a site where a fellow cop was killed—the worst possible crime in the eyes of the police—left completely unsecured. Evidently, Faulkner's fellow cops weren't all that animated about nailing the real perp.

Mumia Ahu-Jamal is innocent! The new legal papers and the latest court decision blocking the presentation of Beverly's confession underline the frame-up nature of the whole capitalist "justice" system. The task of the hour is mass, labor-centered protest to demand: *Free Mumia now!* ■



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Falun Gong...

(continued from page 5)

Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky but on the conservative bureaucratic caste that usurped power from the Soviet proletariat in a political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1923-24.

The Bolsheviks took what measures they could to replace the functions of the family—the chief institution for the oppression of women in class society—setting up communal childcare, laundry and kitchen facilities. The early Bolshevik regime also abolished all laws discriminating against homosexuals. But under conditions of extreme poverty and hostile imperialist encirclement, the young Soviet workers state could only begin the work of liberating women. The Bolsheviks understood that women could only be fully emancipated in a socialist—i.e., classless—society, necessarily international in scope and premised on a level of technology far higher than that in even the most advanced capitalist countries.

Repudiating the program of international socialist revolution in favor of the lie of "building socialism in one country," the Stalinist bureaucracy also repudiated the liberating ideals of Bolshevism, not least when it came to women. In his analysis of the Stalinist degeneration, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky characterized the bureaucracy's imposition of a ban on abortion as "the philosophy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme," continuing:

> "The marriage and family laws established by the October revolution, once the object of its legitimate pride, are being made over and mutilated by vast borrowings from the law treasuries of the bourgeois countries. And as though on purpose to stamp treachery with ridicule, the same arguments which were earlier advanced in favor of unconditional freedom of divorce and abortion—'the liberation of women,' 'defense of the rights of personality,' 'protection of motherhood'—are repeated now in favor of their limitation and complete prohibition.
>
> "The retreat not only assumes forms of disgusting hypocrisy, but also is going infinitely farther than the iron economic necessity demands."

Trotsky noted that "the most compelling motive of the present cult of the family is undoubtedly the need of the bureaucracy for a stable hierarchy of relations, and for the disciplining of youth."

In China, the Stalinist regime has always glorified the family as a "fighting unit for socialism." This particularly represented a capitulation to prevailing sentiment among the CCP's peasant base, as we noted in "Maoism and the Family" in *Women and Revolution* No. 7 (Autumn 1974): "Unlike the working class, for whom the family plays no ***necessary*** economic role, the class interests of the peasantry are essentially limited to consolidating the private ownership of small plots of land, and this requires the maintenance of the family structure." As in other Stalinist-ruled workers states, Chinese women were still locked into doing "double work," combining jobs with the responsibility of caring for their families.

The implementation of "market reforms" in the late 1970s has led to a severe erosion of the gains achieved by women as a result of the revolution. With the decollectivization of agriculture and the return to family plots, female infanticide, virtually eradicated after 1949, has returned with a vengeance, as peasant households again put a premium on male offspring. Today, millions of urban women have lost the relative economic freedom they once had, thrown out of their jobs in state-owned textile plants and other industries. The countryside has seen a recrudescence of the age-old practice of buying and selling "wives," often women who have been kidnapped when they leave their homes to look for work. Women from rural areas make up the bulk of the workforce in the hellish factories in the capitalist Special Economic Zones.

It is notable that the puritanical Stalinist regime's attacks on Li's reactionary garbage do *not* extend to his diatribes against women and homosexuals. Only this March did the official Chinese Psychiatric Association revise its guidelines to declare that homosexuality was not a "disease." Stigmatized and fearing "treatment" in state psychiatric institutions, gay men are often forced into seeking furtive meetings in the dead of night in public parks. Such persecution intensified when AIDS hit China, even though the disease has been spread there mainly through drug use, heterosexual contact and blood banks. The city of Chengdu—capital of China's most populous province, Sichuan—recently enacted a law prohibiting HIV-positive people from working as kindergarten teachers, among other jobs, and even from marrying. This measure is so outrageous that it has come under criticism from the local press.

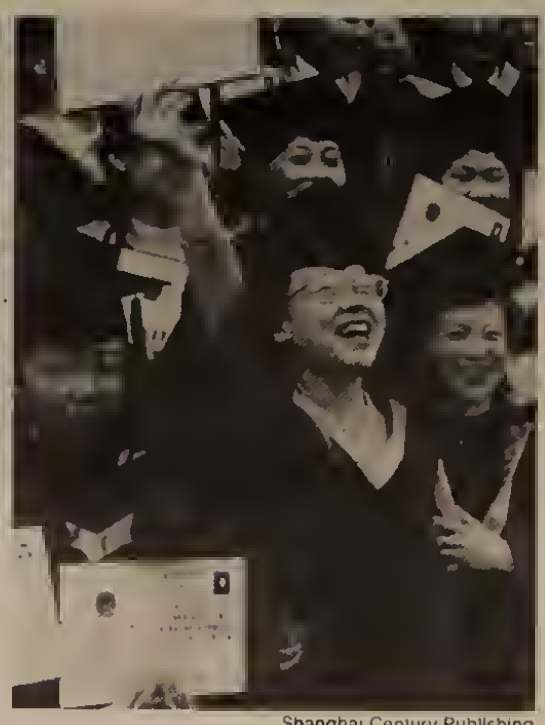
While the regime victimizes people infected with HIV, its "market reforms" have directly contributed to the spread of the virus. In Henan province, where the government encouraged the growth of private blood collection firms, virtually entire village populations have been infected with HIV. The companies bought blood from poor peasants for plasma production, pooled the collected blood and then re-injected villagers with red blood cells so that they could quickly donate again. More and more villagers began developing AIDS, but the authorities covered up the story for fear they would be held culpable, leaving vastly greater numbers of people open to infection.

A Chinese Trotskyist party would emblazon on its banners the fight for the full emancipation of women and full democratic rights for homosexuals. We wrote in "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women" (*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996):

> "As the 'tribune of the people,' a vanguard party would fight tooth and nail against the attempt to drive women from their hard-won positions in the workplace and would mobilize working people to defend women set upon by the purveyors of sexual enslavement. A revolutionary leadership would seek to organize the masses of poor peasants behind the urban working class in struggle for a China of workers and peasants councils (soviets). While fighting to extend the revolutionary struggle internationally, a soviet regime would begin to reconstruct a centrally planned economy under conditions of workers democracy, and undertake the recollectivization of agriculture and the expropriation of imperialist enterprises."

Joseph Abeles Collection

Woman with bound feet, symbol of barbaric oppression in pre-revolutionary China. 1949 Revolution gave masses of women right to education, jobs.



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Bolshevik poster shows Central Asian woman rejecting the veil as part of workers state's struggle against religious and social oppression.

Marxism, Stalinism and Religion

Under the headline "China Girds for a Battle of the Spirit," an article in the *Washington Post* (10 January) noted that the regime's crackdown on Falun Gong "has been accompanied by exhortations to the public to study Marxism and atheism." Even as it encourages capitalist free-market measures, the Stalinist regime is capable of occasionally borrowing from the lexicon of Marxism when it suits its purpose. But the CCP's policies make a mockery of the scientific, materialist worldview of Marxism.

Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik regime enforced the separation of church and state and carried out a concerted ideological effort to educate the masses in materialism and to root out religious backwardness, mobilizing Soviet youth in particular through such organizations as the League of the Militant Godless. The revolutionary government nationalized the vast property holdings of the Russian Orthodox church, but the church itself was not banned. The Bolsheviks understood that religion could not be abolished by decree but would disappear only as want and suffering disappeared. As Karl Marx explained in the 1844 "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right":

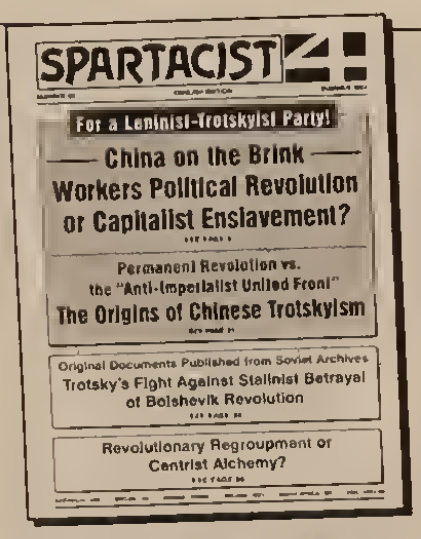
> "***Religious*** suffering is at one and the same time the ***expression*** of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the ***opium*** of the people."

In regard to religion as in other areas, the Stalinists trampled on Marxism. By the mid-1930s, as Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*:

> "Concern for the authority of the older generation, by the way, has already led to a change of policy in the matter of religion.... The bureaucracy, concerned about their reputation for respectability, have ordered the young 'godless' to surrender their fighting armor and sit down to their books. In relation to religion, there is gradually being established a regime of ironical neutrality."

A few years after Trotsky wrote this, Stalin openly rehabilitated the Russian Orthodox church as he appealed to crude Russian chauvinism against the German Nazi invaders during World War II.

In China, Mao sought to appeal to "traditional" peasant-based culture, fostering the practice of *qigong*. In the 1950s, the CCP prohibited shamans from foisting their superstitious rituals on people in the



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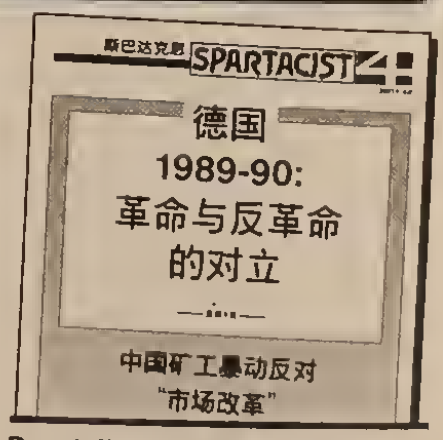

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guise of medicine. But as it cut funding for health care, the Beijing regime began promoting shamanism and other superstitious practices rooted in rural backwardness, training doctors in traditional Chinese medicine and extolling the virtues of herbal medicines. In the 1990s, shamans were officially redesignated "traditional medicine practitioners."

In the face of counterrevolutionary agitation by the Dalai Lama, the Vatican and the "house church" movement, the Chinese government sponsors its own brand of Lamaism, its own Catholic bishops (and a "Patriotic Catholic Association") and its own Protestant churches. Beijing's stamp of approval apparently extends to the sinister, anti-Communist Unification Church of Rev. Sun Myung Moon. The *New York Times* (12 September 2000) reported that the church's "International Educational Foundation" has been warmly embraced by a range of conservative Chinese officials distressed about their country's slide toward sexual freedom."

In its campaign against Falun Gong, the CCP makes a point of differentiating between "cults" and bona fide "religions." While Falun Gong is truly wacky, it is not different in substance from any other religion, *all* of which are based on anti-materialist dogma and are no less the "opium of the people." Instead of condemning Falun Gong as a counterrevolutionary danger, Beijing compares this racist outfit to the racially integrated

Peter Turnley

Truckload of workers in Tiananmen Square, 1989. Proletariat's entry into student protests signaled incipient political revolution.

as one wing embraced pro-imperialist "democracy" while others pushed the most retrograde Great Russian chauvinism. Both contributed to the rise of capitalist counterrevolution, nor were they necessarily counterposed. It was the vaunted "democrat" Boris Yeltsin who, as Moscow party chief in the late 1980s, gave his imprimatur to the anti-Semitic fascists of Pamyat.

The ICL called on the Soviet working people to sweep away these Russian-

AP

Tibet's Dalai Lama hosted by George W. Bush. CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" movement aims at smashing Chinase deformed workers state.

Branch Davidian group in the U.S., implicitly amnestying the American bourgeois government's slaughter of more than 80 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas in 1993. As revolutionary opponents of capitalist state repression, the Spartacist League was unique on the U.S. left in vigorously protesting this mass murder by the Clinton administration.

Break with Nationalism!

The CCP regime's promotion of Chinese traditions and religions is part and parcel of its inculcation of nationalism among the working people, who are told to suffer through the hardships of "market reforms" for the illusory promise that the country will one day develop into a superpower. In his time, Mao liked to make references to ancient bandit-heroes and great military emperors of China. The nationalism inherent in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," which means accommodation to imperialism and opposition to world socialist revolution, fuels the growth of reactionary forces.

This was evident in the terminal decline of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy,

chauvinist fascists who posed a deadly threat to the multinational working class of the USSR. We did not look to the Stalinist bureaucracy to "clean out" Pamyat, and in fact pointed out that a workers mobilization against the fascists could be the first step toward a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin misleaders. In August 1991, the same Yeltsin, surrounded by would-be yuppies and Russian Orthodox priests, led the counterrevolutionary coup that ushered in the destruction of the Soviet workers state.

The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and East Europe brought in its wake a cascade of attacks on working people, immigrants, women and youth around the world. It has also led to the flourishing of religious reaction and anti-scientific mysticism. The imperialists now set their sights on capitalist restoration in China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea.

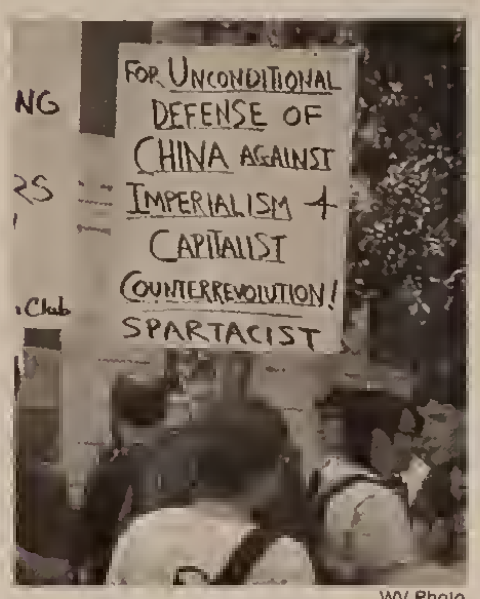
Unlike the USSR, China is relatively ethnically homogeneous, although the large regions of Xinjiang and Tibet are mainly inhabited by minority peoples. Yet nationalist ideology is no less a danger to the Chinese proletariat, serving to bind it to the Guomindang bourgeoisie, which was not destroyed as a class by the 1949 Revolution but fled to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere. In the name of forging a "greater China," Beijing has invited this same bourgeoisie to again exploit Chinese workers in the Special Economic Zones. Investment by offshore Chinese capital outweighs direct investment in China by the U.S., Japan and other imperialist countries. Far from propelling China to superpower status, capitalist restoration would mean the imperialist resubjugation of the country and sheer misery for the workers and peasants. The wretched state of the former Soviet Union—mass poverty, falling lifespans, the collapse of science and technology—is a harbinger of what capitalist counterrevolution would mean for China, a far more backward society than the former USSR.

The ostensible Trotskyists of the Hong Kong-based *October Review* long ago abandoned even the pretense of unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. Their international cothinkers of the United Secretariat tailed all manner of counterrevolutionary forces arrayed against the Soviet Union, even helping run supplies to Polish Solidarność in the early 1980s. Already acting as virtual press agents for CIA-sponsored "labor activists" and "democrats," *October Review* (5 August 1999) also rallies to the defense of the Falun Gong reactionaries against Beijing's "high-handed repression." A subsequent article even uncritically retails claims by Falun Gong followers that "their practice cured them of disease and improved their health" (*October Review*, 30 April 2000). This article also defends the Chinese Democratic Party, an openly pro-imperialist outfit based in the U.S.

Unlike *October Review*, the Pioneer group, another Hong Kong-based outfit calling itself Trotskyist, at least acknowledges that not all of Falun Gong's behavior is "totally pure and normal." Nevertheless, in a 10 February statement, Pioneer calls on "the people to rise up against the persecution of Falun Gong," particularly condemning Beijing's attempt to extend its crackdown into Hong Kong. Pioneer's concern is that "the whole self-governing right of the Hong Kong special region would be greatly damaged." We Trotskyists hailed the return of the former British colony to China, but we warned that the bureaucracy's maintenance of capitalism in Hong Kong under the rubric of "one country, two systems" was a huge threat to the economic foundations of the deformed workers state. At the same time, Beijing has allowed a degree of openness in Hong Kong as part of the reversion agreement with Britain.

It is in the direct interests of workers in the U.S. and internationally to defend the remaining deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution. It is the task of the Chinese proletariat to oust the bureaucratic caste which undermines that defense and encourages the growth of capitalist-restorationist forces. A Trotskyist party must be forged in political combat against all wings of Stalinism—neo-Maoists and "capitalist roaders" alike—and in sharp opposition to pro-imperialist "democrats."

Communist-minded workers and intellectuals can look back to the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu. At the time of the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chen was a radical democrat and linguist who had popularized the goals of emancipation and modernization, including through the literary characters "Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy." Inspired by the



WV Photo

Trotskyists fight to mobilize international proletariat to defend gains of Chinese Revolution.

Bolshevik Revolution, Chen and other leading radicals became founding members of the CCP. As part of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, the early CCP sought to wipe out oppression and obscurantism through a socialist revolution, which it saw as part and parcel of a world proletarian revolution. That is the internationalist program that will propel the best fighters against the capitalist re-enslavement of China into a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International, the embodiment of revolutionary Marxism in our time. ■

NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended, respecting a strike by cleaners who work in the building where the office is located. Please contact the NYSL at (212) 267-1025 if you are interested in meeting or picking up literature.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mumia Abu-Jamal in Peril

Judge Bars New Evidence of Innocence

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on July 26.

In a July 19 "memorandum and order," U.S. district court judge William Yohn ruled in effect that *a court of law is no place for evidence of Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence*. Yohn has barred the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he was "paid to shoot and kill" Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in December 1981, the killing for which Jamal was framed up and railroaded to death row.

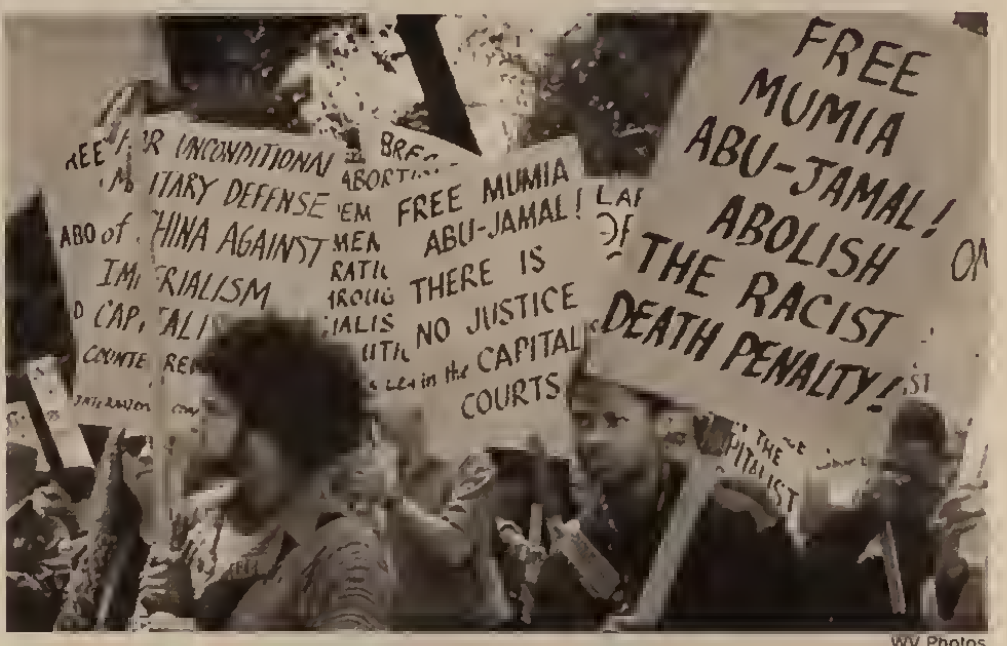
While Yohn stopped short of turning down Mumia's federal *habeas corpus* appeal outright, this ruling brings Jamal a huge step closer to the execution chamber. His fate must not be allowed to rest in the rigged scales of the racist capitalist "justice" system that perpetrated his frame-up in the first place. The Partisan Defense Committee calls on all working people, all opponents of racist injustice, all death penalty abolitionists—in the U.S. and internationally—to mobilize on the streets and in protest strikes to demand: ***Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!***

Yohn's order is wantonly malicious in every respect. Responding to a request by Jamal's new legal team that Beverly be deposed in court in order to safeguard his testimony, Yohn went far beyond that particular issue to try to bury the new evidence of Jamal's innocence, even gratuitously advising the Pennsylvania state court to reject the new Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) papers filed by Jamal earlier this month. Yohn even invokes the infamous 1993 *Herrera* decision that evidence of innocence was no bar to execution. Parroting the prosecution's line, Yohn argues:

> "I cannot conclude that petitioner has alleged information sufficient to establish that had the statements contained in the Beverly declaration been presented at trial, no reasonable juror would have found petitioner guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.... Moreover, given that the state presented evidence of four eyewitnesses, none of which corroborates Beverly's story, a reasonable juror still could have found petitioner guilty beyond a reasonable doubt."

Only yesterday, the *New York Times* (which has not breathed a word of the new evidence in Jamal's case) reported: "A Bronx man was freed from prison yesterday by a federal judge who said that he never would have been convicted of murder if the jury had known 13 years ago that a guilt-racked teenager had admitted committing the crime." The judge in that case acknowledged, "Surely the jury would have found reasonable doubt." But not the judge in Jamal's case!

Even in the face of the blatantly racist jury-rigging presided over by hanging judge Albert Sabo in Jamal's 1982 trial, Beverly's confession would have been a bombshell. Beverly asserts outright, "I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene." Beverly explains that he had been hired to kill Faulkner because the officer "was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area." In his own affidavit filed at the same time as Beverly's, Mumia states: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."



Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 12 Jamal rally in San Francisco.

WV Photos

Mobilize Labor Now to Fight for Mumia's Freedom!

Jamal, driving a taxi, arrived at the scene after Faulkner's shooting and was himself shot by a cop as he came running over after he saw his brother, Billy Cook. In another affidavit, Cook testified that when Mumia ran to the scene, "he had nothing in his hands. I heard a shot and I saw him stumble.... I had nothing to do with the shooting or killing of the police officer. My brother Mumia Abu-Jamal had nothing to do with shooting or killing the police officer."

The only "eyewitness" who claimed to see Jamal shoot Faulkner was a prostitute named Cynthia White, who was working the streets under police protection and was not seen at the site of the shooting by any other witness. White, who initially denied seeing Jamal with a gun, changed her story repeatedly to suit the D.A. and cops. Another purported witness was a cab driver who had a record for arson and was allowed to continue driving with a suspended license in exchange for his testimony; he also changed his original story. The supposed eyewitnesses constituted one of the "three legs"—all lies long since discredited—of the D.A.'s frame-up case, along with phony ballistics evidence (that did not even show that Jamal's gun had been fired the night of the killing) and a tale concocted by the cops two months after the killing that Jamal had confessed while near death in the hospital that night.

Beyond a reasonable doubt, the testimony of the prosecution's witnesses was coerced, fabricated and extracted through promises concealed from the defense. Five witnesses reported seeing a man flee the scene, just as Beverly says he did, while Jamal was on the ground with a bullet in his chest. Beverly said he wore a green camouflage jacket that night; four witnesses, including two cops, said they saw a man with a green army jacket. One, William Singletary, reported that the man who shot Faulkner was wearing a green army jacket. Neither Mumia nor his brother was wearing a green jacket. Beverly's declaration also fits with the fact that the FBI was at that time engaged in at least three investigations of police corruption in the Center City District that Faulkner patrolled. As the PCRA papers submitted by Jamal's new lawyers—Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman, Nicholas Brown and Michael Farrell—state:

> "It is difficult to conceive of any more compelling evidence of the Petitioner's actual innocence than the signed confession of the man who shot Police Officer Faulkner. It found a wealth of support and corroboration in the available evidence both in and outside the existing record. It clearly undermined every single aspect of the Commonwealth's case against the Petitioner, from the purported eyewitness testimony through the purported scientific evidence to the evidence of the alleged confession. Not only did it identify the true killer of Police Officer Faulkner, but it also provided an innocent explanation of how the Petitioner came to [be] found shot at the scene. It raised the issue of the prosecution perpetrating a fraud upon the courts, by suborning perjury."

In fact, what Yohn and the capitalist rulers he represents have concluded is that the Beverly declaration and accompanying affidavits by Jamal and Billy Cook so thoroughly expose the police frame-up and prove Mumia's innocence beyond the shadow of a doubt that they

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New Legal Defense Fund Contributions Urgently Needed!

Mumia's new legal team is challenging the frame-up with the explosive new evidence of his innocence. Your donations are urgently needed to help pursue efforts in the courts to fight for his freedom.

Send contributions earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal" to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 763 31 August 2001

Cuba Under the Gun of U.S. Imperialism

In the largest such demonstration in Cuba in over a decade, some 1.5 million people turned out in Havana for the annual July 26 rally celebrating the Cuban Revolution. This was a display of defiance by the Cuban working masses in the face of ongoing military threats and economic strangulation by U.S. imperialism.

Earlier this spring, Republican Jesse Helms and Democrat Joseph Lieberman joined in introducing a Senate bill to allocate another $100 million to fund counterrevolutionary groups within Cuba. This comes atop four decades of U.S. funding for the CIA's émigré *gusano* (worm) terrorists, who regularly carry out bombings and assassinations in Cuba. Underlining Washington's blatant support for such counterrevolutionary terror, in June a Miami court convicted five Cubans of conspiring to spy against the U.S. because they had allegedly infiltrated a Miami-based *gusano* group, Brothers to the Rescue, which is responsible for repeated provocations against Cuba. As part of our internationalist defense of the Cuban Revolution, we demand the immediate release of the five imprisoned Cubans!

We publish below an edited presentation by comrade Jon Wood given this spring at a Spartacist League public educational gathering on the West Coast.

* * *

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

Pablo Pildain Rocha

April 16: Cuban militiamen celebrate the 40th anniversary of the defeat of U.S. imperialism's mercenaries at Bay of Pigs.

The gains of the Cuban Revolution, which created a planned, collectivized economy through the expropriation of the Cuban bourgeoisie in 1960-61, must be defended by the international working class. The Cuban Revolution ripped the Caribbean island out of the grip of U.S. imperialism. Workers in the United States who stand with Cuba are standing in defiance of their own capitalist ruling class. It means something that Cuba is the only country in Latin America which is excluded from the proposed "Free Trade Area of the Americas" dominated by U.S. imperialism.

The Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of American imperialism, have worked relentlessly to undermine and overthrow the Cuban Revolution—from Democrat John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 to repeated attempts to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro, from funding counterrevolutionary terrorists based in Miami to the ongoing economic embargo imposed in 1962. We join the Cuban masses in celebrating the 40th anniversary of their victory over U.S. imperialism's mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs. We say: Down with the imperialist blockade of Cuba! We demand that the U.S. Navy get out of Guantánamo Bay, the military base on Cuba's eastern tip where over 2,000 U.S. troops are stationed. This is part of our ***unconditional military defense*** of Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

I recently traveled for a week in Cuba, centrally in the capital city of Havana. I think any honest observer can recognize that the palpable gains of the collectivized economy remain, but that these gains are being undermined under conditions of imperialist embargo and isolation. The scramble for dollars, food and medicine dominates the lives of virtually all Cubans. Combined with the nationalism fostered by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy under Castro, this generates a popular consciousness ever more distant from the revolutionary proletarian internationalism which is the Cuban Revolution's only ultimate salvation.

Before the revolution, Cuba was a brutally exploited, viciously racist neocolony of U.S. imperialism. The planned economy brought literacy, jobs, health care and education, and advancement especially for women and blacks. Cuba has a 99 percent literacy rate. Education is free at every level. Tremendous resources are devoted to health care, which is also free and renowned for scientific achievement. Life expectancy for Cubans is 75 years. Infant mortality is 7.1 per thousand, lower than in New York City and 17th best in the world. Cuba provides medical personnel throughout Latin America, sending its best students to assist the poorest countries. And thousands of students from other countries study medicine in Cuba. One night at our hotel there was a party for hundreds of medical students from the Dominican Republic.

Economic Scarcity and Growing Contradictions

With Cuba's planned economy and, for 30 years, its military and economic alliance with the Soviet Union, the Cuban masses were able to attain the highest living standards in Latin America. The Soviet Union accounted for 85 percent of Cuba's trade and provided some $4 billion a year in aid and a critical military shield against U.S. imperialism. After the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92, Cuba entered into a period of grave economic crisis and terrible hardship, which has not yet ended. The Castro bureaucracy has dubbed this a "Special Period in Time of Peace," i.e., Cuba suffers degrees of scarcity and hardship like a country at war. In particular, the USSR supplied oil at prices lower than world market prices; without oil there is not much basis for an industrial economy.

Cuba has scrambled for hard currency to purchase oil and other necessities. The government's official figure is that the economy declined 34 percent from 1991 to 1994; since then there has been a slow improvement but the economy is still well below the 1991 level. The energy situation has improved: in the depths of the crisis blackouts were regular, 8 or 16 hours per day, and even hospitals were ordered to cut energy consumption 50 percent; nowadays blackouts are no more common than here in California, where the capitalist profit system has made such a mess of the power system. But comrades who have traveled to rural areas report that the majority of plows are still pulled by oxen.

In Cuba today the general situation is scarcity. I saw this foremost in housing. In Havana in particular, housing is cramped and deteriorating, since they have not had the funds for either construction or repair. Transportation is also difficult, with 200 people or more packed on huge "camel" buses, and long lines for buses. In the worst period of the crisis, Cubans turned to bicycles. Since the upturn and the market reforms, there are some newer buses assembled by Mercedes-Benz in Cuba and many well-off petty-bourgeois types have newer

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"People Power" Fraud Is Class Treason
For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!
See Page 4

Smash the Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!
See Page 10

Espartaco photos

Mexico: Victory to VW Strike!

August 22: Mass meeting of workers at Puebla Volkswagen plant votes to continue strike.

The following is a translation of a 27 August leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM).

At precisely 11:00 a.m. on August 18, the *rojinegra* (red and black) strike banners went up at the huge Volkswagen plant in Puebla, Mexico. All production stopped as 12,500 VW workers walked out along with the many employees of VW suppliers that also work in the plant. The mood was optimistic at the site, which produced the second-highest number of cars (over 425,000) in Mexico last year, 80 percent of which were for export, mostly to the United States. The negotiations with Volkswagen had broken off, with the union of VW workers, SITIAVW, demanding a 21 percent wage increase (since lowered to 19 percent) while the federal arbitrator proposed an insulting 5.5 percent. A few days later, workers voted down VW's offer of 7 percent.

Volkswagen insists that the union wage demand is "beyond the country's economic reality." The economic reality of Mexico is that even fully employed, skilled industrial workers most often live in poverty, and that other workers, peasants and the indigenous population are even worse off. While the workers have managed to wrest 15 percent more than the industry average out of VW, they still make less than US$25 for a day's work. That the strike is costing VW US$25,000,000 per day is an indication of the level of exploitation, but also of the potential power of the workforce which produces this wealth.

The Mexican newspapers have been filled with stories about how this strike benefits Volkswagen because they need to slow down production and decrease their inventories due to the sagging automobile market in the U.S. If true, this only underlines the urgent need for international solidarity action by VW and other auto workers around the world. A winning strike that attains its wage and benefit demands, that builds proletarian solidarity in Mexico and internationally and that imbues the working class with an understanding of its tremendous social power would be a great victory for the workers and a great defeat for Volkswagen.

This strike comes at a critical time, one year after Vicente Fox, of the reactionary National Action Party (PAN), won the presidency. Fox's plans for "complete opening" of the Mexican economy to imperialism under NAFTA require the smashing of workers struggle. With the end of more than 70 years of Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) rule, there's been a loosening of the corporatist structure that tied the unions directly to the governing bourgeois party (see "Mexico: NAFTA's Man Targets Labor," *WV* No. 748, 15 December 2000). Now, under the guise of "democracy" and scab, anti-union "right to work" verbiage, the PAN—supported by the PRI and the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)—is launching a war on the unions while massively reinforcing its apparatus of state terror. This includes projected "rural guards" to smash a feared social explosion in the countryside.

Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie condemns millions to unemployment and misery. This year alone, there have been over half a million layoffs. Peasants and indigenous people are being driven off the land, forced to eke out an existence in the cities under the most horrible conditions. Significantly, peasant organizations are solidarizing with the VW strike. This strike could set the trend for labor in Mexico and set an example for workers across the world, helping to ignite international class struggle.

Break with All the Bourgeois Parties!

The starting point for a fighting workers movement mobilized in defense of its own class interests and the interest of all those at the bottom of this society—peasants, women, indigenous people—is the understanding that capitalist society is class divided. Workers are forced to sell their labor power to the property owners in order to survive. The interests of these two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are irreconcilably counterposed. The point of view of the bourgeoisie was expressed quite bluntly by Raúl Picard, the president of Canacintra, an organization of industrial owners:

> "If a union intends to direct us, it is very mistaken. We are the owners of the companies, we are the ones who risk the money and we provide well-being to the workers. At the moment that it becomes the other way around, they can pay the companies and they can do whatever they feel like, we're going somewhere else."
>
> —*La Reforma*, 22 August

Translating the widespread hatred of the bourgeoisie among the working class into the ability to fundamentally transform society is a political question. The political independence of the working class is crucial; the understanding not only that the bosses themselves are enemies, but that the bourgeois state—the police, the courts, the army—exists to defend the bourgeoisie's exploitation of labor. The state is not, and cannot be, an impartial arbiter to settle disputes. We oppose state arbitration of labor disputes. Down with the Conciliation and Arbitration Board!

The main ideological obstacle to revolutionary class consciousness of the proletariat in Mexico is bourgeois nationalism, which blurs the class line in society, preventing workers from seeing their common interests with workers around the world and sowing illusions in the Mexican bourgeoisie as potential allies. The PRD, in the face of electoral defeats and decreasing popularity, has scrambled for alliances with both the PRI and the PAN. The PRD represents that sector of the Mexican bourgeoisie that seeks to impose restrictions on imports since they are unable to compete with the imperialists, and pushes nationalism to keep the working class from rising up against its class enemy. That the PRD is no friend of the oppressed has been repeatedly shown by the PRD mayor of Mexico City, Manuel Lopez Obrador, who has been at the head of attacks against unions in the capital and wields the force of the state against students, workers and peasants in struggle.

Those unions that are not part of the corporatist PRI-affiliated CTM union federation and are often politically aligned with the PRD are erroneously referred to as "independent." The leaderships of these unions (like the SITIAVW) and the "independent" UNT union federation sow illusions in capitalism through the propagation of bourgeois nationalism and prostration before the bourgeois state. The clearest example is that SITIAVW leader José Rodriguez called on Fox's labor secretary, the reactionary, rabidly anti-worker, chauvinist pig Carlos Abascal, to intervene ("energetically," no less) in the strike!

No less than the CTM bureaucracy, the "independent" union leadership is guided by a program of class collaboration. They accept a system premised on the exploitation of labor by capital, and only within that framework (sometimes) lead struggles for the workers to get

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Anarchism and Class Collaboration

TROTSKY

LENIN

As seen in Genoa and other "anti-globalization" protests, many radicalized youth have turned to anarchism in revulsion at the social democrats who serve imperialism and the fake Marxists who tail them. But as was starkly evident in Spain in the 1930s, where the anarchists had a mass base, anarchism is counterposed to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As workers seized control of the factories and organized armed militias, directly posing a struggle for state power, the anarchist CNT (National Confederation of Labor) entered bourgeois popular-front governments in Catalonia and nationally. While a handful of left-wing anarchists joined with the Trotskyists in opposing this treachery, the main anarchist federations helped to suppress the insurgent workers and pave the way for the victory of Franco's rightist forces.

Anarchism has consistently refused to recognize the distinction between a bourgeois and workers' state. Even in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, anarchism denounced the Soviet Union as an exploiters' régime....

The false anarchist teachings on the nature of the state, it might seem, should logically have led them to refuse governmental participation in any event. Already running Catalan industry and the militias, however, the anarchists were in the intolerable position of objecting to the necessary administrative co-ordination and centralization of the work they had already begun. Their anti-statism "as such" had to be thrown off. What *did* remain, to wreak disaster in the end, was their failure to recognize the distinction between a workers' and a bourgeois state.

Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to "all dictatorships," including dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers.

—Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain* (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is August 28.

No. 763 **31 August 2001**

Reforging the Fourth International

Introducing *Spartacist South Africa*

We extend an internationalist salute to our comrades of Spartacist South Africa on the launching of their new press. Below we reprint the introductory article from the first issue, dated July 2001.

Spartacist South Africa is the first issue of the newspaper of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). We seek to build a revolutionary workers party like the Bolsheviks under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the Russian working class to power in 1917. We fight for new October Revolutions as the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society in which those who labour rule. As a fighting propaganda group, we publish our polemical press as the main way to deepen, develop and expand the Leninist vanguard party.

In South Africa, we are at the epicentre of the AIDS pandemic. HIV/AIDS is spreading exponentially around the world, with the overwhelming majority of the 36 million people infected with the disease concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. The scope of the AIDS disaster threatens the survival of the human species in the cradle of mankind. We have therefore devoted this extraordinary first issue of *Spartacist South Africa* to the battles unfolding over HIV/AIDS—an agonising and polarising social crisis that is tearing the country apart. In so doing, we lay bare the anti-working-class, anti-woman, anti-poor nature of the bourgeois-nationalist African Nationalist Congress-led capitalist government. This pamphlet brings together dispatches from South Africa with two other related articles, all of which were originally published in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the American section of the ICL. We seek to break the wall of silence surrounding AIDS, which threatens the most economically active sections of the population, the newly born and African women especially.

Every step of the search for any treatment for HIV/AIDS has been undermined by the profit-driven capitalist system and the backward, racist, anti-gay and anti-woman ideologies it spawns. People with AIDS are viciously stereotyped, ostracised and stigmatised. Because it is a sexually transmitted disease, the repressive taboos, guilt and shame over sex that subjugate women in the repressive bourgeois family play a key role in sabotaging any scientific approach to a cure for AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). In Africa, like other parts of the so-called Third World, women often have very little control over their reproductive lives. How many children they have, or whether to have sex with a condom—many women have very little say over these matters. Rape and other forms of sexual violence also contribute enormously to the HIV epidemic. Some AIDS sufferers blame a girlfriend or wife for "witching" them with the disease. *Lobola* (bride price) treats women in southern Africa as chattel to he sold from father to husband. Female genital mutilation is still practised openly in rural areas and secretly in the townships. Polygamy based on the economic subordination of women still occurs.

Women who have talked openly about the HIV/AIDS epidemic courageously challenge deeply patriarchal customs where any woman mentioning sexual life runs contrary to "tradition." After announcing she was HIV-positive on World AIDS Day in December 1998, activist Gugu Dlamini was beaten to death by a rabid mob in eastern KwaZulu-Natal. We wrote "Brutal Murder of South African AIDS Activist" in February 1999 [see *WV* No. 706, 5 February 1999], which to our knowledge was the first protest statement in the country.

South African President Thabo Mbeki's anti-scientific diatribes—reflecting the ANC bourgeois-nationalist government policy—have sparked bigoted attacks on people infected with AIDS and ignited a furore at the international conference on AIDS in Durban in July 2000. Following the AIDS conference, comrade Karen Cole of Spartacist South Africa presented a talk, "South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis" [*WV* No. 749, 5 January], which takes head-on the ignorant statements challenging scientific evidence that HIV causes AIDS and underlines the need for international socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist exploiters.

Since then, broad protests drawing in unionists, gays, women, blacks and youth around the world have focussed attention on the fight for cheap anti-retroviral drugs. Extortionate Western drug companies have sought to protect patent rights and super-profits by overcharging millions who are dying from the disease. Integrated demonstrations in March demanded access to affordable treatment and drugs, pitting people against the capitalist system, which in its drive for profits necessarily exacerbates the AIDS pandemic ravaging sub-Saharan Africa. The first article in the paper, "South Africa: Thousands Protest Drug Monopolies, Mbeki Regime" [*WV* No. 759, 25 May], looks at the South African events and includes a polemic against the reformists of "Labor's Militant Voice" in the U.S., who were linked to the Democratic Socialist Movement in South Africa (formerly Marxist Workers Tendency). These small-time social democrats retail anti-scientific obscurantism, reinforcing social backwardness in the U.S. and falling in line behind the reactionary crusade of the anti-gay bigots.

Although the pharmaceutical giants

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SPARTACIST SOUTH AFRICA
No. 1 July 2001 R1.50

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— "People Power" Fraud Is Class Treason —

For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!

Two years after his overwhelming election as Philippine president on a platform promising jobs, cheap food and housing, capitalist politician Joseph "Erap" Estrada was ousted on January 19 in a "People Power" military coup. Backed by the powerful Catholic church and the bourgeoisie centered on the Makati Business Club, the coup was cheered by the reformist left.

Angered by corruption, political ineptitude and the growing influence of ethnic Chinese businessmen in the Estrada government, the bourgeois oligarchs and their imperialist patrons decided it was time to pull the plug on the former matinee idol and install Vice President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. The right-wing American think tank Strategic Forecasting, Inc. last year described Arroyo as an anti-China hawk who would strengthen military ties with U.S. imperialism, overseers of the Philippines neocolony.

As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* wryly noted, the Arroyo takeover is a demonstration of "rich people's power." Nothing could be more true. Arroyo is the daughter of former president Diosdado P. Macapagal, who is remembered for opening the country to greater imperialist investment. She is married to a pedigreed member of one of the Philippines' wealthiest landowning families. In 1986, Arroyo became undersecretary of trade in the government of *hacienderа* (large landowner) Corazon Aquino, who took power that year as a result of the first "People Power" coup, which overthrew the brutal dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Subsequently, as senator during the term of former general Fidel Ramos, another central "People Power" figure, she was key to the Philippines' entry into the World Trade Organization and the deregulation of the oil industry.

Speaking of Arroyo's ascension to power, retired air force general and coup plotter Eduardo Abenina told the *Los Angeles Times* (22 January), "The Philippine people like to call it 'people power' but in fact it was a coup." Yet the alphabet soup of organizations that make up the Philippine left—from the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) of Jose Maria Sison to its breakaway groups, including the Socialist Party of Labor (SPP)—hailed "People Power Two" as a "victory for the people." These fake leftists portray the outcome of the January coup as a general weakening of capitalist rule, thus supposedly making the bourgeois state easier to pressure to act in the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Far from this, the coup that installed Arroyo can only enormously strengthen the hand of the capitalist state, enabling the bourgeoisie to more effectively attack the working class, minorities and the poor.

The bourgeois state is not a "neutral" agency which can be pressured to act in the interests of the masses. As Lenin stated in *The State and Revolution*, "The state is an organ of class rule," consisting at its core of armed bodies of men—the military, the police and the prison system. The only "public interest" that the capitalist state serves is the interests of the bourgeoisie. The capitalist state is an instrument of repression against the workers and the oppressed which must be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state.

Reuters photos

AFP

Filipino reformist groups joined with capitalists in "People Power II" campaign that ousted "Erap" Estrada as president in January and installed aristocrat Gloria Arroyo.

Arroyo Is Bad News for Workers and Poor

Seven months following the coup, the emboldened Philippine bourgeoisie is riding roughshod over the masses of this impoverished Southeast Asian country. The Arroyo government is determined to push through measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund bloodsuckers to accelerate privatization, impose huge budget cuts and deregulate the Social Security system, public education, social services and water and power generation. This means slashing thousands of union jobs, driving down wages, gutting already severely limited pensions and benefits, driving up prices and utility rates and intensifying imperialist exploitation.

The working class and the poor have not taken these attacks lying down. In June, power workers demanding better conditions in central Philippines cut off electricity, plunging the entire Eastern Samar province into darkness. Combined with strikes that shut down Yokohama Tires and the country's two Toyota auto plants, labor unrest at Fuji Xerox, Ajinomoto and Honda factories has prompted the Japanese imperialists to threaten the withdrawal of investment unless the government cracks down on the unions. Social Security workers carried out a nationwide strike on July 31.

With four in every ten Filipinos—over 30 million people—living below the poverty threshold compared to only three in every ten before the outbreak of the Asian economic crisis in 1997, the archipelago is a hothouse of rebellion. Demonstrations by the urban poor and by peasants occur regularly, and campuses throughout the country have been rocked by continuous walkouts protesting tuition hikes and demanding the abolition of the compulsory ROTC program.

U.S. imperialism has moved to extend its military presence in the Philippines, seeking to enforce "stability" throughout Southeast Asia and to assist Washington's interests against Japan. The American military presence is also a dagger at the throat of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Arroyo has invited the U.S. to reoccupy the bases it abandoned shortly after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The Ramos regime had already allowed U.S. military forces back into the Philippines under the 1998 Visiting Forces Agreement, which was supported by Estrada.

U.S. imperialism's subjugation of the Philippines began when it stole the archipelago from Spain in the 1898 Spanish-American War. After gaining nominal independence following World War II, the Philippines remained a semicolonial vassal of the U.S., serving as a linchpin of the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance. The Philippines provided strategic bases like Clark and Subic Bay for U.S. imperialism's savage counterrevolutionary war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in the 1960s and '70s.

Today, as the imperialists stoke the drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China and the other remaining deformed workers states, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies which are paving the way toward capitalist restoration.

Arroyo's Police-State Repression

With class polarization sharpening and social unrest threatening to undermine the stability of this U.S. neocolony, Arroyo has swiftly moved to stamp out dissent. Among the first acts of the government were to ban a film on workers in the sex industry and to send tanks to a television station in order to stop coverage of a mammoth opposition rally at the Edsa shrine, the site of earlier mass protests against the Marcos and Estrada regimes.

The climate of police-state terror continues unabated, marked by the murder of Workers Party (PM) founding members Filemon Lagman, national chairman of the BMP union, and Manuel Ibe, a BMP local president. Several leaders and supporters of the Socialist Workers Movement and the Sisonite Bayan Muna (Nation First) party have been abducted or arrested.

On May Day, the government declared a "state of rebellion" in the capital and deployed troops against plebeian protesters attempting to march on the presidential palace. The protesters had been egged on by the pro-Estrada bourgeois opposition, which sought to launch a third edition of "People Power" following Estrada's arrest on corruption charges. The military repression resulted in four deaths and hundreds of injuries and arrests. The same emergency powers are being used today in stepping up state terror in western Mindanao, where the army has started a massive roundup of Muslims on the pretext of going after the Abu Sayyaf insurgents, who have made headlines around the world with their kidnapping of tourists in the past couple of years.

Bloody repression on Mindanao and the displacement of its Moro (Muslim) population dates back to U.S. colonial rule, which established Christian settlements in an attempt to displace the local peasantry. The expropriation and marginalization of the Muslim population intensified in the post-colonial era, escalating especially during the Marcos regime, which attempted to put an end to the "Muslim question" by overwhelming the Moro population with migrants. While in 1903 Muslims constituted 76 percent of

AP

Four were killed in government crackdown against plebeian pro-Estrada protesters in Manila on May Day.

the population of Mindanao, today they make up less than 20 percent. The oppression and dispossession of Muslims have fueled secessionist insurgencies.

We say: *Drop the charges against the anti-Arroyo protesters! Free all leftist and class-war prisoners! Down with the military occupation of Mindanao—Troops out!*

Amid all the restlessness and bourgeois reaction sits a new Congress elected in May in the bloodiest campaign the country had seen in 15 years. Gunfights, arson at polling stations and attacks on rallies during and after the elections left 98 people dead and scores injured. Close to a million first-time voters found themselves robbed of the right to suffrage when the government refused to let them register for the polls.

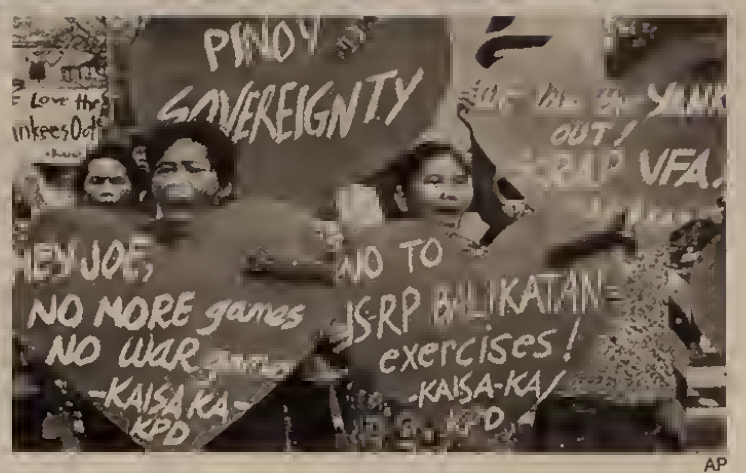
Among pending bills is the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001 pushed by opposition Senator Panfilo Lacson, whose trail of blood and torture dates from the Marcos dictatorship and continued in his role as Estrada's chief of the Philippine National Police and the equally murderous Presidential Anti-Organized Crime Task Force. Parliamentary democracy in this impoverished semicolonial country is terribly fragile. But while the bourgeoisie remains divided and threatens to tear itself apart, its competing wings are agreed on one thing—the need to repress the workers and the poor. What the Philippine working class needs is not more "People Power," but proletarian power.

The Philippine left has repeatedly betrayed the interests of the proletariat by chaining the workers to the cart of the bourgeoisie. In the 1998 elections, the left groups either tailed Estrada or refrained from opposing him, giving their supporters the signal to vote for "Erap." The Sisonite KMU union federation even invited Estrada and other presidential wannabes to their May Day rally in downtown Manila. Teddy Casiño, secretary general of the BAYAN group, which is also associated with the CPP, would later admit on television that he voted for Estrada.

SANLAKAS, a breakaway from the CPP headed by Filemon Lagman, joined an Estrada rally in Manila's Rizal Park to cheer for Lagman's brother Edcel, who was running for senator on the Estrada ticket. The SPP's predecessor, the Liga Sosyalista, greeted the election results with a front-page headline in its newspaper *Progresibo* No. 5 (July/August 1998): "Progressives Close Ranks: Extend the Gains of the Elections!" Padayon—a group identified with Ricardo Reyes, former editor of the CPP organ *Ang Bayan*—entered the Estrada government, its leader Steve Quiambao becoming undersecretary of agrarian reform. But it did not take very long for such reformists to distance themselves from Estrada and cast about for a new bourgeois "liberal" ally.

This year's edition of "People Power" is a replay of the events that saw the downfall of Marcos and installed the wealthy landowner Aquino as president 15 years before. The January coup against Estrada was the culmination of a carefully crafted campaign blessed by the Catholic church, financed by the Makati Business Club, directed by a cabal of politicians including two former presidents and secured by the military officer caste. The Stalinist and social-democratic left was given the task of bringing the "warm bodies." The Sisonites and the

USAF



AP

After closing Clark Air Base (above), U.S. imperialism is rebuilding military presence in Philippines. Manila protest against U.S.-Philippine war games, February 2000.

AKBAYAN coalition—consisting of disillusioned ex-Stalinists, left nationalists and "Christian socialists"—took it further by canceling their May Day rallies and crawling to a government-sponsored rally at Edsa while the blood of pro-Estrada protesters was still fresh on the streets of downtown Manila.

Full Equallty for Minorities! For Women's Liberation!

The anti-Estrada protests and subsequent events have been shot through with Philippine nationalism and religious reaction. As in Indonesia, the ethnic Chinese are simultaneously represented in the bourgeoisie and subjected to vile racist persecution. Dating back to four centuries of Spanish and U.S. colonial rule, anti-Chinese racism has exploded in bloody pogroms three times in the last 80 years. The Philippines' ethnic Chinese population was subjected to hideous atrocities by the Japanese imperialist occupiers during World War II. In the two decades following the war, hundreds who fought with the Stalinist-led Hukbalahap guerrillas or sympathized with the 1949 Revolution that overthrew capitalism in China were either victimized by the state or deported to Guomindang jails in Taiwan.

Chinese-bashing, which is common in the bourgeois media, is echoed both by liberals .and the fake left. None of the opportunist left protested when celebrated Philippine novelist F. Sionil Jose declared in an article in *Today*, a newspaper run by former Aquino press secretary Teodoro Locsin Jr., that to be "pro-Filipino is to be anti-Chinese." Catholic moral reaction intersected anti-Chinese chauvinism during protests by Sisonite youth groups against Macao-based casino owner and Estrada associate Stanley Ho. For their part, the Lagmanites paraded through Chinatown bearing animal effigies representing Estrada's ethnic Chinese cronies. After Arroyo accused 18 ethnic Chinese businessmen of financing the pro-Estrada demonstration on May 1, the Sisonites demanded that the government immediately round them up. The entire fake left had earlier turned a blind eye to the arrests of ethnic Chinese shopkeepers when tensions with China were heightened over the Spratleys, a chain of rocky islets and reefs straddling strategic South China Sea routes whose ownership is disputed by China and the Philippines, among others.

Anti-Chinese racism cuts through all layers of society. The Arroyo government is particularly keen on persecuting the ethnic Chinese (Chinoy) minority, among whom Estrada had many close allies. The Chinese community raised a storm of protest when Arroyo picked as chief of police intelligence a general with known ties to a kidnap gang victimizing ethnic Chinese. In the wake of the rising number of Chinoy abductions, Arroyo publicly accused the family of one kidnap victim of staging the whole thing as part of a destabilization plot against the government. Guillermo Wojo, who was born on the Chinese mainland and was serving as Arroyo's chief of the Navy, was hounded from the service for supposedly violating the military code of conduct. Wojo was in the process of uncovering corruption when the Marines demanded his ouster, which comes in the context of greater U.S. belligerence against China. We say: *Dawn with anti-Chinese racist poisan! Full equality for ethnic and religious minorities!*

In Mindanao, the Stalinist left's accommodation to Christian and Muslim religious reaction has combined with the bankruptcy of the Moro National Liberation Front's petty-bourgeois nationalism to drive Bangsamoro youth into the arms of Islamic fundamentalism. This is particularly marked by the imposition of the *kumbong* (headscarf) on Muslim women, a practice reinforced by the recognition of *sharia* (Islamic law) by the Philippine bourgeoisie. Marxists fight for full equality for minorities and for the integration of the Muslim toilers into the working class. Muslims face heavy discrimination and, like many people of Chinese origin, often change their names simply in order to get a job. At the same time, Marxists must combat pre-capitalist patriarchal practices like polygamy, the bride price and the veil which treat women like property.

The woman question is a central and explosive issue in this 80 percent Catholic country. While large numbers of women have been drawn into the workforce in recent years, they have been hardest hit as unemployment climbs in the spreading economic crisis. The 1987 constitution promulgated under Aquino includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world, and access to birth control has been severely limited by cuts in the public health budget, high prices and opposition from the Catholic church. A bill to legalize divorce has raised a howl of rage from the Catholic hierarchy and from Arroyo herself, whose condemnation of the measure as "un-Filipino and immoral" demonstrates the close-knit relationship between Filipino nationalism and Catholic religious morality.

It is necessary to fight for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all, as well as for free 24-hour childcare. Marxists call for strict separation of church and state and oppose every manifestation of discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. Religious backwardness—whether Catholic, Muslim or any other—serves to bolster the family, the key institution for the oppression of women in class society.

To even begin to emancipate women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression, the system of capitalist exploitation must be swept away through socialist revolution, which must be extended internationally, creating a worldwide planned, collectivized economy. The International Communist League seeks to build an internationalist vanguard party to act as a tribune of the people, mobilizing the proletariat in defense of all the oppressed against the common class enemy. Particularly in Asia, the fight for the emancipation of women is a key component of this perspective. *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*

For Proletarian Class Independence!

In the epoch of capitalist decay, the bourgeoisies of the countries of the "Third World" are incapable of carrying out the tasks associated historically with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, including expropriation of landed estates. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1929):

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses....
>
> "The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet."

Underscoring the potential for revolutionary working-class struggle has been the growth of a young, militant proletariat due to industrial investment in the Philippines by the U.S., Japan and other countries.

In warning against illusions in the first "People Power" movement, we wrote: "Many a Third World nationalist regime has sought to protect its left flank by bringing the Communists into a 'democratic (or anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc.) coalition government,' only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow" ("Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!" *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986). What is necessary is a programmatic break with all variants of the Menshevik-Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution," which subordinates the proletariat to a mythical "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for "democratic" capitalism while forever putting off the struggle for socialism. From the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was drowned in blood by Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist Guomindang, to the slaughter of Indonesian Communists by Suharto's military and fundamentalist gangs in 1965, history has repeatedly demonstrated that "two-stage revolution" means bloody defeat for the working class and the oppressed.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Our Trotskyist perspective is opposed by the ostensible left groups in the Philippines, whose family tree stems from

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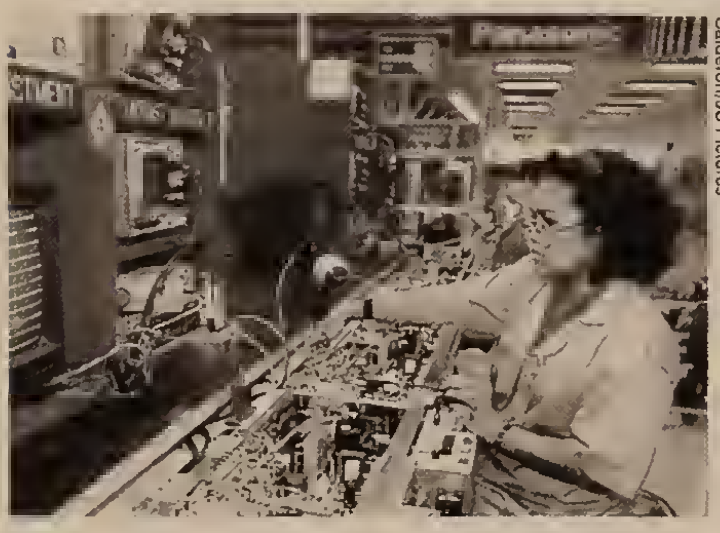


Calderon/JB Pictures

Panasonic factory in Philippines. Women drawn into workforce by imperialist investment have been hard hit by Asian economic crisis.

Young Spartacus

Building a Communist Youth Movement

Over a two-week period this June, members from the Spartacus Youth Clubs in the U.S., as well as youth of the International Communist League (ICL) came to our central office in New York for a maintenance work-in. The event was part of our fight to counter the psychology and social habit inculcated in class-divided societies that says you'll either be an intellectual or a manual laborer, but not both. Our goal is to eradicate the pretentious bourgeois division between manual and mental labor, which the capitalist ruling class uses to justify its place at the top of society.

During the work-in our comrades participated in many activities, including work to maintain and upgrade our office, creating indexes for bound volumes of our propaganda and attending a series of classes on the history of the ICL. This work-in was modeled on similar events held in 1996, 1997 and 1998, which were largely realized through the work of our late comrade Susan Adams, who was for years a leader of our national youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League, and then of the ICL. Susan was in the forefront of training youth to become professional revolutionaries, and we are proud to carry on that tradition.

These two weeks of work and education served a dual purpose. The first was the physical preservation of our organization's office and equipment necessary to carry out our work with Bolshevik professionalism. The second was to combat the false view that there is a natural division between manual and mental labor. Many of the members of the SYC were recruited at high schools and universities, and assaulted with this false consciousness during the course of their education. The youth maintenance weeks included both manual and mental labor, an expression of the abilities necessary to carry out our program.

As was noted by comrade Jim Robertson at a conference of the SL/U.S. in 1994 (reprinted as "Maintenance and the Communist Movement" in *WV* No. 605, 2 September 1994), under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exists "the bourgeois dichotomy between the doer and the thinker, the blue and the white collar, work and leisure, dirty and clean, menial and advantaged." But "if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual. And if you don't know what to do with your hands, you are an ignorant person, and you are certainly not a physical scientist or an engineer."

He noted that "a good journeyman, without the engineering or scientific overview, necessarily bumps against a conceptual ceiling and must be frustrated. I think that Bukharin, in one of his speculative books, suggested that with the victory of the working class and the development into higher stages of socialism, the last residue of previous class-divided society to be shattered would be the monopoly of the petty-bourgeois-derived intellectual skills, and that after that we, increasingly united as a species, would be on the road to communism."

Young Spartacus

SYCers at work in Prometheus Research Library during summer maintenance work-in.

Educational Work-In

The Physical Components of the Work-In

Our headquarters was made cleaner and easier to use. This included purging and reorganizing files in the various departments of our office, in the course of which youth learned an important skill and became familiarized with the different aspects of our work, like writing and producing our newspaper, circulating our press and physically maintaining the offices. Youth who had never been to New York got to do sales at the various campuses like Columbia University and the City University of New York. The comrades in our maintenance department taught SYCers how to install shelving units, wax floors, paint walls, and many other skills essential to the physical preservation of our office. Our young women comrades participated equally in all areas of this work. Battling the special oppression of women is central to our political program for workers revolution. Under capitalism women are discouraged from learning such valuable skills, and they are largely relegated to "women's work"—household drudgery and rearing the next generation. Within our party, we fight to undo the degradation society subjects women to, and our female members are trained to become leaders both of our organization and of the revolutionary movement generally.

We organized internal bulletins for youth to buy so that the SYCers could become familiar with the history of our party. We also catalogued and packaged extra copies of many Marxist works and other books for our International Secretariat (I.S.) to distribute to sections of the ICL to build up their libraries. Comrades from maintenance gave informative classes on electricity and plumbing. One of the most important facts noted was that without practical skills such as these we could not even have our own offices, and without them our organizational existence would be severely hampered.

One of the themes of this work-in was the preservation of the history of our international tendency, and a project at the heart of this was the indexing of our propaganda. Youth comrades were trained in how to make a subject index for bound volumes of our press, reviewing the indexes from bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and other Marxist newspapers. Youth from ICL sections, including the Spartacist League/Britain and its youth organization, the Spartacus Youth Group, worked on the index for the first bound volume of our British newspaper, *Spartacist Britain* (now called *Workers Hammer*). The other projects were the indexes for the third and fourth bound volumes of *Young Spartacus*, the paper of the Spartacus Youth League when it was a national organization, politically subordinate to but organizationally independent of the SL/U.S.

Unlike many of our reformist opponents whose opportunism causes them to fear that what they hail at one moment (like the Islamic holy warriors in Afghanistan or the Polish "union" Solidarność) will make them unpopular the next, we are proud of our record of programmatic positions and make this history available to help educate future generations of revolutionaries. Additionally, SYCers helped collate the papers and index to produce the first bound volume of French-language *Spartacist*.

The Bolshevik Tradition of Educating the Youth

Almost every night after a long day of productive labor, a senior member of the SL would give a different class on the development of our international tendency. The classes covered the political fights that forged the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party (which later became the SL), the early extension of our party to Australia, the origins of the international Spartacist tendency (predecessor to the ICL), and other important events in the struggle to extend our organization internationally. We talked about the way our sections were forged, which was through polemi-

Spartacist Forums

The Fall of the Soviet Union and its Aftermath: A Trotskyist Analysis

Saturday, September 8, 3 p.m.
University of Illinois, Circle Center, Rm. 501-2
750 South Halsted Street
For more information: (312) 563-0441

CHICAGO

Reparations, Black Oppression and Racist Witchhunts on Campus
Workers Revolution: The Road to Black Freedom

Wednesday, September 19, 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University, 116th Street and Broadway
(take 1 or 9 train to 116th Street stop)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Marxism vs. Anarchism

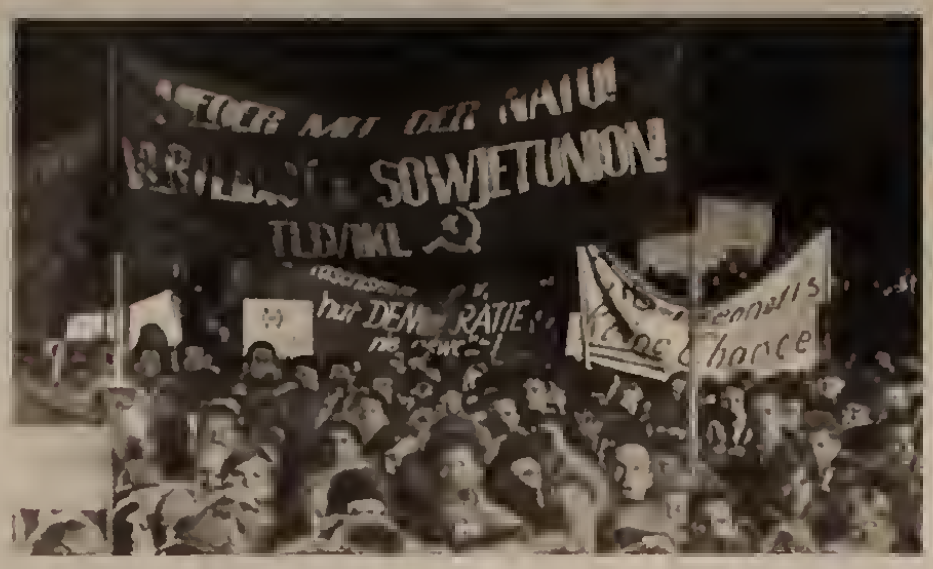
Wednesday, September 12, 5:30 p.m.
York University
Student Centre, Room 430
For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

cal combat exposing the opportunism of other currents laying claim to Trotskyism to win over the best elements of those groups.

SL Central Committee member George Foster gave a Trotskyist analysis of how the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state was strangled, specifically on the events surrounding Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary bid for power in August 1991. This was of particular importance to youth work because the SYCs are recruiting a new generation of politicized youth that has come to political consciousness after the fall of the Soviet Union. This means that the Russian question for them is posed in a more abstract manner than for our comrades who grew up with the USSR in existence.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 took the Marxist doctrine of proletarian revolution out of the realm of theory and gave it flesh and blood. However, though the revolution was successful and for the first time in history the working class had taken power, the pressure of being invaded by 14 imperialist armies, the devastation of the country during the Civil War, the virtual destruction of the proletariat, and the failure of the revolution to spread allowed a bureaucratic



Spartakist photos

3 January 1990 mass protest in East Berlin initiated by German Spartakists against Nazi desecration of Red Army monument in Treptow Park. ICL intervention in East Germany and USSR to mobilize workers against capitalist counterrevolution was focus of educational.

WV Photo

Columbia, SC: SYCers attended June 9 rally at State House in defense of Charleston Five, longshoremen under arrest for defending their union picket line against massive cop attack in January 2000.

layer headed by Stalin to usurp political power from the workers in 1923-24. The repeated betrayals by the bureaucracy and the pressure of imperialist encirclement led to capitalist counterrevolution almost 70 years later.

At the time of Yeltsin's coup in August 1991, we said the restoration of capitalism was not a foregone conclusion as the Soviet working class had not yet been heard from. As we stated in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* No. 54, Spring 1998), "Spartacists distributed throughout the Soviet Union over 100,000 copies in Russian of our August 1991 article 'Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!'" As Trotskyists, we called for a proletarian political revolution to defeat the counterrevolution and return the Soviet workers to political power which they held in the early days of the Communist International. We called for ***unconditional military defense of the USSR***, the same as we do today in the case of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

The ICL proved to be the *only* group on the left with a genuine communist program, as virtually every "socialist" group stood on the *other side* of the barricades, joining U.S. capitalism in support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Atomized and with its socialist consciousness destroyed by years of Stalinist nationalism, the Soviet working class did not rally in resistance, and thus in the end the events of August 1991 proved decisive in determining the fate of the Soviet Union.

To concretize the theme of our genuine Leninist internationalism, we also had classes on our current work. A comrade from the Spartacist League/Britain gave a presentation about our campaign in the recent British elections of critical support to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party, against Tony Blair's New Labour which is currently administering British imperialism (see *WV* No. 762, 3 August). There was also a class on current Japanese society by a member of the Spartacist Group Japan. SYC members attended a meeting of the International Secretariat which included discussion on events such as the Berber uprising in Algeria and the possible fusion of the fake-Trotskyist French section of the "United" Secretariat with the Labourite British Socialist Workers Party.

Reforge a Revolutionary National Youth Organization!

The work-in culminated in a weekend where projects were temporarily suspended for a meeting of the Youth Commission, which was attended by members not only from the U.S., but also by comrades of all the sections who were present. It was here that our youth clubs' perspectives for intervention into the world during the next period were laid out. Comrade Joseph Seymour also gave a two-part class on the American left from the Korean War in the 1950s to the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, which included sections on the Cold War, liberalism, the civil rights movement, the New Left, Maoism and "revolutionary" black nationalism. The class examined the development of the consciousness of the student radicals during this period. This class was important for those of us who did not live through the period, as it imbued youth members with a sense that the present reactionary political climate has not always been and will not last forever.

With SYCs around the country growing in size and capacity, the perspective of reforging a national youth organization was a backdrop to the discussion. The main report described three central components of what this will mean: a politically capable leadership, our own newspaper, and a uniform, professional system of treasury. The importance of the *Young Spartacus* pages as the scaffolding for the building of that organization was given specific attention in another report, which was on our perspectives on propaganda production during the next period.

To underscore the importance of our press, comrade Seymour also gave a writers' workshop where the youth were given a fictional scenario of events surrounding a strike and assigned to write an agitational leaflet. Seymour laid out that the crucial tasks in the writing of any material—be it propagandistic or agitational in nature—are figuring out how to address the intended audience and motivating action. After all of the drafts were turned in and reviewed, comrades were given critiques, which helped to improve our writing skills. We also met for a session of work at the Prometheus Research Library on how to do research for an article, and the procedures for checking facts, sources and dates.

The fight for black freedom was a large part of discussion both at the Youth Commission and informally. Much of the discussion centered on our work against the racist death penalty and for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. We passed motions laying out the work that should be done to publicize the new evidence of Mumia's innocence introduced by his new legal defense team on May 4 (see "New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits," *WV* No. 758, 11 May). Comrades also noted that there is a need for propaganda that intersects the issues of debate among the black intelligentsia like Angela Davis and Manning Marable, which is reflected in the high schools and on college campuses. This means winning to the Trotskyist program of ***revalutianary integrationism*** those radicalized black youth looking for an alternative to the pipe dream of liberal integrationism espoused by Democratic Party hacks like Jesse Jackson, or of the reactionary schemes for "black capitalism." As materialists, we acknowledge the fact that the black population in this country is a ***specially appressed race-calar caste***, integrated into key sectors of the industrial proletariat in the United States but forcibly segregated at the bottom rungs of society. We see that black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism, which negates the lie pushed by liberals that black people can achieve equality without challenging the system that keeps them in shackles.

At the close of the Youth Commission meeting, we all rose and sang the "Internationale," traditional song of the international workers movement, in honor of comrade Susan Adams. The SYCs are aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of our work in the U.S. and internationally by serving as a training ground for the next generation of Marxist revolutionaries. Comrade Robertson pointed out in his remarks in "Maintenance and the Communist Movement": "In order to change the world, you have to be able to change it, not merely learn something to write about it." The work-in made the SYCs more capable of changing the world, and we invite any youth who wants to end the destruction and exploitation caused by capitalism to join us in our fight for world socialist revolution!■

Spartacist Forums

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

The Fight Is On: Mobilize to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

BAY AREA
Saturday, September 15, 4 p.m.
YWCA of Oakland, Lounge Room
1515 Webster Street, Oakland
For more information (510) 839-0851 or (415) 395-9520

BOSTON
Saturday, September 15, 3 p.m.
Location to be announced.
For more information: (617) 666-9453

VANCOUVER
Trotskyist League Forum
Saturday, September 29, 3 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Rm. L3
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, September 22, 4 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue, Hollywood
(one block east of Vermont, near Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Genoa...

(continued from page 16)

marching behind a banner reading, "Down With the Imperialist Butchers! Workers to Power Worldwide!" The putative left organizations who also participated in this demonstration came not out of solidarity with the Black Bloc anarchists against the organized violence of the bourgeois state but to demonstrate to their Social Democratic masters their own "peaceful, legal" credentials.

In contrast, SpAD placards proclaimed, "The Witchhunt Against the Black Bloc Plays into the Hands of SPD Top Cop Schily." Indeed, interior minister Otto Schily and his Italian counterpart Claudio Scajola have called on other European Union (EU) governments to join in a multinational "Riot Police Squad" to target "violent rampagers." The same day as the protests in Berlin and elsewhere, a front-page article in the London *Independent* headlined, "EU's Secret Network to Spy on Anti-Capitalists," noting that this would involve "an unprecedented degree of surveillance." In the U.S., $30 million has been allocated for "security," including the deployment of an additional 3,000 cops, to suppress protests in Washington, D.C. against a meeting of the International Monetary Fund beginning September 29.

We Need a "Power-Hungry Vanguard" to Smash the Capitalist State!

A statement by a German anarchist *autonome* on the Indymedia Web site described a late-July meeting in Berlin on Genoa:

> "The meeting was organized by ostensible marxists. The speakers at the podium agitated against the Black Bloc.... Even police officers in Italy were accused of being anarchists. Among these marxist organizations was only one that defended the anarchists: Spartakist."

Following the August 20 Berlin rally, the German Indymedia site was filled with complaints from anarchists about how prominent Spartakist signs, chants and soapboxing speeches were at the protest. The "power-hungry vanguard," observed one anarchist, would not have been "so dominant if 'we' had not been so few," noting he "did not see a single [anarchist] placard."

It is a telling statement that the anarchists who are the immediate target of state repression are politically disarmed in the face of this sinister witchhunt. Genoa provided a concrete and murderous demonstration of the highly organized and ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state. To prevail against that might requires an organized and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule—the proletariat. Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate mankind from oppression. The purpose of a revolutionary party is to infuse the proletariat with that understanding. That was a lesson learned by the best elements of the anarchist movement in the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Leading anarchists such as Victor Serge traveled to Soviet Russia to support the new workers state. In a letter to his French anarchist friends, he motivated the need for a Leninist party:

> "It is the revolutionary elite, powerfully organised, disciplined, obeying a consistent direction, marching towards a single clearly defined goal along the paths traced for it by a scientific doctrine. Being such a force, the party is the product of the necessity, that is the laws of history itself. That revolutionary elite which in a time of violence remains unorganised, undisciplined, without consistent direction and open to variable or contradictory impulses, is heading for suicide."
>
> —*La Vie ouvrière*, 21 March 1922, reprinted in Cotteril, ed., *The Serge-Trotsky Papers* (1994)

It is little wonder that many radical youth embrace anarchism out of revulsion against a social-democratic left which masquerades as Marxist. But revulsion and anger are not a guide to action. The anarchists embrace a latter-day version of the "propaganda of the deed" of a century ago, the idea that their acts of moral courage will impel others to emulate them and thus build a mass movement against capitalism. It is no accident that those drawn to anarchism are largely white, middle-class youth. Self-sacrifice and individual heroics are not very inspiring to young workers and the oppressed for whom brutal exploitation and cop terror are a daily reality. What is needed is a party like that of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks which can inspire the working people and oppressed with the prospect of victory over the system that is the source of their exploitation and repression.

The resurgence of anarchism is a byproduct of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe a decade ago. In an ideological climate conditioned by the imperialist rulers' celebration of the "death of communism" and derision of Marxism as a "failed experiment," it is not surprising that there is something of a revival of anarchist sympathies among radicalized youth. These run the gamut from those who genuinely want to fight for the overthrow of imperialist rule to those who see the imperialist powers as a potential force to bring "freedom" to the oppressed masses around the globe to outright anti-communist thugs. What they all share is opposition to any state, including the dictatorship of the proletariat—the necessary first step toward the withering away of the state through the creation of a classless communist society.

Echoing the lies of the capitalist rulers, the anarchists equate the remaining workers states with the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies that threaten their very existence. At the August 20 demonstration in Berlin, the SpAD Revolutionary Contingent carried signs proclaiming: "Defend China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea Against Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!" It is a testament to the gains achieved through the establishment of a planned economy, however bureaucratically mismanaged, that while the rest of the Caribbean is mired in poverty and starvation, Cuba has a literacy rate of 99 percent, an infant mortality rate that is less than New York City's, and free health care. And the victory of imperialist-backed counterrevolution in China would throw women back to the bondage of the past and reduce a population of 1.2 billion to abject penury. Just look at the former Soviet Union, where the victory of capitalist counterrevolution has brought untold misery. A devastating measure of the effects of the destruction of this former workers state can be seen in the fact that life expectancy has dropped by ten years.

The imperialists' military and economic might is aimed at the destruction of those workers states that still exist. What stands in the way of their defense is the ruling bureaucracies whose nationalist program of trying to find "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist rulers has undermined the gains of these revolutions and blocked the road to their extension internationally. We Trotskyists fight to defend and extend the enormous gains embodied in the planned, collectivized economies, particularly through their extension to the imperialist centers. Achieving that aim requires a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist misrulers that sit atop the deformed workers states and building a revolutionary communist international like that established by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

Reuters

July 20: Riot cops in Genoa charge past body of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani, gunned down in cold blood.

The Real Face of Capitalist Democracy

The left's cynical denunciations of the new Berlusconi right-wing government as "fascist" are merely a rallying cry for a new bourgeois government of reformist parties and "democratic" capitalist parties. This is the game of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), which served for years as a crucial prop to capitalist rule in Italy. RC leader Fausto Bertinotti condemned the police for allowing the Black Bloc to carry out "aggressive and destructive acts" (*Liberazione*, 21 July). In an ominous attempt to redirect the many COBAS workers who last month protested the cop terror into goons against anarchist youth, a spokesman for a COBAS teachers union loosely affiliated to RC called for future COBAS contingents to be armed "with sticks to defend ourselves from the Black Bloc and the police" (*Corriere della Sera*, 8 August).

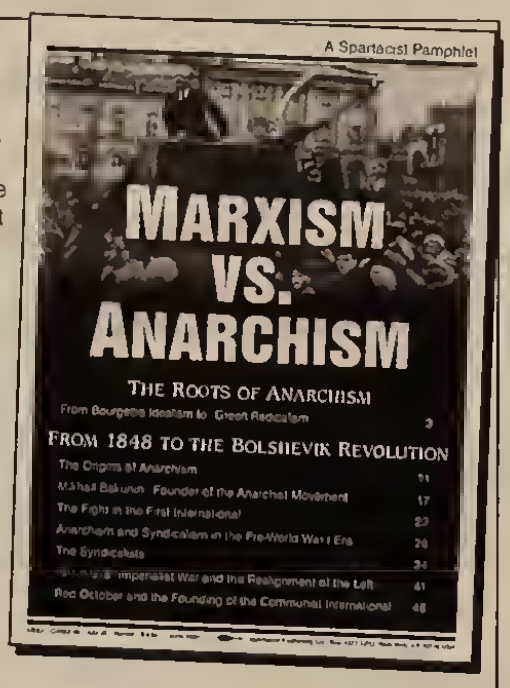
Luca Casarini, a spokesman for the *Tute Bianche* (White Overalls), allied to the Genoa Social Forum, declaimed: "The anarchist label is too easy. Appearances are misleading. I only say that some hundreds of these figures were able to destroy the city undisturbed. The water hoses, gas and bullets were reserved for us" (*Corriere della Sera*, 21 July). Such cop-baiting against the Black Bloc soon translated into gangsterist attacks. On August 13, Italian press reported that six *Tute Bianche* members in Marghera (near Venice) beat up supporters of the anarchist Revolutionary Committee who were collecting funds for legal defense and distributing leaflets denouncing the Genoa Social Forum for refusing to defend the Black Bloc. Despite Casarini's best efforts to distance himself from the Black Bloc, he and the *Tute Bianche* are now themselves threatened by the sinister "*Digos*" political police, who charge them with "a large part of the responsibility for the incidents and illegal behavior" in Genoa (*Corriere della Sera*, 26 August).

A statement by Marco Ferrando, leader of Proposta, a current within RC which seeks to sucker leftist youth by posturing as a Trotskyist alternative to the reformist Bertinotti leadership, demonstrated that they are nothing but the "left-wing" ideologues for the violent attack by the *Tute Bianche*. At the end of a lengthy statement, Ferrando declaimed that the Black Bloc has to be "fought," "and in the most radical terms" but "any proposal to place this problem in the hands of the repressive force of the bourgeois state, i.e., the class enemy, has to be rejected" (*Proposta* supplement, 27 July). This is merely centrist window-dressing for Ferrando's argument that the left should create goon squads to police protests against "every form of aggression," both from the state and "from marginal, violent and vandalist fringe elements."

Ferrando & Co. are concerned to keep the "anti-globalization" protests safely within the bounds of bourgeois respectability, and anarchist assaults on the symbols of imperialism are an affront to that. Faithful water boys for RC that they are, Proposta makes no bones that the ultimate aim must be to "throw out the Berlusconi government, for a class alternative," which in the total absence of a perspective to overthrow the bourgeois

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the light to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.



$2 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116

Defend Arrested Genoa Protesters!

Donations for the defense of protesters arrested in Genoa are urgently needed. The following organizations are collecting funds for those still imprisoned and for many others facing charges carrying long prison sentences. Send international money orders to:

Genoa Legal Forum
Via Caffa No. 3, 16129 Genoa, Italy
or Rote Hilfe, PSF 32 55
37022 Göttingen, Germany

Berlin: Trotskyists Confront Social-Democratic Bloodhounds

We publish below an edited report by a comrade of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

On August 6, the newspaper *Junge Welt*, which is in the orbit of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), organized a meeting at Humboldt University under the title "Who Is Afraid of Whom?" The hall seated only 400, but 600-700 showed up, mainly youth, many new to politics. Participants included the FAU anarcho-syndicalists, several Black Bloc groups and other anarchists, the Cliffite Linksruck, the Taaffeite Socialist Alternative and other fake Trotskyists, members of the ATTAC "anti-globalization" coalition and PDSers. Among the featured speakers was Angela Klein, a leading member of the Editorial Board of the *SoZ* newspaper connected to the fake-Trotskyist United Seeretariat, who last month published a seurrilous denunciation of the Black Bloc in *Junge Welt*. You could sense the tension huilding up in the room.

Klein talked about a continuous rise of state repression increasingly beyond the framework of the "*Rechtsstaat*" (law-hased state). She said that repression at an upcoming protest in Brussels will not be as severe as in Genoa because in Italy Fini's fascist party is in the government. When I interjected that it was the government of D'Alema's Democratic Left (DS) that prepared Genoa, I got nasty looks from Cliffites and Taaffeites. Klein said it's outrageous that there are no protests against the Berlusconi government, as there were when Haider's right-wing party came into government in Austria, and demanded that those responsible for the Genoa police violence be brought before the European Court for Human Rights.

An ATTAC speaker lyingly stated that they stand in solidarity with the Black Bloc as part of the movement but are very critieal of its tactics. After some anarchists heckled at the glowing report of ATTAC meeting with the Green Party leadership, the speaker rushed to say, "We're not being taken over by the Greens."

The last platform speaker was Lothar Nätebusch, the new chairman of the Berlin area IG BAU construetion workers union, who stressed that the unions must get more involved in the anti-globalization movement and referred to the 1997 Berlin construction strike as an example of his union's fighting ability. An FAUer behind me shouted, "What about the racist roundups on construction sites in 1997 that the IG BAU supported?" Another FAU guy quietly called for expelling Nätebusch from the meeting. A construction worker sitting next to him said that it's not right to expel the union, and I said to both of them that the answer doesn't lie in smashing or deserting the unions but that the unions need a class-struggle leadership that ousts the treacherous social-democratic and racist union bureaucracy. The worker agreed and both guys took our leaflets.

As the floor was opened for discussion (ten minutes total), I spoke second, saying:

> "It is hypocritical for Angela Klein to say that nobody refuses to solidarize with the Black Bloc. *Junge Welt* published her article which said that the black of the Black Bloc was the black of the fascists and not the black of the anarchists. Likewise, the speaker from the Berlin Genoa committee, Sascha Kimpel, had denounced the Black Bloc as the ones responsible for the police violence in Genoa at an earlier public meeting. This witchhunt against the anarchists is of direct aid to Schily of the SPD and his new 'anti-riot police' [applause].
>
> "It's hypocritical of Angela Klein to demand a new anti-Haider campaign led by the European social-democratic governments. The police violence in Genoa was prepared by the 'left' D'Alema government. It was the social democrats who ordered the shooting of protesters with live ammunition in Göteborg!
>
> "The anarchists are not Nazis but courageous fighters against imperialism, war, and fascism. Yet the anarchists have no clue whatsoever of how to really smash capitalism. What's urgently needed now are protest strikes. Tens of thousands of workers poured into Genoa to commemorate Carlo Giuliani. Such strike action will help to break the working class from their illusions in the '*Rechtsstaat*' crap promoted by the likes of Angela Klein and especially from the social-democratic union bureaucracy which ties the working class to the capitalist system and whose representative here today avoids answering the question of why they ignited a racist campaign against foreign workers in 1997. Militant protest strikes would show the way and could win the advanced workers to a fight for socialist revolution which would smash the murderous bourgeois state. To achieve this goal you need a truly revolutionary internationalist party, which we Spartakists fight to build."

When I denounced the social democrats over Göteborg, I got strong applause from the back of the hall—and a reminder from the podium to cut it short. At the end, I was also applauded, while one woman shouted, "Where is your goddamn working class?!"

As the hall erupted in commotion, the *Junge Welt* chair tried to ealm down the crowd, saying: "So far the discussion has been in a spirit of solidarity. Let's keep it that way." An anarchist then shouted back: "I'm furious at you. The first time that the word violence was mentioned today was also the first time that there was talk of the autonomes!" Then Klein got really angry and said, "You don't know what you're talking about.... I was at the COBAS demo and the anarchists wanted to take it over.... Many COBAS workers were afraid of the anarchists. And to be honest, I couldn't tell if they were anarchists, cops, fascists or what. I was afraid of them, too!" A furious anarchist in the back shouted: "Then buy yourself some glasses! Anarchists aren't fascists!" Klein went on to talk about anarchists abusing the COBAS demonstration, smashing shop windows, burning down banks and being armed (god forbid!) with wooden planks and gas masks! Many anarchists left the room in disgust.

A speaker from Linksruck was booed by some anarchists when he said that people shouldn't be polemical and the movement had to show unity in order to grow. Then he got laughed at when he said that such conflict isn't the way to win the majority of the population to left-radical ideas. He expressed solidarity with the IG BAU bureaucrat's speech and argued for using the upcoming Berlin election campaign to fight against cutbacks in social services. When he finished, there was a lot of heckling and I shouted, "Why didn't you tell the people here that you will vote PDS, the party proposing the biggest cutbacks in Berlin?"

Our literature table was approached hy many anarchists. One from Mehringhof, the main anarchist *autonome* center in Berlin, expressed surprise that I was so angry—after all you had to expect what happened. I replied, why then didn't the Mehringhof anarchists speak to denounce the violence-baiting of Klein & Co? If all they have to offer is applause to a Spartakist intervention while remaining part of the Berlin Genoa coalition, that's not much. He asked what's the point, and I answered that if he acquiesces to the politics of the coalition, then he acquiesces to Angela Klein's social-democratic politics.

A young anarchist from Italy asked me for the positions of ATTAC, IG BAU and Angela Klein on the Black Bloc. She was disgusted. She told me that she and her parents are part of the Naples affiliate of the Genoa Social Forum, but after Genoa she's no longer so sure ahout nonviolent civil disobedience, and the more the Black Bloc gets attacked the more she likes them. She had heard of our Italian newspaper *Spartaco* before. She had thought that all Trotskyists loved Bertinotti's reformist Rifondazione Comunista (RC). But she liked the call in *Spartaco* for building a revolutionary party and she loved the headline, "No vote to DS, RC!"■

AFP

Italian riot police attack Genoa protester. Fake lefts have joined in witchhunt against anarchist militants facing state repression.

order can only mean another popular-front government, more or less "leftist," to administer the interests of the capitalists.

The Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the ICL, has solidarized with the Black Bloc anarchists in the face of state repression and "left" witchhunting and joined in collecting funds for the defense of those arrested. Speaking during the diseussion period at an August 24 "globalization" debate in Brescia which featured Casarini as well as RC spokesmen on the platform, an LTd'I comrade declared:

> "Blood and death in Genoa have tom away the mask of democracy and we saw the real face of capitalist democracy: this system of exploitation, imperialist domination and racist oppression is not based on a struggle of ideas, but on the repressive machine of the capitalist state that defends it. No amount of pressure, prayers or threats can change it. It must be overthrown by a workers revolution giving power to those who labor.
>
> "It's really hypocritical for RC to invoke Marx and Rosa Luxemburg when from the very first day after Genoa they and the trade-union bureaucrats have run to support the capitalist state, laying the blame for repression at the door of the 'provocation' by 'subversive' and 'violent' anarchists and the Black Bloc. They are running a poisonous campaign to criminalize the Black Bloc by saying they are all fascists or cops. As for Casarini, he likes to make tirades against parties and vanguards, but he is actually a member of the Green party, the 'heroic' bombers of Kosovo. And the Tute Bianche have even attacked some anarchists in Venice who were collecting money in support of the arrested.
>
> "Those who attack the symbols of capitalist exploitation have their hearts in the right place, and such acts of anger and frustration against oppression are perfectly understandable. However, the anarchists themselves have no program of any sort to overthrow the capitalist system. The working class has the social power to do it.
>
> "These struggles must not be channeled into support for yet another capitalist government including DS [Democratic Left] and RC. What we need is a revolutionary workers party. Smash the imperialist butchers through workers revolution! Workers to power throughout the world!"■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

Introduction to Marxism

September 11: First Class
UC Berkeley, Room TBA
Information and room: (510) 839-0851

MADISON

Tuesday, September 4, 5 p.m.

Meet the Marxists

Univ. of Wisconsin, Memorial Union
Information and room: (312) 563-0441

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

Sept. 19: **The Communist Manifesto—A Guide to Action**

York University Student Ctr. Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, September 12, 7 p.m.

Meet the Spartacus Youth
Marxism vs. Anarchism

Class Series: **Wednesdays, 7 p.m.**

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

Sept. 19: **The Communist Manifesto—A Guide to Action**

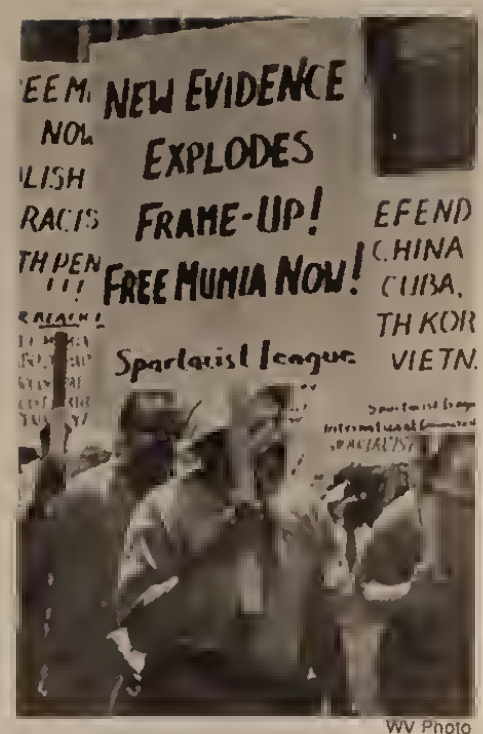
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211,
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
email: tlit@look.ca

Visit the ICL Web Site!

www.icl-fi.org

Reformists Preach Reliance on Racist "Justice" System

Smash the Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!



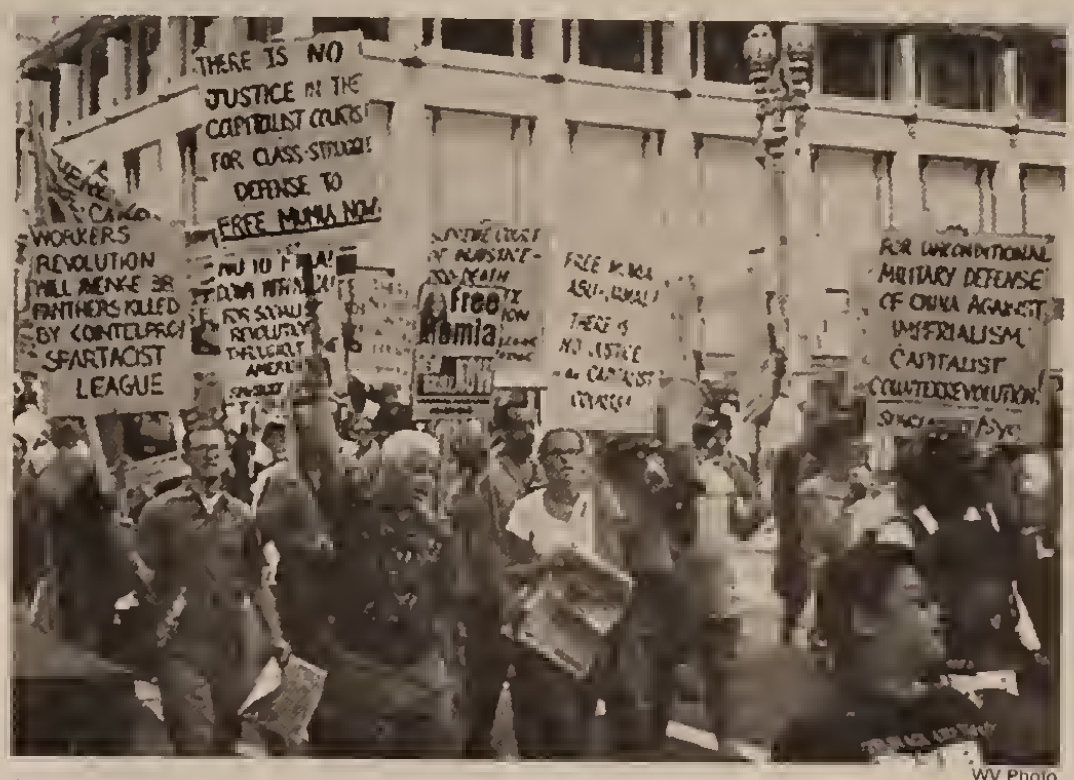
WV Photo

On August 17, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal appeared before Pennsylvania state judge Pamela Dembe in an attempt to present dramatic new evidence of Jamal's innocence, centered on the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in 1981 (see "New Jamal Legal Papers Rip Frame-Up to Shreds," *WV* No. 762, 3 August). Judge Dembe ordered Mumia's new defense team to submit legal papers by September 7 arguing why the new evidence—detailed in a 272-page Post-Conviction Relief petition and related affidavits, including by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein—should even be heard by the court. In July, federal judge William Yohn refused to hear the new evidence as he prepares his ruling on Jamal's *habeas corpus* appeal.

With his very life on the line, Jamal was barred from the hearing. In a protest read to the court by attorney Marlene Kamish, Jamal denounced the "long and tortured history" of the denial of his right of representation, stating that "through no fault of my own, 18 years ago Judge Sabo unjustly banned me from virtually half my trial. Today I am banned from a proceeding in my name, in my defense, without reason or justification."

Protests organized by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Socialist Action (SA), Refuse & Resist and the Workers World Party (WWP) drew some 1,000 outside the Philadelphia court hearing while 500 gathered the next day in San Francisco. The Revolutionary Contingent organized by the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League for Social Defense in San Francisco carried signs reading "New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!" and "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!" As a speaker for the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, stated in addressing the San Francisco rally:

> "The greater the evidence of Jamal's innocenee, the more the courts are speeding up the process to execute him, the more they refuse to hear the evidence.
>
> "This powerful black journalist, this MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman is a symbol of defiant opposition to racist repression. The capitalist rulers are determined to execute him as a warning to all those who challenge cop terror, to all those who stand up for labor's rights and to all those who protest U.S. imperialism's mass murder abroad.
>
> "The new legal papers and new affidavits, including by the Partisan Defense Committee's general counsel, expose the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insufficient to secure Jamal's freedom. What we need is not just more truth but more social power. The day after Carlo Giuliani was killed [in Genoa], the Italian working class came out by the thousands—300,000—to protest this vicious assault. It is this social power—multiracial, international, proletarian—mobilized not only in demonstrations but in political strikes that we have to mobilize on behalf of Jamal. And to unleash this power, we have to do something that hasn't been talked about much here today, which is mobilize the workers independently of the capitalist class, independently of the Democrats, independently of the Republicans, independently of the Greens."



WV Photo

Revolutionary Contingent in August 18 San Francisco rally for Jamal: For mass mobilizations centered on labor's social power to fight for Mumia's freedom!

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

The new evidence of Jamal's innocence must be a clarion call for mass mobilizations centered on the power of the labor movement demanding freedom for Mumia. But far from using the Beverly confession to expose the capitalist frame-up system and mobilize fresh forces from among workers and ghetto and barrio youth, the reformist left portrays it as just another legal argument for deliberation by the courts which railroaded Mumia to death row in the first place.

In *Socialist Action* (June 2001), Jeff Mackler extensively reports the confession and other affidavits, only to conclude that they provide "ample support for Mumia's new petition to secure a second Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) hearing." Mackler co-signed a statement for the San Francisco protest declaring: "We must fight to make the price of Mumia's legal lynching too high to pay in regard to a fundamental loss of confidence in the so-called criminal justice system." There you have the consummate expression of the reformists' central concern: that the masses will lose confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. In contrast, the PDC speaker in San Francisco declared: "Jamal's defense is all about building that loss of confidence. Jamal's defense is about making conscious the understanding of the capitalist state as organized violence and repression *against* the working class, *against* the oppressed."

The reformist left's strategy was—and continues to be—based on appealing to Democratic Party liberals whose concern was that the blatant frame-up methods employed against Jamal tarnished the image of impartial, "blind" justice. To that end, for years the reformists focused not on the call for Mumia's unconditional freedom but for a "new trial." Their treacherous reliance on the capitalist state only demobilized support for Jamal: Why seek to bring out labor/black power on the streets if Jamal can receive justice in the capitalist courts?

Ever since the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal's defense some 14 years ago, we stressed that his case was symbolic of the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. The *New York Times* (21 May 2000) acknowledged that truth with a photo caption reading "Mumia Abu-Jamal, the face of capital punishment in America." A host of bourgeois liberals added their name to Mumia's cause, such as Jesse Jackson, who appeared at Jamal's August 17 court hearing. But in recent years, most liberals have abandoned Jamal, even as popular opposition to the death penalty has increased. Why is this?

The overwhelming support for the death penalty in the U.S. has been shaken by the numerous cases of those who barely escaped execution after proving their innocence. In Illinois, Republican governor George Ryan implemented a moratorium on executions early last year, and now other states (including in the Southern "death belt") have started to provide some minimal funding for legal defense for indigent death row prisoners and to introduce provisions for DNA testing. Even Supreme Court justice Sandra Day O'Connor, a strong backer of the death penalty, voiced concern that "the system may well be allowing some innocent defendants to be executed." The liberals see things moving toward "cleaning up" the system's "excesses," and they do not want to be tainted with the case of a dreadlocked former Black Panther who considers himself a revolutionary, writes biting critiques of American imperialism and was convicted of killing a cop.

Representative of this type is Marc Cooper, a contributing editor for *The Nation*, who last year wrote a scurrilous piece titled "What's Mumia Got to Do With It?" which appeared in *Mother Jones*. Cooper smeared Jamal as a "politically dubious cult-groupie" and argued that the fight for his freedom is bad for the broader anti-death penalty movement. Cooper demanded of Mumia's supporters: "Find another movement to be a part of!" The social democrats of *In These Times*, through the writings of one David Lindorff, have openly solidarized with the state's effort to legally lynch Jamal. Vilifying the Beverly confession in the 11 June issue, Lindorff echoes the D.A.'s lie that "Abu-Jamal was as much part of the decision not to use Beverly as were his two erstwhile attorneys," Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams—a key argument used by Judge Yohn in ruling against admitting the confession as evidence.

Reformists Bow to Capitalist Courts

In a statement to rallies on his behalf on May 12, barely a week after Beverly's affidavit was filed, Jamal declared: "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go.... And, if you by chance choose not to join me, I have one simple request: don't get in my way." The reformists' belief in "the system" was more than evident at those protests. They abetted the bourgeois media's blackout of the Beverly confession because it lays bare the workings of the racist frame-up system and runs against their ingrained belief in capitalist "justice." In Philadelphia, speakers from the WWP and its International Action Center did not even mention the new evidence, while in San Francisco Mackler presented a "legal update" without once referring to it!

This was simply a continuation of their reaction when Williams published a perfidious "inside account" of the case, *Executing Justice*, leading Mumia to fire Williams and Weinglass. The main purpose of the book was to preemptively discredit the Beverly confession, which Weinglass and Williams had suppressed for two years. Mackler alibied Williams' dismissal of Beverly's testimony as some kind of deranged conspiracy theory in *Socialist Action* (April 2001). And in a February 22 letter to Mumia, Weinglass noted that Refuse & Resist leader "Clark Kissinger, according to Dan, found nothing wrong with the book."

The reformists eventually felt compelled to publicize the new evidence because to not do so would thoroughly discredit them in the eyes of those

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Cuba...

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Asian and European cars. But in the smaller cities outside Havana, public transport still often consists of flatbed trucks or horse-drawn carriages. For travel between cities, people, including soldiers in uniform, crowd around the edge of the road hoping for a ride on a truck. Meanwhile, tourists get modern, air-conditioned buses and taxis.

In terms of food, even in the depths of the crisis a ration system prevented the pervasive starvation which is endemic in underdeveloped capitalist countries. But the ration system still provides only basic minimums and there are shortages. For example, beef is only available in restaurants. I was invited to a worker's apartment where they were cooking a couple of pounds of nice beef. They had gotten the beef on the black market, from a friend who works in a slaughterhouse. In outlying areas, police even set up highway checkpoints to search for contraband beef, supplies of which are reserved for tourists and the army.

Medicines are also in short supply. The U.S. recently relaxed the embargo to allow the purchase of food and medicine—but on a cash-only basis, which is very difficult for Cuba. A couple of Canadian comrades who befriended a doctor on an earlier visit to a rural part of Cuba described how grateful she was when they brought her two bottles of aspirin. At the same time, she was incredulous when they told her that, because of health care cuts, it took five months to see an orthopedic specialist in Canada. She emphasized that for all the problems in Cuba, this could never happen there. The comrades said that her clinic had little equipment, but they were impressed by a wall chart tracking health problems of the whole local population—from obesity and alcoholism to heart disease and AIDS—demonstrating the serious commitment to preventative medicine.

Mario García Joya

Literacy brigades, Havana, 1961: creation of planned, collectivized economy meant enormous strides especially for black people.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Castro's response to the collapse of the Soviet bloc was to enact new policies allowing foreign capitalists to invest in Cuba in joint ventures, vastly increasing promotion of tourism, legalizing use of the U.S. dollar, privatizing most of the agricultural sector and allowing self-employment—i.e., petty capitalism—in the service sector. Taken individually, as a means to increase industrial development and economic output, each of these reforms has some character of economic necessity as a response to the crisis and isolation. But these policies have also allowed the imperialists a hand in Cuba's economy, increased inequality and created a layer of petty capitalists who can become a base for capitalist counterrevolution. While the state ostensibly retains 51 percent ownership in joint ventures, the regime reportedly offers the British 60 percent of the revenue in joint ventures, as a gesture of "goodwill" and "compensation" for British capital expropriated during the revolution.

There are something like 200,000 licensed self-employed in 150 categories: private family restaurants, arts and crafts, bicycle repair, taxis and every other kind of service. More ominously, 60-75 percent of agriculture has been privatized either under farmers' collectives or individual private farmers. They are often required to sell part of what they grow to the state, but the rest goes to the market and reportedly a lot of farmers are getting rich. I was told that private farmers often hire laborers and that the government closes its eyes to this. In the cities, there are well-off types—whether bureaucrats or black marketeers or both, one can't quite know—who have nice cars and VCRs amid the general hardship.

Our tour guide was a prominent doctor who supports the revolution. His political views, which he presented as the views of "everybody," in fact represent the views of significant layers of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy in Cuba. He said that people support Castro's moving "step by step" in the direction of "change," by which he meant political liberalization and the market. He said, "All the world is a market, and you cannot have a different regime." He predicted that Cuba will retain certain forms of nationalization and free education and health care, but will end up with "Caribbean socialism," a "mixed economy." This perspective, derived from the nationalist program of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which rejects the possibility of workers revolution outside of Cuba, is pessimistic and also unrealistic. There is no way that a poor country like Cuba can have free education and health care except through a planned economy and a workers state. With the former *gusano* bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism a mere 90 miles away, the choice facing Cuba is either international extension of the revolution or capitalist counterrevolution.

We have in Cuba what we Trotskyists call a ***deformed workers state***, that is, a state with tremendous evident contradictions, based on proletarian property relations but ruled by a privileged bureaucratic caste whose nationalist outlook is expressed in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." Castro and his cheerleaders on the left internationally declare that Cuba is "socialist." Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, argued that socialism, which they called the lower stage of communism, would be a society that stands higher in its economic development than the most advanced capitalism. Marx and Engels declared that socialism could not be achieved in a single country and would require as a starting point workers revolution in at least several *advanced* capitalist countries.

To declare that Cuba is "socialist" under conditions in which basic food items must be strictly rationed, when working-class apartments may not have even a working refrigerator or television, when the standard mode of transportation is, at best, bicycles or overcrowded buses, is to utterly compromise the name of socialism. As Karl Marx stated, "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise for communism, because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." In Cuba, with its heritage of pre-revolutionary backwardness, suffering from a savage imperialist embargo exacerbated by the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the "struggle for existence" not only has not lessened but has intensified.

AFP

Marta Nascimento

Line for food rations. Despite imperialist blockade, Cuba maintains free health care, quality medical research.

Economic contradictions produce social antagonisms, which in turn develop their own logic. Will the private farmers and well-off layers not demand a greater field of investment and exploitation? Will the Castro bureaucracy itself, in whose hands power and privileges are concentrated, maintain defense of the workers state, even for its own purposes? We have seen in the USSR and East Europe that whole sections of the bureaucracy embraced the road of capitalist counterrevolution. In any case, to paraphrase Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the Russian October Revolution, it is impossible to answer finally and definitely the question in what direction the economic contradictions and social antagonisms of Cuba will develop in the next three, five or ten years. The outcome depends upon a struggle of living social forces, not only in Cuba but on an international scale.

In Cuba I was told that the Cuban people will never give up free education and health care, and that if any government attempted to take these away, then "there would be another revolution." But there needs to be a revolutionary workers party built in Cuba that will fight to defend and extend the gains of the revolution *before* they are reversed. The task facing the Cuban working class is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead a ***proletarian political revolution*** that ousts the Castroite bureaucracy and erects a government based on soviet democracy—the rule of workers councils—and revolutionary internationalism.

Origins of the Cuban Deformed Workers State

Our international tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), originated in large measure over the question of the Cuban Revolution, beginning as the Revolutionary Tendency in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the early 1960s. We struggled to defend the Trotskyist program—centrally the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the working class in a fight for political power—against the SWP majority's uncritical enthusing over Castro as an "unconscious Trotskyist" and embrace of Cuba as a healthy workers state. The SWP's cheerleading for the petty-bourgeois Castroites in Cuba and tailing after liberal and black nationalist elements in the American civil rights movement reflected its pessimism about the perspective of workers revolution in the U.S.

In contrast, we emphasize that the Cuban workers state has been bureaucratically deformed from its inception, when pervasive nationalizations of capitalist property in the summer and fall of 1960 liquidated the Cuban bourgeoisie as a class (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory"). Castro was a former supporter of the liberal bourgeois Ortodoxo party. The rebel army which entered Havana on 1 January 1959 was a politically heterogeneous petty-bourgeois formation. The guerrilla war it had waged was militarily marginal but it was the last straw for the corrupt, U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which was hated by the masses, increasingly isolated from the upper layers of Cuban society and finally abandoned by its imperialist patrons. As the old bourgeois state apparatus lay shattered, Castro initially formed a coalition government with liberal bourgeois politicians. Confronted with the Eisenhower administration's clumsy attempts to bring the revolution to heel through brute economic pressure, under the pressure of the Cuban masses the petty-bourgeois Castro government responded with an escalating series of measures against American imperialism. This culminated in the expropriation of the vast holdings of American corporations in Cuba and of the Cuban bourgeoisie itself.

One must understand that there were two conditions which allowed the Castro government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. First, the absence of a class-conscious proletariat: if the proletariat had contended for power, the petty-bourgeois militants would have been polarized, drawing some to the workers' side and repelling others back into the arms of the bourgeois order. The decisive section of the Castroites could make the transition to the leadership of a deformed workers state because, in the absence of the egalitarianism and proletarian democracy of a state directly won by the working people, they never had to transcend their own petty-bourgeois social appetites.

Secondly, the existence of the Soviet Union as Cuba's military protector and economic partner was a necessary condition for the creation of the Cuban deformed workers state. Indeed, it was the existence of the Soviet Union which laid the basis for the creation of all the deformed workers states in the decades following World War II. Today, after the collapse of the USSR as a powerful counterweight and deterrent to imperialism, there is no room for maneuver by Third World petty-bougeois or bourgeois nationalists. Look, for example, at the program of the Zapatista (EZLN) guerrillas in Mexico, who have never called themselves socialist and only try to

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Cuba...

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pressure the capitalist government. EZLN leader Subcomandante Marcos recently assured the capitalists that the EZLN wants to work with "free enterprise" and that they "don't want to create a Union of Socialist Republics of Central America."

The bankruptcy of the petty-hourgeois guerrilla road—which, at best, in exceptional circumstances, could produce only *deformed* workers states—drives home the need for new workers revolutions on the model of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which was internationalist to the core and inspired workers and the oppressed throughout the world. Lenin's Bolshevik Party immediately set out to found the Communist International, whose purpose was to build Communist parties in every country.

But the pressure of imperialist encirclement, the devastation of the Russian working class in the Civil War against counterrevolutionary and imperialist forces in 1918-20 and the lengthy isolation of the Russian Revolution enabled a bureaucratic layer headed by Stalin to usurp political power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," expressing the nationally limited interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy, turned the Communist International from an instrument of the world revolution into an obstacle to workers revolution. For the sake of "peace" with imperialism, the Stalinists helped to derail and crush many opportunities for workers revolution over the decades, from Spain in the 1930s to France, Italy and Greece after World War II to France in 1968, to name just a few examples.

Glinn/Magnum

Wide World

Castro's petty-bourgeois rebel forces enter Havana, New Year's Day 1959. In summer-fall 1960, Castro regime expropriated U.S. imperialist holdings. Right: Cuban militiaman guards expropriated oil refinery.

Economic "Reforms" Undermine Gains for Women, Blacks

The problems and contradictions of Cuba in its isolation are most apparent in the question of money. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, scarcity and destitution made the Cuban peso fairly worthless and produced an underground economy based on the U.S. dollar. In 1993, seeking to undermine the black market and subject more economic activity to regulation and taxation, the Cuban government legalized use of the dollar. This is a formalization of Cuba's dependence on the world capitalist market. It is also a means of foreign capitalist penetration, and capitalists who invest in Cuba then have a lever to dictate political conditions for investment. *Gusanos* can again wield influence by sending or withholding dollars to their relatives. "Dollarization" has produced inequality and demoralization.

One of our guides, the foremost cardiovascular surgeon in Cuba and director of surgery at Havana University, makes $40 per month. Pensioners and unskilled workers may make $5-$10 per month, skilled workers up to $20. The vast majority of wages paid by the state are in pesos. But those with access to dollars can make many times that amount. Thus many doctors, nurses and other professionals work in tourist jobs as waiters, taxi cab drivers, etc. in order to get dollar tips. Our tour bus driver was formerly a mechanical engineer. I met a retired man who said his last job was as a porter in a hotel. With the money he earned from tips he was able to remodel his home. Our guide told us that those making the most money are the private farmers. Those who get sent money from relatives in Miami are also better off.

The bureaucracy is aware of the anger at inequality. We were told that the National Assembly passed a law that future pay raises must go to those who receive all their income in pesos and none in dollars. This law was passed because they were afraid that if nothing was done to slow the rise of inequality, "there would be riots."

Another insidious aspect of the current situation is the booming tourist industry in Cuba, much of it financed and operated by Spanish, Italian, German and other foreign capitalists in joint ventures. Between 1994 and 2000, the number of foreign tourists tripled to 2 million. Cubans are generally barred from top-level tourist hotels. Castro justifies this policy, often referred to as "tourist apartheid," by referring to the need for hard currency, stating, "Only a petty-bourgeois dandy can't understand why Cubans can't use these rooms." One person I talked to who plans to emigrate said with bitterness that when he visited Canada he had the right to stay in whatever hotel he wanted. True, in a capitalist country you usually have the right to stay at whatever hotel you want, but if the average worker tries to stay at the Ritz-Carlton, he won't be eating for a while!

Another example I saw of the reintroduction of elements of class differentiation in Cuba is the old Havana Yacht Club, which before the revolution denied membership even to President Batista, because he was a mulatto. In recent years, it has been revived as an exclusive club where Cuban officials can wine and dine foreign capitalists and diplomats while making business deals.

The conditions of scarcity and the "market reform" policies of the bureaucracy are undermining the gains of the revolution and result in some demoralization of the population, as the bureaucracy offers the Cuban masses no perspective of how the crisis can be solved except through moral exhortation and making deals with and concessions to the imperialists. Thus, in the absence of a revolutionary internationalist perspective, even among elements of the population who recognize the gains of the revolution there is pressure to emigrate to the rich imperialist country to the north. This could be a destabilizing factor, as seen in the 1994 "raft people" crisis, when thousands of Cubans dangerously set out on rafts and makeshift boats to the U.S. The U.S. has always had a policy of encouraging Cuban emigration, declaring that any Cuban who makes it to U.S. shores has the right to stay. This is in stark contrast to the racist policies of the American government in excluding and deporting black Haitian and other immigrants from Third World neocolonies.

The erosion of the gains of the revolution is evident in the situation of women and blacks. Because of the planned economy, women have made tremendous advances in Cuba. Cuban women have a great degree of economic independence, having access to education and skilled occupations on an almost equal basis with men, with equal pay for equal work being the official policy. Cuban women have the right to free abortion on demand, and sex education and birth control are promoted, though in practice methods of birth control other than abortion are unavailable to the vast majority. There are no restrictions on the right to divorce, and women are granted substantial maternity leave. The government has eliminated the marital status of the mother on birth certificates, thus eliminating the reactionary bourgeois concept of "illegitimacy." Women are a considerable base of support to the revolution.

However, scarcity takes its toll. We visited a local center of the Federation of Cuban Women. The directors of the center told us that a big problem in Havana is that housing is so scarce that when couples divorce they may have to live together for a considerable period until one of them finds someone with whom to swap apartments. I visited a housing office where many people were applying to swap apartments. Also, there are not enough childcare facilities for all children under five years of age, so some mothers must stay home. The center offers classes in things such as haircutting and sewing so women forced to stay at home can earn some income through self-employment. Also the period of economic crisis and the boom in tourism have driven many women into prostitution; even women who have jobs take up prostitution for extra income to purchase necessities.

Women's rights are also threatened by the growth of religion and government policies conciliating religion. After a visit in 1988 by Jesse Jackson, Castro established the Cuban Council of Churches. In 1991, the Communist Party opened up membership to religious people. In 1998, Castro even sponsored a tour of Cuba by Pope John Paul II, the fanatical anti-woman, anti-abortion bigot who godfathered, along with the CIA, the counterrevolutionary Solidarność movement in Poland. Now the Vatican wants to promote counterrevolution in Cuba.

The situation of gays, who in previous decades suffered typical Stalinist discrimination and repression, has improved. I attended a talk by Eliades Acosta, director of the National Public Library, who discussed the case of the gay Cuban poet Reinaldo Arenas, the subject of the recent American movie *Before Night Falls*. Arenas was imprisoned in the 1970s for "corrupting youth." Acosta on the one hand expressed the puritanical Stalinist mindset, declaring that unlike "normal homosexuals" Arenas had "shown off his homosexuality." However, Acosta averred that Arenas "was not understood" at the time and the repression he suffered "must not happen again."

The revolution brought great gains for black people—capitalist Cuba replicated the racism of its U.S. imperialist overlords. Today Cuba offers a stark contrast to the U.S. in the degree of social integration of blacks and whites; interracial couples are common, racism is officially illegal and black people have access to jobs and education. Because of the gains for blacks in Cuba, Castro has always been popular in Harlem. As a result of his visit to Harlem a couple of years ago, Cuba this year is beginning a program giving free medical education to minority youth from the United States, stipulating that after they graduate they should serve poor minority communities in the U.S. However, black Cubans still tend to have lower-paying jobs and the dollarization of the economy has increased racial stratification—the Miami *gusanos* who send dollars to their relatives are overwhelmingly white. For all that, a black nurse met by our Canadian comrades emphasized that she had no desire to go to the U.S., given all she has heard about the racism in Miami.

South Africa...

(continued from page 3)

finally withdrew the lawsuit denying production of cheap anti-retrovirals under the pressure of international protests, the ANC-led capitalist government has refused to do anything to make the anti-AIDS drugs available. The ANC government has withheld drugs like AZT and Nevirapine from the desperately impoverished masses as mother-to-child transmission of the virus is daily adding to the toll of those dying who could be saved by even minimal access to these drugs. While the epidemic spreads, government privatisations of public enterprises means patients lie on the floor at Johannesburg and Chris Hani Baragwanath hospitals, waiting for beds and physicians as services are slashed. Not surprisingly, struggles over access to quality health care and affordable drugs continue to erupt across the country.

In the early stages of the epidemic in America, AIDS was largely stigmatised as a "gay disease" and therefore research and treatment were ignored, despite the far vaster resources available to American capitalism. Today, even those privileged few with access to expensive anti-retroviral cocktails continue to endure diverse forms of social discrimination. At the same time, American racism denies access to existing treatments for ghetto and barrio residents, among whom AIDS is now growing most drastically. As the accompanying article shows, "AIDS Ravages Black America" [*WV* No. 759, 25 May]. Blacks and Hispanics account for *two-thirds* of new AIDS cases. Black women in particular account for 64 percent of all new infections among women in the U.S.

Under capitalism, the availability and quality of health care for the masses of working people will always be subordinated to the drive for profit. As Marxists, we understand that scientific progress cannot rise above or be separated from class interests in any society. The modern gains of science will be put fully in the service of humanity when world socialist revolution sweeps away capitalist rule. The AIDS epidemic underscores the irrationality and cruelty of capitalism and imperialism. The International Communist League fights to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead a workers revolution to victory. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we do not simply seek to expose the exploitation of workers in the factories, but always to champion struggles against every manifestation of social oppression and police tyranny. As Lenin emphasised in *What Is To Be Done?*, a revolutionary socialist aims not to be a trade-union official, but a "tribune of the people": "[H]e is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice that 'the Communists support every revolutionary movement,' that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasise *general democratic tasks before the whole people*, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions."■

I was able to walk around working-class districts and was invited into the homes of many workers. Among almost all Cubans there is a basic level of support to the revolution, but the absence of workers democracy and the prohibition of any organized political opposition to Castro produces resignation and frustration, especially among the youth, many of whom hang out on the streets at night. One young worker, who occupies his spare time studying science, said simply that a serious problem is that "there is only one party." Another, angry at the inequalities of dollarization, complained that he had no time for politics and that he could not raise political views freely. While one group of poorly paid young workers said that they feel "pessimism," a group of poor young blacks, including aspiring Olympic athletes, were ardent supporters of Castro and pointed to their participation in the anti-imperialist rallies for the return of Elián González last year. They were unhappy with the inequalities in Cuba but accepted them as necessary sacrifices of the "Special Period." Among the contradictions of Cuba is that you have youth who ardently support Castro but also hang around tourist areas hoping to hustle some dollars.

U.S. Reformists Tail Imperialist Liberals

In a restaurant in Cuba I talked with an anarchist from Vancouver who said he likes the Cuban peoples' "sense of community" but dislikes that there are policemen on street corners. What this anarchist (and any anarchist) cannot answer is how the Cuban working people could have this "sense of community" based on the revolution without a state—armed bodies of men—to suppress the danger of counterrevolution.

The fake-Marxist International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. are outright scabs on the Cuban Revolution. The ISO's claim that Cuba is "state capitalist" is simply a cover for their fundamental identification with capitalist imperialism. The basic means of production in Cuba—industry, etc.—remain socialized. The Castro bureaucracy does not own the means of production but is an administrative hierarchy which enjoys privileges as a caste of embezzlers and social parasites, not as a ruling class. What is needed is not a social revolution to change the property relations, but a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy but *retain and develop the planned economy*. By making common cause with the bourgeoisie against Stalinism in the name of "democracy," the ISO ends up in the camp of counterrevolution. In 1994, the ISO hailed a counterrevolutionary riot on the Havana waterfront. The reactionary scum were swept away by a spontaneous outpouring of 10,000 trade unionists and others, including construction worker brigades and neighborhood Committees to Defend the Revolution.

Other fake-socialist groups like Socialist Action and the Socialist Workers Party posture as "friends of Cuba," organizing "solidarity" protests with liberals and appealing to Congressional Democrats to push for an end to the embargo. While adulating the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy in Cuba, these groups joined with the ISO in supporting the "democratic" counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin in the Soviet Union, and thus share responsibility for the grave dangers and isolation Cuba now faces. Almost all Cubans I talked to would spit on such "leftists," understanding that Cuba's current crisis began with the collapse of the "communist camp."

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Castro has turned ever more to nationalist ideology to bolster his support. One can find nary a poster or statue of Lenin around Havana; instead there is the incessant reference to "national hero" Jose Marti and other leaders of the nationalist struggle against Spanish colonialism. I was told that there are plans to resurrect the statues of bourgeois presidents from the period of U.S. domination, as part of "reclaiming" Cuba's prerevolutionary "heritage." In the same vein, Cuba has devoted great resources, with assistance from Spain, to renovating the old Spanish colonial buildings and plazas of Old Havana. This is done to attract tourists. Certainly, the renovation of beautiful historic buildings is not a bad thing, but Castro calls this a campaign to restore the "national patrimony" and it has somewhat the character of rehabilitating colonial and neocolonial "culture."

In this regard, I was disgusted by a comment made by the Stalinist Acosta at the talk I attended. Speaking to U.S. tourists, Acosta appealed for friendly relations between the U.S. and Cuba, arguing that after all the countries share a "common history and culture" which the U.S. does not have with "Iraq or Malaysia." This "common history" is a history of imperialist domination. At a glitzy new "Havana Club," the decor and music deliberately evoked the prerevolutionary 1940s and '50s, when Havana was a playground for American gangsters and capitalists. This indicates something of what capitalist counterrevolution would mean: a resubjugation of Cuba under the heel of U.S. imperialism.

That is also why significant sections of the U.S. ruling class are calling for an end to the trade embargo against Cuba; they see trade and investment as a means to foment counterrevolution and return Cuba to the sphere of U.S. domination. Make no mistake: the European and Canadian capitalists who have investments in Cuba are not "friends" of Cuba. They profit from their deals and seek ever wider fields of exploitation in Cuba.

Smash U.S. Imperialism!

Ultimately, the only alternative to capitalist counterrevolution is international socialist revolution, which has never been Castro's perspective. When Castro proclaimed the revolution "socialist" in 1961, he adopted not the Marxist program of international workers revolution but "socialism in one country." The corollary to this Stalinist "theory" is "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Che Guevara expressed this policy very clearly in a 1964 speech at the United Nations, calling for "peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems."

Three years later, Guevara was assassinated at the behest of the U.S. as he heroically led a guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, one of many inspired by the Cuban Revolution in Latin America in the 1960s and '70s. But the Cuban Stalinists have always opposed socialist revolution abroad. In Chile in the early 1970s, Castro supported Salvador Allende's "Popular Unity" government—a bourgeois coalition including the Socialists and Communists along with capitalist parties—and the "peaceful, constitutional road to socialism," which meant disarming the working class and paving the way for Pinochet's CIA-sponsored coup. Following Allende's election in 1970, we urgently warned of the danger of a right-wing military coup and called for the revolutionary mobilization of the working class. Thus, some months before the September 1973 coup we wrote in "Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers" (*WV* No. 14, December 1972):

> "The key to a revolutionary program in Chile is the question of state power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore we demand the creation of 'ARMED WORKERS MILITIAS BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS.' Initially directed against fascist bands, these will be crucial instruments in splitting the Army and bringing down the bourgeois state."

During the 1980s Central America was riven by popular revolutionary struggles. But in El Salvador Castro supported the FMLN guerrillas' call for a "negotiated settlement" with the bloody military junta, which resulted in the disarming of the leftists and the restabilization of capitalist rule. In Nicaragua, Castro outright advised the radical-nationalist Sandinista government *not* to follow the "Cuban road," i.e., not to antagonize the imperialists by expropriating the bourgeoisie. As a consequence, the Sandinistas were eventually toppled and replaced by U.S.-backed *contra* reactionaries.

In opposition to Castro's line of class collaboration, we called for channelling the leftist insurgency in El Salvador and the civil war in Nicaragua into socialist revolution and its extension northward to Mexico, with its large and powerful industrial working class. We raised the slogans "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" We emphasized that a social revolution in Central America—overthrowing the rule of U.S. imperialism and its local agents—would set off rumblings throughout Latin America, posing the question of proletarian power from Chile to Mexico.

Nowadays, as the bourgeoisie proclaims the "death of communism," Castro still occasionally talks of the "dream of communism," but does not even give lip service to international revolution. Since the degeneration of the Communist International under Stalin, the banner of international communism has been upheld only by the Trotskyists, who founded the Fourth International in 1938. The work of the ICL is dedicated to reforging the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

The fate of Cuba and the other remaining deformed workers states—China, Vietnam and North Korea—is bound up with the fate of the whole world. In the case of Cuba in particular, this means fighting for socialist revolution throughout the Americas. The potential for this is especially evident in Mexico, where the workers and oppressed continue to wage powerful struggles, from the 1999 UNAM strike in defense of public education to militant labor actions by sugar and airline workers. Imperialist rivalry among the U.S., Europe and Japan intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the danger of a new world war is almost certain to intensify again as the world economy heads into a downturn. What is urgently necessary is new October Revolutions. It is the task of the Spartacist League to build the Bolshevik party needed to lead that revolution here in the United States, the foremost imperialist power and the biggest exploiter on the planet.

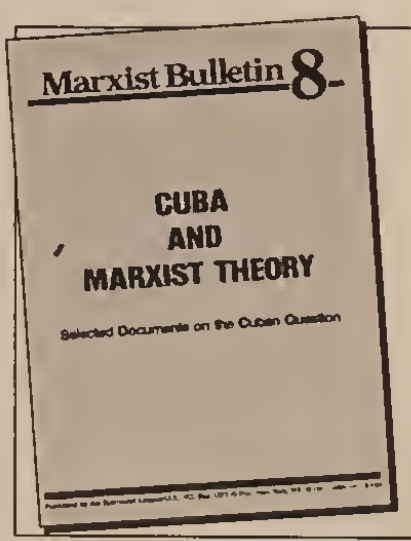
As unemployment rises in this country and the economy heads into a recession, the cracks in this racist capitalist order are apparent. The economic boom was created by increasing the rate of exploitation of the working class, gutting welfare and further spreading the tentacles of U.S. imperialism over the globe in the aftermath of counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe. Abroad this has meant U.S. military terror, from the genocidal blockade and continual bombing of Iraq to the devastation of Serbia. Now the U.S. plans a missile defense system, in the first instance targeting China, which in the wet dreams of the imperialists would enable the U.S. to carry out nuclear blackmail, or nuclear war, against the rest of the world. At home, the capitalist rulers have unleashed racist terror and repression, with police occupation of the ghettos and barrios, two million in prison and thousands on death row.

However in recent years, there have been some broadly popular, winning strikes in the U.S., as well as a number of mass black protest marches in the South. This is the kind of social struggle that the Cuban masses fighting to defend their revolution need to know about. We say: Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Build a multiracial workers party that fights for a workers government! Smash U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!■

WV Photo

AP

Spartacist contingent at May 2000 NYC protest against military in Vieques. U.S. warship off Vieques, part of military presence targeting Cuban deformed workers state.



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VW Strike...

(continued from page 2)

some more crumbs off the bosses' table. The working class has the potential power, if it is led by a party with a revolutionary program, to root out the capitalist system and build a socialist society based on production for human needs, thereby liberating all the oppressed. That's what we Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for.

For International Labor Solidarity!

Four days into the strike, thousands of workers and others filled the streets of Puebla in a solidarity march. Representatives from many Puebla and Mexico City unions were there, and support statements were read from workers in the United States and elsewhere. The crowd included workers from the area who have been put on mandatory vacation or technical stoppage at half pay because their employers supply parts to VW. There is obviously a commonality of interest among these workers. They should all be in the same industry-wide union, with a common contract. This strike will also have an impact when the workers at other manufacturers negotiate their next contracts. The Ford plant in the state of Mexico is currently laying people off and the Chrysler plant in Mexico City is scheduled to close. For labor solidarity in defense of jobs! Spread the strike!

Before the strike, Volkswagen had begun to allow companies that supply parts, and whose employees are not members of SITIAVW, to set up production in the VW plant itself. Their main goal is to break the power of the union by dividing the workforce. The right to have a closed shop, i.e., that anyone who works in a plant must be a member of the union, is codified in the *cláusula de exclusión* (exclusion clause) of the Federal Labor Law. The Supreme Court has declared this right unconstitutional, ruling that "there is the risk that it be applied to strengthen the unions on the basis of terror."

In a 1999 statement, "Competition in the Labor Market," the Bancomer Financial Group explained why the capitalists hate the exclusion clause: "If in a showdown between the boss and the union, the latter manages to introduce a clause...to prevent the company from hiring those workers it deems more productive...the company loses freedom of hiring and, further, it cannot maximize productivity." In an "open shop," the owner is free to hire scabs or demand "personal favors" in exchange for work. Now that Fox has unseated the PRI from power, he sees no advantage in this law that benefited the unions linked to the PRI. Other proposed "reforms" to the labor laws would do away with the right to strike and the eight-hour day.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Internationalist Group (IG) recently published a polemic (in English in New York) against our defense of the closed shop, titled "ICL Supports Anti-Union Exclusion Clause in Mexico" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001). The IG claims that in Mexico "the legal exclusion clause was used to smash independent union organizing efforts and enforce the straitjacket of corporatist control." If the IG were honest, they would support the Supreme Court ruling outright! The fact that CTM union misleaders may purge reds and militants and carry out reactionary policies is not a reason to weaken the unions—it points to the need to fight for a genuine class-struggle leadership. Presumably the IG must believe that if the unions no longer have any control over who works in a plant, then there will be less victimization of leftists and militants by the capitalists and the state! This is manifestly ridiculous.

Another group that calls itself Trotskyist, the POS (Partido Obrero Socialista), is present in Puebla. In reality, the POS promotes the most abject nationalism and breeds illusions in the nonexistent "democratic" convictions of the squalid bourgeoisie. So, while they whine about the reactionary politics of Fox, they celebrate the election that put him in office as "the democratic revolution of the 2nd of July" (*El Socialista*, 1-14 April). Showing what the Trotskyist program means to them, the POS is immersed in a union front called "Vicente Lombardo Toledano," named for an early leader of the CTM who was an accomplice in the Stalinist assassination of Trotsky. Toledano was a nationalist supporter of every bourgeois president in turn, and an author of the union federation's corporatist ties to the PRM, predecessor of the PRI, which has kept a large portion of the working class tied to this bourgeois party.

Just last year, VW fired 1,300 workers at its Uitenhage plant in South Africa after the plant's 4,000 workers went on strike. Volkswagen is now also trying to squeeze its workers in Germany, where it is headquartered. VW has offered to produce a new car—and thus create 5,000 new jobs—in Germany, but only if the union agrees to longer hours (up to 48 a week), less pay, no holiday pay for new workers and tying wages to productivity. All of this points to the opportunity and urgent necessity for coordinated strike action to cripple VW internationally. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, fight to win workers and youth to the revolutionary internationalist program of Trotskyism, in principled opposition to German imperialism and against the chauvinist misleaders of the proletariat.

Unions in the American AFL-CIO federation have issued vague statements of solidarity with the strikers in Puebla. What is needed is class-struggle solidarity in action—mobilize longshoremen and truckers to refuse to handle any scab VW products shipped across the border! This is obviously not the perspective of the AFL-CIO leadership. Though it sometimes pays lip service to immigrant rights, it pushes protectionism, lining American workers up with their own bourgeoisie rather than with their class brothers in Mexico and other countries. A gross display of chauvinism is seen with the Teamster bureaucrats' campaign against Mexican trucking. Not surprisingly, this has led to a resurgence of racist, anti-Mexican cartoons in U.S. newspapers. The AFL-CIO representative in Mexico, Jeff Hermanson, is reported to "have confidence in Vicente Fox's government's posture of change" because he has yet to outlaw a strike by declaring it "nonexistent," as the government did to last year's VW strike. In fact, one of the first acts of Fox's government was to declare "nonexistent" the strike of 45,000 sugar workers organized in the CTM.

Defeat Attacks on Labor, Leftists, Women!

Women make up most of the workforce in the border *maquiladora* zone, where they slave for miserable wages. With few exceptions, the skilled jobs with slightly better pay are unavailable to women. While abortion was a topic of national debate last year, women remain without the right to decide whether or not to have children. Even laws allowing abortion in the case of rape are a dead letter. The victory of the PAN, tightly linked to the anti-woman Catholic church, has led to an escalation of attacks on homosexuals. Several months ago, official signs excluding gays were posted at pools in the state of Aguascalientes. More recently, the acting president of the Human Rights Commission of the state of Yucatán, Omar Ancona Capetillo, was quoted as saying that "those with AIDS should be held in quarantine" and "shot dead" if they try to leave. This despicable garbage puts wind in the sails of murderous bigots who are responsible for the high rate of murder of gay men in Mexico. Full democratic rights for homosexuals! For free abortion on demand! Equal pay for equal work! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Machismo and other backward prejudices were in evidence at the August 22 march in Puebla. There was a lot of whistling and verbal harassment of the few women present and anti-gay epithets were used as insults against the bosses. While much of the left embraces such anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry, we argued that sexism and homophobia benefit the bourgeoisie by pitting different sectors of the oppressed against each other when they should be uniting against their common enemy. Some workers, who likely had never been confronted with these points, in the end apologized.

As long as the working class shares the ideology of the bourgeoisie—nationalism, sexism, anti-Semitism—it will be handicapped in any struggle against the bourgeoisie. The liberation of all those oppressed by capitalism requires the leadership of a Leninist party that bases itself on the power of the proletariat and is a true tribune of all the downtrodden. What the bourgeoisie fears is that all those in struggle—students, peasants, indigenous people, women—will unite behind the power of the working class and fight their common enemy, the capitalist class. Volkswagen workers can show the power of the proletariat to all those fighting against injustice. Spread the strike! Victory to VW workers!■

Free Mumia...

(continued from page 10)

fighting for Mumia's freedom. Yet they are squirming because it doesn't exactly jibe—to say the least—with the illusions they sow in the capitalist courts. Explaining the reluctant decision by "the movement" to put aside the call for a new trial, Steve Bloom writes in Solidarity's *Against the Current* (July/August 2001): "With the decision by Mumia and his attorneys to now put forward a clear alternative theory of events this choice to focus politically on the call for Mumia's unconditional release would seem to be even more of a political imperative."

A "theory"? Bloom can't stomach the *truth* the new evidence illuminates: that lying "testimony," coercion of witnesses and fabricated "evidence" are standard operating procedure for the cops, prosecutors and courts, wielded with particular vengeance against those like Jamal who are seen as a challenge to the racist rulers. Even in the face of the new evidence, Bloom continues to appeal to liberals who deny Mumia's innocence: "It remains necessary to continue mobilizing support from those for whom questions may remain about Mumia's guilt or innocence, but who are still willing to protest against the original farce of a trial and agree that his conviction should be set aside."

Earlier, Guerry Hodderson, on behalf of the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee, issued a letter to Judge Yohn pleading:

> "Surely, the courts should have gone beyond the idea that the 'only good Red is a dead Red,' the mentality that gave rise to Sacco's and Vanzetti's executions and the persecution of Abu-Jamal.
>
> "I do not believe you have anything to lose and much to gain by holding an evidentiary hearing. At the very least you will regain an appearance of fairness in a case that has come to symbolize the racist, anti-radical abuses of America's court system."

One would have to look hard to find a more chemically pure example of prostration before the bourgeois state. What America's rulers think of "reds" and all opponents of racist capitalism can be seen in the FBI's COINTELPRO program that murdered 38 Black Panthers; in the 1979 massacre of five leftist union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina by the Klan in collusion with the FBI; in the 1953 execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The drive to execute Mumia throws into stark relief the machinery of capitalist repression which is directed at any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few, a class system which in the U.S. is rooted in the forcible subjugation of black people at the bottom of society. We seek to imbue the working class with an understanding of not only the nature of the capitalist state as a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed, but also the unity of the interests of labor with the fight for black freedom in America. To paraphrase Karl Marx, a slave who understands that he is a slave and understands his relationship to the master is half free. The core question is who shall rule society: the capitalist exploiters or the multiracial working class, taking power through socialist revolution.

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.■

NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended, respecting a strike by cleaners who work in the building where the office is located. Please contact the NYSL at (212) 267-1025 if you are interested in meeting or picking up literature.

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Philippines...

(continued from page 5)

the Stalinist Communist Party and the peasant-guerrilla Hukbalahap uprising. Sison's CPP, which emerged as a Maoist split from the older pro-Moscow Communist Party in 1968, is deeply wedded to nationalist class collaborationism. The peasant-guerrilla insurgency carried out by the CPP's New People's Army (NPA) has waxed and waned over the years as overtures are made to each new bourgeois regime. While defying murderous state repression, such "armed struggle" is essentially a means to pressure the bourgeoisie.

So while the CPP describes the Arroyo government as "a fundamentally reactionary regime in transition to power" (*Ang Bayan*, 3 February), the KMU and BAYAN publicly campaigned for Arroyo's People Power Coalition senatorial ticket and in some instances ran on local slates as Arroyo's people. A leaflet distributed in Australia by the Sisonite "Philippines Australia Union Link" group gave backhanded support to the brutal May Day crackdown in Manila, denouncing the anti-Arroyo protest as a "right wing coup attempt." Their class treachery was evident last year when the Sisonites knifed the courageous strike of KMU-affiliated Light Rail Transit workers, mobilizing thousands instead to demonstrate for a "Council of National Salvation and Unity" with Arroyo.

M. Calderon

Army mobilization in Sulu province. Philippine rulers repeatedly unleash military terror against leftist guerrillas, Islamic insurgents.

UPI

"People Power I": U.S. lackey Cory Aquino with Cardinal Sin in 1986 as Imperialists pulled plug on hated Marcos dictatorship.

With some leftists starting to question their abject servility to the bourgeois order, a number of reformist organizations are covering themselves on their left flank. But while the PM and the SPP of former Lagman lieutenant Sonny Melencio distance themselves from the Sisonites, their actions belie their words.

The criticism by Lagman's SANLAKAS of the Sisonites is captured in a poster based on the movie *My Best Friend's Wedding*, showing Arroyo and Sison as bride and groom with BAYAN leader Casiño as ring-bearer. But the Lagmanites' "Third Way" is a complete fraud. Their support to the capitalist order was illustrated by their calling on the chief justice of the Supreme Court to assume the presidency. The Lagmanite PM, as described by one of its spokesmen in a 12 February press statement, is an electoral party which seeks to pursue the struggle for reforms by placing union presidents in parliament and has run for election on a platform limited to higher wages, low taxes and more benefits. Belying its militant rhetoric are resolutions passed at PM's founding conference expressing the Lagmanites' willingness to support Arroyo on the condition that she put "labor first" on the government's agenda. This trade-unionist program offers no revolutionary challenge to the bourgeois order but merely seeks reforms to make the conditions of wage slavery a little better for the working class.

The SPP, which is associated with the ideas of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), vocally opposed Arroyo's presidential ambitions while invoking the "People Power" fraud. At various times last year it called for a "government of the poor" and a "Congress of the Masses" to represent the workers, urban poor, peasants, youth, women and businessmen; for "People Power to force Erap out of office"; for a "People's Congress to unite all opposed to Erap." A 30 November 2000 SPP statement claimed that "Cuba is the example of a country run by people's power government."

Characteristic of its opportunism, the SPP plunged into the KOMPIL II movement, which is closely identified with the church, the Makati bourgeoisie and the rabidly anti-communist Philippine social democracy. Later, in an attempt to dissociate itself from such unsavory company, the SPP lashed up with fake leftists such as the KPD, Padayon, Kalayaan!, BISIG and Alab Katipunan in the nominally anti-Arroyo PARE coalition. At the same time, the SPP sent executive council member Rasti Delizo to consort with the class enemy and religious reaction in a mass officiated by Cardinal Jaime Sin for the Arroyo camp.

Arguing that the fragmentation of the left is an obstacle to revolutionary victory, the SPP has sought unity with anyone so willing, including even a faction of the Cordillera People's Liberation Army, which now serves as an auxiliary force to the bourgeois military and demands its full integration into the armed forces of the bourgeois state. Consistent with the DSP's call in 1999 for Australian troops to East Timor, the SPP has not called for pulling out the Philippine troops there, including Special Forces who had been in Mindanao killing Muslims and the NPA. Tailing the imperialists' propaganda campaign over the Albanian Kosovars, in which the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was used as pawns in the U.S./NATO war against Serbia, a 25 March 1999 SPP statement (reprinted in *Progresibo* No. 5, July/August 1998) called for "Arms for the KLA."

Serving as cheerleaders for the Castroite bureaucracy in Havana, the SPP ignores the fact that the nationalist bureaucrats ruling Cuba are the main obstacle to revolutionary defense of the social gains of the Cuban Revolution. Meanwhile, the SPP program does not stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states, which are targeted by U.S. and Japanese imperialism. These positions are two sides of the same coin. The former reflects the SPP's identification with "Third World" nationalism, as represented by its parading of Che Guevara as an icon. The latter illustrates the inability of the SPP to break with the interests of imperialism and the Philippine bourgeoisie, which see China as "the enemy." These are the logical results of the SPP's program, which fosters illusions in their "own" bourgeois ruling class and in imperialism. Such a party cannot and will not be an instrument for proletarian victory in the Philippines or anywhere else.

Reforge the Fourth International!

The Socialist Workers Movement (SKM), which emerged as a left split from the Lagmanite camp, claims to stand for the emancipation of the Philippine and international working class. These "Marxist-Leninists," who have courageously withstood the brunt of state repression by the Estrada and Arroyo governments, argue that the working class shares no common interests with national capitalist protectionism and correctly identify Estrada, Aquino, Ramos & Co. as the class enemy. But bereft of a program for international proletarian revolution, the SKM resorts to abstract calls for "the socialist alternative."

Unable to break with its Menshevik/Stalinist programmatic roots, the SKM advocates "democratic struggle for socialism" and "democratic transition under a socialist government"—dead giveaways of a schema of "two-stage revolution"—and has recently formed an "Alliance of Sectors for Alternative Transformation" headed by a Catholic priest to stand in the next election. The logical outcome of SKM's perspective can only be for a reformist workers party to run the bourgeois state on behalf of capitalism, not a workers state established through socialist revolution, such as that carried out by the Russian proletariat in October 1917.

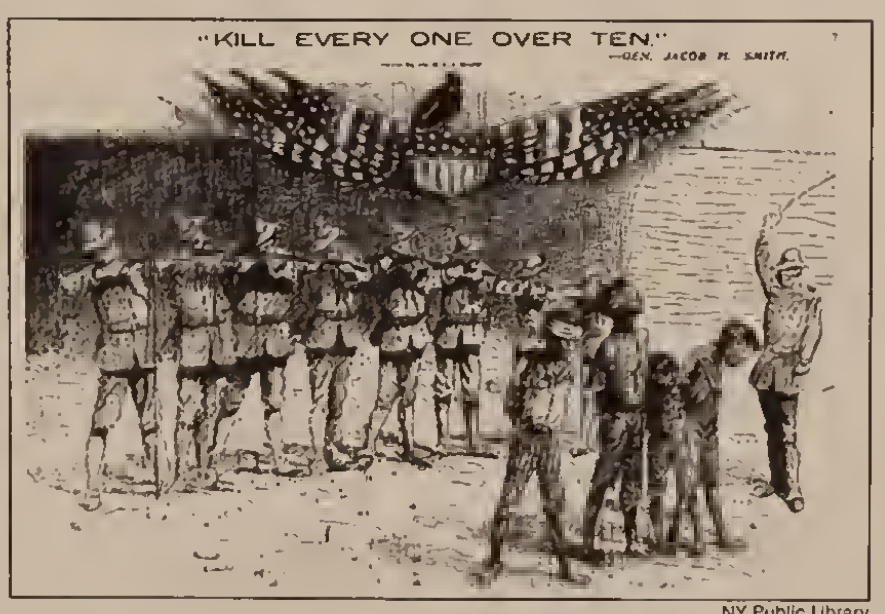
Meanwhile, the Proletarian Revolutionary Movement (PRK), which emerged from the CPP in the early 1990s and claims to be the sole authentic "Marxist-Leninist" organization in the Philippines, recently dropped any reference to the October Revolution in its statements. Cloaked in the mantle of Philippine nationalism, the PRK upholds Andrés Bonifacio and the Katipunan, which initiated the war for independence against Spain in 1896, as the historic model of a "government of the masses with a proletarian president." And while the PRK polemicizes against the Sisonites' coalition with Arroyo and the Lagmanites' calls for a bourgeois transition government, it advised the working class to join the anti-Estrada protests, flatly stating in its publication *Masang Anakpawis* (30 October 2000) that the proletariat is not yet prepared to seize power "except as a result of a process of continuous struggle that will take many years."

The PRK's pessimism in the possibility of victorious proletarian class struggle results from buying into the myth that "communism is dead." By refusing to defend China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, which the PRK characterizes as "state capitalist," and by cheering the "democratic" counterrevolutions that destroyed the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, the PRK capitulates to "democratic" imperialism and the Philippines' own anti-Communist bourgeoisie.

Socialist revolution in the Philippines would be an enormous impetus to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China, where the working class has waged massive struggles in defense of their livelihoods against Beijing's pro-capitalist "market reforms." It would show the road forward for the working masses throughout Southeast Asia facing the ravages of the continuing economic crisis, which will only intensify with the developing world recession.

The chief condition for any real struggle by the toiling masses against imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and oppression is the class independence of the proletariat. The Philippine proletariat must place itself at the head of the terribly exploited and oppressed masses of peasants, urban poor, women and minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class, crowning its victory with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is required above all is the forging of a proletarian vanguard party rooted in proletarian internationalism and armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. It must be steeled in political combat against the myriad forms of nationalist class collaborationism promoted by the Stalinist-dominated Philippine left.

Socialist revolution in the backward Philippines would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people in Indonesia, South Korea and elsewhere in the region—particularly in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse—and in the U.S. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers around the world provides a living bridge between the class struggles in the archipelago and those in the Near East, North America and elsewhere. The International Communist League seeks to build Leninist vanguard parties as sections of a reforged Fourth International, the indispensable instrument for leading new October Revolutions around the world.■



NY Public Library

Drawing depicts atrocities by U.S. occupation forces in Philippines following 1898 Spanish-American War.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Genoa: Witchhunt Against Anarchists Serves Imperialist Rulers

Free All Imprisoned Protesters Now!
Smash Imperialist Butchers—Workers to Power Worldwide!

In the month since the murderous police attack on "anti-globalization" protesters in Genoa which left at least one demonstrator—23-year-old Carlo Giuliani—dead, reports continue to emerge of the terror and torture inflicted by the cops. While almost all of the 300 arrested in Genoa in mid-July have finally been released, up to 15 protesters remain in prison, at least a dozen people are reportedly still missing, and some could well have met the same fate as did Giuliani. Chillingly, the Italian press reported the finding of the strangled corpse of a prominent woman trade-union leader, who was active in the Genoa demonstrations, in a river near Padova. Meanwhile, those who were released face potentially serious criminal charges. *Drop the charges against all arrested protesters! Free those imprisoned now!*

Young Spartacus

In the immediate aftermath of the police killing of Carlo Giuliani, the International Communist League issued an urgent call for "workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression." In contrast, the reformist and centrist "left" groups who long ago sold their political souls to the Social Democratic governments now ruling most of Europe provided their services to the capitalist state's vendetta against the Black Bloc anarchists. In Britain the Socialist Workers Party wrote: "There is now overwhelming evidence that the Black Block was given free rein to do anything it wanted in Genoa" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 August). In France, ATTAC, the anti-globalization umbrella organization—which includes members of Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French affiliate of the United Secretariat—issued a July 20 statement that criticized the Italian cops because "they deliberately closed their eyes to the preparation and arming of several hundred provocateur elements of the so-called Black Block."

Spartakist

Brian Seidman

International protests one month after murderous cop rampage in Genoa: Spartakist Workers Party contingent in Berlin, August 20; Trotskyist League addresses Vancouver rally, August 21.

On August 20, demonstrations were held in cities throughout Europe and elsewhere to honor and remember Carlo Giuliani. Among the 1,000 who demonstrated in Berlin was the Revolutionary Contingent organized by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD),

continued on page 8

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Carlo's Way

The recent police shooting of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani in the riotous streets of Genoa has sent shock waves around the globe.

Giuliani, son of a Rome labor leader, was one of tens of thousands of anti-globalist demonstrators who fell on the latest place where politicians and corporate representatives gathered to insure their continued dominance of the world's economy. Carlo was part of a growing movement, uniting the youth of many so-called first world countries with the aspirations of many in the so-called third world. It was this movement that shook Seattle, and made the anagram, WTO, known throughout the earth.

For opposing the rule of capital, for opposing the Empire of Wealth, Carlo Giuliani was shot by the hitmen of capital, and, as if this were not enough, a police vehicle rolled over his prone, wounded body.

With the brutal state slaughter of Carlo Giuliani, the message goes forth that anti-globalism is a capital crime. This is but the latest escalation by the armed forces of capital, which has utilized increasing levels of state violence to intimidate the swelling hordes of anti-globalists.

The blood on the asphalt of Genoa did not begin when a cop pointed his semi-automatic into the face of a masked Roman anarchist. The blood of Genoa flows from the streets of Göteborg, in Sweden, when the European Union was holding its summit meeting. There, police fired live rounds at protestors, wounding three, one seriously.

Now, an anarchist, anti-globalist lies dead.

As soon as the news hit the wire, came the words of the Irish playwright, George Bernard Shaw, who once quipped, "Anarchism is a game at which the police can beat you." Shaw, an ardent socialist, would perhaps amend his comments in light of recent events (if he could).

What is most telling is how the representatives of the state and their propaganda arm, the media, have reacted to this vicious tragedy.

While politicians uniformly spoke with forked tongues about the "tragedy," not a single syllable was uttered in criticism of the police, was it?

For the media, however, a different game was played. In virtually every report, the coverage told of violent *protestors*—and suggested that they were uninformed, or simply stupid for daring to care about the poor in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Examine their biased, corporate-centered coverage, and ask yourself one, simple question:

What would they have written if a Genoan cop had been shot, and run over with a Land Rover driven by anarchists? Every corporate outlet would've blared about how "vicious" and "violent" the anti-globalist "terrorists" were. Of this there is no question!

Instead, a muted silence.

Silence, when the terrorists are the cops.

Silence, when the killers are the cops.

Silence, when the hitmen for the corporations act out.

You hear the fractured lectures of politicians talking about "assaults on the democratic process," and the like.

Yet, how democratic is the G-8 (Group of 8)?

This group, which is self-selected, is seven of the wealthiest nations on earth (plus Russia).

If there are about 193 nations in the world, what's "democratic" about 4 percent of that number making all of the rules governing the rest of the world's economy?

Look at it another way: The G-8 consists of representatives for Canada, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States—and Russia. If you were to count all of the people in each nation, and add them up, you'd come up with around 824 million people. That's a lot of folks.

But there are 6,000,000,000+ people on earth!

How can 14 percent of the world's population set down the rules for 86 percent of the rest of the people of the world?

Carlo Giuliani wasn't "assaulting the democratic process." He was protesting a profoundly anti-democratic process.

He was fighting on behalf of most of the people in the world.

25 July 2001

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If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 764 14 September 2001

Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist "Retaliation"

The World Trade Center Attack

Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.

SEPTEMBER 12—Yesterday's attack on the World Trade Center, carried out through the hijacking of civilian airliners that killed hundreds of passengers and crew, was an indefensible act of criminal terror. While it may be viewed as a symbol of the wealth and global reach of U.S. imperialism, the World Trade Center had workers of all races, ethnicities and religions who were employed there. And at 9 a.m. on a workday morning, thousands of other workers—transit, construction, office and countless others—were traveling through or in the vicinity of the Twin Towers.

It is not simply that the target wasn't even an institution representing the brutal and murderous U.S. imperialist rulers. Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) ***embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!***

The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle "one nation indivisible" patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign "enemy," as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people. This is particularly convenient as hundreds of thousands more jobs are being axed—adding to the mountain of human poverty, misery and all-sided degradation that has been created by the American ruling class over the past decade with the destruction of social programs benefiting the working class, minorities and the poor.

The theme is "rally 'round the flag" as Republican president Bush, with complete bipartisan support from Congress, readies the Pentagon war machine for terror attacks and worse against the people of those countries they claim "harbored" the terrorists. The last such "retaliation," following the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, rained 80 cruise missiles down on Afghanistan and on a pharmaceuticals plant in Sudan. Previous to that, there was the all-out war against Iraq in 1991, a war which continues with regular U.S. bombing raids, while over one and a half million Iraqis have been killed by the UN starvation blockade. The capitalist media recalls "Pearl Harbor" in blaring headlines. But it was U.S. imperialism that was the first and only country in the world to use atomic weapons in the 1945 nuclear incineration of a ***quarter-million people*** in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As communists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we fight to mobilize the working people here in opposition to the war aims and military adventures

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Defend the Palestinian People!

Zionist Stormtroopers Rampage

All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

SEPTEMBER 10—In a sharp riposte to escalating Zionist terror against the Palestinian people, two commandos of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) infiltrated an Israeli army post in the Gaza Strip on August 25, killing three soldiers and wounding seven. The DFLP raid provoked a furor among Israel's ultra-chauvinist rulers, who see themselves as a "master race" and deem the Palestinian Arab people *Untermenschen* (subhumans) capable of nothing more than suicide bombings against civilians. An embarrassed army high command launched an immediate inquiry, while a leading daily, *Maariv*, described the Palestinian raid as a "humiliating defeat."

Two days later, Israeli forces assassinated Abu Ali Mustafa, leader of another nationalist organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Mustafa is the highest-ranking of more than 30 Palestinian militants murdered since the start of the uprising. In targeting the head of the PFLP, the second-largest group in Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Zionist rulers signaled that they can and will assassinate any Palestinian leader in order to suppress the Arab masses.

The day after Mustafa's murder, Israeli forces invaded Beit Jala, turning the Lutheran church compound in this largely Christian West Bank town into a snipers' nest as Palestinian children in the orphanage below huddled in terror. For nearly three days, besieged Palestinians armed with automatic rifles tried to defend themselves against Israeli tanks blasting away on the streets. A "ceasefire" brokered by the European Union (EU) resulted only in a pullback of Israeli forces to the town's outskirts, where they continue to menace the local population. The occupation of

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Reuters

Israeli tanks roll into West Bank town of Beit Jala.

Toussaint L'Ouverture's "Black Jacobins"

The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy.....6

Victimized in '80s Day Care Witchhunt

Free Gerald Amirault Now!

Richman/NY Times

Gerald Amirault, 15 years in prison.

In the 1980s, a wave of vicious hysteria targeted day-care centers, leaving hundreds of shattered lives, innocent child-care workers imprisoned and children confused and manipulated; as ambitious prosecutors and politicians whipped up mass panic over supposed "satanic abuse" conspiracies. Today, most of these bizarre prosecutions have been overturned and many of the falsely accused have been released, often after spending years in prison. But in Massachusetts, Gerald Amirault still remains behind bars after 15 years. On July 6, the Board of Pardons unanimously recommended that acting governor Jane Swift commute Amirault's sentence. In a highly unusual statement, the Board stated that the case was "replete with inconsistent and conflicting judicial opinions concerning whether justice was done," and declared that "in the end this is a case of simple, fundamental fairness." Nonetheless, the politicians who put him there, Democrats as well as Republicans, are still stonewalling.

The Amirault tragedy began in 1984, when one unsubstantiated accusation of child abuse was made against Gerald Amirault, who worked with his mother Violet and sister Cheryl Amirault LeFave at the family's Fells Acres Day School in Malden, a suburb of Boston. This was enough to set off a full-scale witchhunt. The state shut down the school, and—as in other communities—a barrage of police, prosecutors, social workers and "child abuse" specialists descended, pressuring very young children into retailing incredible stories. At Fells Acres, these stories included "a secret room" where a "bad clown" tortured children, robots that ate children, teachers pulling the legs off squirrels and sexual penetration with large knives. There was no physical evidence of any of this.

Today, predictably, the now-grown accusers are being organized to oppose Amirault's freedom, since they were taught to believe that something bad had happened to them, even though it hadn't. With considerable dignity and intelligence, Amirault, who has a wife and two daughters of his own, has said that "these kids are victims, too." A large body of legal and psychological research has now confirmed that children will vehemently defend implanted memories as a result of intense pressure and repetition by adults.

Violet, Cheryl and Gerald were denied the chance to face their accusers at the trial. Dozens of other parents and teachers testified that they had never seen anything wrong. Nonetheless, in the loathsome atmosphere of sex hysteria that characterized the Reagan administration's all-sided attempts to reimpose religious and other reactionary superstitions while grinding down the poor and working people by slashing social programs like day care, Violet Amirault and her two children were railroaded into prison. Two prominent Massachusetts Democrats led the prosecution—Scott Harshbarger, who later became state Attorney General, and Thomas Reilly, the current Attorney General. A decade went by. In 1995, the Amiraults petitioned for new trials. Violet and Cheryl were released on bail after eight years in prison. Gerald was denied a new trial, while in 1997 the state Supreme Judicial Court reinstated the child molestation convictions against the two women. (Meanwhile, Violet died at the age of 74 of stomach cancer.)

The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, wrote in a protest to then-Governor Weld against the 1997 decision: "The Amiraults are no more child molesters than the citizens of Salem were witches. In both cases mass paranoia was engineered to terrorize innocent people. Government and media-fueled hysteria over 'child abuse' has little to do with protecting children, and a lot to do with a campaign against day-care centers as somehow dangerous, subversive institutions.... The Amiraults must not spend another day in prison. We demand all charges be dropped immediately!" (reprinted in *WV* No. 668, 16 May 1997).

Today, after a series of legal twists and turns, Cheryl Amirault LeFave is free, her sentence reduced to time served. Gerald has been left twisting in the wind, as the Middlesex District Attorney's office adamantly continues to oppose commuting his sentence of 40 years in prison, while all the bourgeois politicians, especially those planning a run for governor in 2002, now claim that they know nothing and need extensive time to "study" the issues. This despite a barrage of almost unanimous media editorials calling for commutation, from the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald* to suburban papers around the state, as well as a decade-long campaign by the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* (hardly a bastion of democratic freedoms for the poor) to overturn the case.

Unlike the cowardly capitalist politicians trying to hide today, we Marxists of the Spartacist League forthrightly opposed these witchhunts from the beginning, as part of our obligation to act, in Lenin's words, as a "tribune of the people," opposing social injustice in every area of society. We understand that the state is not neutral but an institution created to maintain capitalist class rule, which also requires enforcing the reactionary monogamous family structure. Mass hysteria about sex periodically erupts in this scary society—whether over AIDS, gays, young people having sex, interracial sex, women's basic right to abortion—and will not fundamentally be overcome until this crazed, wilfully ignorant, brutal capitalist system is overturned through socialist revolution.

As we noted back in 1990 in "The McMartin Day Care Witchhunt" (*WV* No. 497, 9 March 1990), referring to the presidency of Bush senior:

> "Bush's drug witchhunt today is a continuation of the sex witchhunts of the Reagan-Meese years, seeking to terrorize the American population through hysteria over the devil, drugs, day care—and abortion rights too—into blind obedience to the designs of this ruling class. This government has consciously condemned an entire generation of minority poor and working-class kids as it seeks to restore the capitalists' decaying profit system at our expense. The biggest child abusers in America reside in the Fortune 500's capitalist enclaves and the White House."

Gerald's wife, Patti Amirault, has requested that people write the Massachusetts governor to protest her husband's continued imprisonment. Send letters to: Governor Jane Swift, Room 360, State House, Boston, MA 02133.■

In Defense of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

TROTSKY

LENIN

The October Revolution of 1917 established the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and sparked insurrectionary workers struggles in other countries. While some anarchists joined with the Bolsheviks, others who had supported the struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie turned against the young Soviet workers state, which was beset by civil war, economic dislocation and all-sided attempts by the old ruling class to foment counterrevolution. Addressing both Soviet anarchist spokesmen and "Left Communists," Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin defended the iron necessity of consolidating proletarian state power to defend the revolution against the class enemy and begin economic reconstruction.

It is not difficult to see that during every transition from capitalism to socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organisation and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there is no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos....

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realise this and did not show salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength to suppress ruthlessly the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class, reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people was the weakness of the proletariat, which *alone* is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class-conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side *the majority* of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historic—economic and political—lesson that Marx summed up when he gave his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" (March-April 1918)

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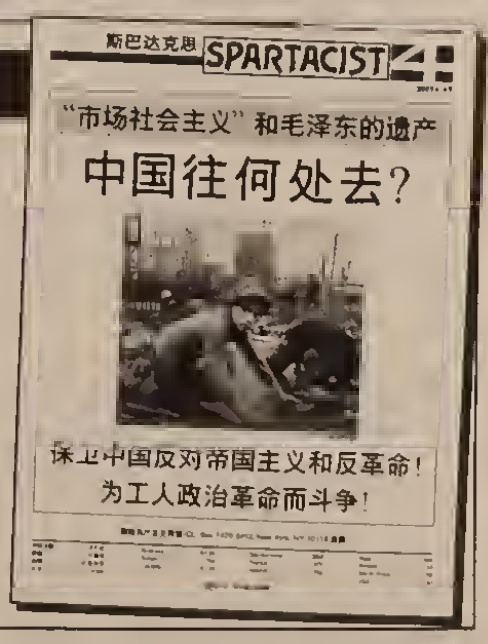

Free Tom Green!

Mormon Polygamists: Leave Them Alone!

People have the right to be left alone. Especially when it comes to the most private and personal matters—like consensual sex—we believe the government has no business interfering in people's lives. Thus we oppose the prosecution of Mormon fundamentalist Tom Green for polygamy. Convicted of felony bigamy charges in May, last month Green was sentenced to five years in prison by a Utah court, despite desperate pleas from his five wives. Not only was Green torn away from his family, but he was also fined nearly $80,000 to "repay" support payments by the state to some of his wives and children. This is a twisted bureaucratic cruelty akin to imprisoning pregnant women who use drugs for "fetus abuse" and then ripping their kids away once they are born because the mothers are "criminals." Meanwhile, Green still faces an additional charge of "child rape" because one of his wives was 13 when she became pregnant with their child.

Although the official Mormons, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, formally renounced polygamy over a century ago, there are an estimated 30,000 fundamentalist Mormons, many successful small businessmen, still practicing the early church's preaching. But Green openly discussed his lifestyle on TV talk shows, and was vindictively targeted by Juab County prosecutor David Leavitt, brother of the state's governor, for the first polygamy trial in the U.S. in a half century. Following Green's conviction, a spokesman for the Women's Religious Liberties Union said: "It's like the Taliban here. In Afghanistan, the authorities force women to wear black robes. Here, they force women to become criminals to live their religion."

Why do we communists have any special interest in defending against the government this 52-year-old Mormon "patriarch" living out in the desert with his wives and 26 kids? Certainly it's not because we think the Mormons—whether the hardcore sects or the more mainstream elders of the Latter-Day Saints—are in any way progressive. On the contrary. We see religion (of all brands) as a bulwark of reaction in general and of the institutionalized oppression of women in particular.

One major reason we defend these relatively strange sects against government persecution is that we oppose the capitalist state's drive to suppress any form of social dissent or to outlaw any kind of social behavior it deems "deviant." This is literally deadly dangerous: look at the Feds' incineration of the back-to-nature MOVE commune and a whole black neighborhood in Philadelphia in 1985. Or Bill Clinton and Janet Reno's fiery assault on the racially integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas in 1993, killing over 80 men, women and children. Or Ruby Ridge, 1992, where

AP

Tom Green and his wives, victimized for a consensual relationship.

FBI snipers surrounded white separatist Randy Weaver's remote Idaho cabin, killing his teenage son with a bullet to the back and the next day shooting down his wife as she stood holding her baby daughter out on the porch.

This bloody trail of murderous terror is intended as a warning to all: any defiance of authority will be met by death. We have little in common politically with MOVE or the Branch Davidians, nor obviously with the Weavers. But we understand that it is this government, from city and state on up to the federal level, which is the main institution for the suppression of the working class and maintenance of the capitalists in power, through its cops, courts, prisons and army.

The Mormon polygamy case also touches on questions of sex, religion and the family. The family structure—whether monogamous or polygamous—necessarily oppresses women. However, not everybody understands the source of their oppression, and people do all sorts of things that are undoubtedly bad for them that the state still has no business throwing them in prison for. As Marxists we understand that the family serves a real social purpose and cannot simply be "abolished," even in a workers state, but must be replaced with alternate social institutions. As we say in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S., citing Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*: "The monogamous patrilineal family arose to 'make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own'." For the working class, which has neither incredible riches nor ownership of the means of production to pass on to their children, the purpose of the family is to instill obedience to bourgeois authority and bear the cost of raising the next generation of wage slaves.

That's why the family is propped up by the government—well, in one particular WASPy "one man on one woman for life" version, anyhow. Thus, George Bush, who recently said that "the absence of a father can shatter a child's world," has been promoting his "fatherhood initiative," which aims to gut welfare for single mothers by compelling them to marry. These days it seems that the only people who still *want* to get married are the ones the government won't allow to marry—like Mormon polygamists or gays and lesbians. In fact, only about 25 percent of the population today lives in the supposedly "model" nuclear family—one mom, one dad and kids—and half of all marriages end in divorce.

What's forbidden and what's permitted by this government don't bear much resemblance to the messy reality most of us live in. We are for a socialist society in which privileges and penalties do not attach to whomever you happen to be living with or having children with, but in which the rights of the individual are paramount, regardless of "marital status." Nonetheless, if gays want to marry, of course they should have that right. As Richard Goldstein pointed out in his article "Love That Dare Not" in the *Village Voice* (26 May): "The core issue is whether any intimate behavior that doesn't cause harm should be allowed. If you say yes, you must consider the possibility that plural marriage, like gay marriage (or any gay relationship), is part of the panoply of choices free people are entitled to make."

The question of harm, and of free choice, is a vital consideration in any relationship. We uphold the principle of "effective consent" as the only guiding principle in sexual relations, which would necessarily have to be determined on an individual basis. Undoubtedly, the most socially explosive question in Tom Green's case is the "child rape" charge. On that question, we have a longstanding position against reactionary "age of consent" and "statutory rape" laws, which are designed to repress youth, strengthen the bourgeois state in regimenting the population and spread panic as a diversion from the real brutality of life in this society. Since none of Green's wives have raised complaints—on the contrary, they have adamantly asserted that the relationship is wholly consensual—we see no crime there. Ironically, the prosecution of Green will probably only increase the likelihood that real violent abuse may go unreported, as polygamous families retreat further underground in legitimate fear of the authorities.

However, in countries which never experienced bourgeois revolutions, where women are held to be little more than the property of their patriarchal masters, the need to liberate them from patriarchal practices oppressive to women takes on a strategic importance. Communists fight to end institutions such as the polygamy system and the bride price—legacies of social backwardness which are today upheld by religious reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. That's not what's involved in this case, however. The Mormons are one of the many peculiar U.S. religious sects, essentially freely chosen by their practitioners, where government intervention only makes things worse.

The Utah polygamy ban is part of a broader anti-sex witchhunt targeting gays, teens and, above all, aimed at

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Spartacist Forums

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

The Fight Is On: Mobilize to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

BAY AREA
Saturday, September 15, 4 p.m.
YWCA of Oakland, Lounge Room
1515 Webster Street, Oakland
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or (415) 395-9520

BOSTON
Saturday, September 15, 3 p.m.
Boston University
Marsh Room, Marsh Chapel
For more information, (617) 666-9453

VANCOUVER
Trotskyist League Forum
Saturday, September 29, 3 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Rm. L3
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, September 22, 4 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue, Hollywood
(one block east of Vermont, near Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Reparations, Black Oppression and Racist Witchhunts on Campus

Workers Revolution: The Road to Black Freedom

NEW YORK CITY
Thursday, September 20, 7 p.m.
Broadway Presbyterian Church
Broadway and 114th Street
For more information, (212) 267-1025

Overthrow the Imperialist Butchers

For Global Workers Rule!

TORONTO
Trotskyist League Forum
Saturday, September 29, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. W. (west of Spadina)
For more information (416) 593-4138

Young Spartacus

Radicals Without a Compass

The Resurgence of Anarchism

In the wake of the counterrevolutions that swept across the former Soviet Union and East Europe, anarchism is resurfacing as an avowedly revolutionary pole. Anarchists are posing as a revolutionary alternative to capitalism while chanting in unison with bourgeois democrats that "absolute power corrupts absolutely" and that state power was the original sin of the Russian Revolution. They posture as providing a way forward for would-be anti-capitalists who, despite their youthful rebellion, have yet to abandon prejudices from their parents and the renewed Cold War of the 1980s.

It is ironic that the modern anarchist movement, having gained so much notoriety at demonstrations against imperialist "globalization," is premised on renouncing the Russian Revolution and its surviving offshoots in China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, the greatest anti-imperialist victories in history. Railing against "all dictatorships," today's anarchists confusedly equate these workers states with the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies that in fact threaten their very existence. In no case is this clearer than in China, where the bureaucracy is pushing market reforms that encourage the forces for capitalist counterrevolution. That would mean the imperialists could gorge themselves on the unimpeded exploitation of the Chinese proletariat for the first time since the 1949 Chinese Revolution. On behalf of the American bourgeoisie, U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld has increased the military budget next year by $18.4 billion to a post-Cold War record of $343.5 billion.

The efforts to shut down or sell off state-run factories and grant ever greater concessions to foreign companies have already sparked massive revolts by the Chinese working class, which understands that capitalist restoration would condemn millions to a life of poverty, homelessness and no medical care. Anarchists, if they are consistent, are at best indifferent to these bloody designs of the world's most powerful imperialists; at worst, in the name of "anti-totalitarianism," they join in the anti-Communist crusade of their own rulers. Intervening at the demonstrations in Washington, Quebec and Genoa, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have sought to win over aspiring revolutionaries with the class-struggle demand: *Defend China against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution! For proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy!*

An Unbridgeable Chasm?

The anarchist component in the anti-globalization movement has become more visible with each anti-summit demonstration, but politically remains inchoate. Those subscribing to some form of anarchism vary widely: vaguely "anti-authoritarian" elements who try to lead a "non-corporate" lifestyle; so-called "deep ecologists" who reject modern civilization; undisguised liberals like Noam Chomsky who called for sanctions against Iraq and plead for the U.S. to respect international law; "direct action" Black Blocs targeting corporate symbols. The approach posed by militant youth in Quebec and Genoa, direct confrontation with the police, can seem like a step to the left away from both petty-bourgeois lifestylism and the prating of anarchist intellectuals. However, at base there is no real difference.

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July anti-G8 protests in Genoa. Anarchism has seen resurgence of popularity in post-Soviet period as youth looking to radical politics buy into anti-working-class, anti-Marxist bourgeois ideology.

Direct action, a modern adaptation of 19th-century "propaganda by the deed," is another version of anarchist "moral diffusion." The idea is that you set an example of what an outstanding moral citizen should do, be it by throwing bricks like someone in the Black Bloc or by passively enduring massacres like Mahatma Gandhi. Others are inspired by your physical sacrifice and moral victory so they do the same, and soon, the theory goes, you have a mass movement.

What especially white middle-class youth have yet to learn is that setting yourself up as an easy target for state repression is hardly inspiring to the oppressed masses who face factory exploitation and police terror on a daily basis. This is part of the reason why the most militant contingents of anarchist youth are overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois and the movement against "globalization" as a whole has yet to attract much from the barrios and the ghettos. It is the potential for *victory*, not for victimization, that will rally the oppressed masses to a revolutionary movement, and in 1917 it was Lenin's Bolsheviks who did exactly that.

One attempt at a crude polarization of the anarchist movement comes from octogenarian green/anarchist academic Murray Bookchin, whose 1995 book *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* has achieved recognition in some anarchist circles that see it as a legitimate call for an effective movement. Bookchin postures as the socialist "old guard" of the movement and posits that the recent growth of primitivism, mysticism and transparent quackery in its burgeoning camp of individualists could be detrimental to the future of anarchism as a whole. He asserts that in "today's reactionary social context," "issues of lifestyle are once again supplanting social action and revolutionary politics in anarchism."

Arguments against anti-technology primitivism from an anarchist perspective gain some currency because these theories are indeed revolting. For example, Bookchin targets Hakim Bey, whose introspective, navel-gazing slogan "Kill your inner cop" is one of the least offensive to appear on the pages of Bey's book *Temporary Autonomous Zone*. Bey does his part to uphold bourgeois law and order when he cautions against approaches other than his "personal insurrection" which result in "dangerous and ugly spasms of violence." Reactionary primitivists like George Bradford and John Zerzan play a crasser version of the same role, alibiing capital by asserting that the real enemies of human freedom are technology and civilization. Deep ecologists argue that humanity should return to small-scale local agriculture based on pre-industrial methods—this would mean the destruction of contemporary society. And with such a drastic lowering of productive output to a level that could sustain only a fraction of the earth's population, the logical extension of this theory is utterly fascistic; who decides who would live and who would die?

Murray Bookchin devotes a considerable portion of *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism* to refuting primitivism and counterposes his alternative, "municipal confederalism." However, any decentralization or attempt to extend a community's control over its own resources would create a regional barter system. Alternatively, cut off from international resources, even the most advanced "anarcho-commune" would revert back to sustenance agriculture. The extreme decentralization and technological standstill advocated by anarchists could only perpetuate the division between the imperialist countries and the "Global South." How could a world based on autonomous communes ever bridge the gap in wealth between Chiapas and Manhattan's elite neighborhoods, for example? Only world socialist revolution and the creation of an international division of labor can even begin to redress the centuries of imperialist plunder which have made of the "Global South" a sea of poverty and backwardness. We are for an internationally centralized, planned economy as the only way to eliminate scarcity.

At his best, Bookchin and those who subscribe to his theories present an idealistic defense of technology, rationalism and collectivity. But anarchism is a trans-class theory that writes off the proletariat and advocates a moral regeneration of society *at large*. Some anarchists may consider their theories a revolutionary alternative to individualistic lifestylists. But without a program to mobilize the multiracial proletariat together with minorities to smash capitalist oppression, there is no revolutionary ideology, only abstract rhetoric and moralism. Bookchin has no strategy to lead the struggles of workers and the oppressed to victory, so he is left only to bear witness, hoping that his idea will somehow "catch on," just like the personalistic fads of Bey & Co.

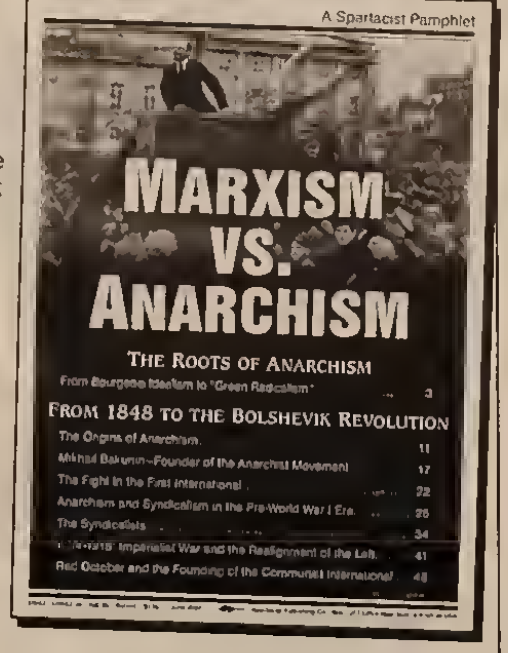
Anarchism: Polarized and Defeated by Class Struggle Decades Ago

Like his lifestylist opponents, Bookchin denies the revolutionary centrality of the proletariat. In streams of polemics, notably "Listen, Marxist!" and *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, written in the late 1960s as an attempt to counter the influence of a pro-working-class pole in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), he tries to pass off the proletariat as

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

$2 (56 pages)



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bought off, conditioned to obedience, and (occasionally) even nonexistent. Thus he claims in "Listen, Marxist!" that "in fact the traditional class struggle stabilizes capitalist society by 'correcting' its abuses (in wages, hours, inflation, employment, etc.)." Don't try those lines on the hundreds of millions of workers who toil for a pittance producing the wealth of societies internationally, for whom class struggle is the only defense against their exploiters. In the same polemic, he describes the class struggle as a "disease," saying: "If the byproduct of this disease has been technological advance, the main products have been repression, a horrible shedding of human blood and a terrifying distortion of the human psyche."

The working class has the strategic and numerical power to incapacitate the capitalists, with the capability to strike and hurt the capitalists where they feel it—in profits. This social power means that it is only the working class that has the power to overthrow the bourgeois order and smash the capitalist state—petty-bourgeois radicals do not. Without such a mobilization of the social power of the working class, there will be no revolution, only the continued hegemony of capital.

The profound failing of anarchism on the question of leadership lies in the complete inability of anarchists to pose the following question: what obstacles today prevent the revolutionary struggle of the masses for the seizure of power? Flowery rhetoric about spontaneity and the mass awakening of humanity simply serves to mask the fact that leadership already exists. Misleadership must be politically exposed and defeated; it will not just disappear. The politics of union bureaucrats and reformist "socialists" reinforce the powerful hold alien class forces have over the working class. In the U.S., the workers are bound to the racist Democratic Party by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which falls in line with the bourgeoisie's use of religion, anti-immigrant chauvinism, nationalism and especially anti-black racism to fragment the proletariat and obscure the fundamental class division between the exploiters and the exploited.

We want to build a party to defeat the pro-capitalist leadership of the working class, making possible a revolutionary struggle in this country. But you will not find a single word about these questions in the writing of *any* contemporary anarchist: Chomsky, Bob Black, Bookchin, *Anarchy*, *Fifth Estate*, whoever. They drivel on about moral revulsion and speculations about the ideal anarchist commune and spout anti-communist propaganda. But they say precious little about the actual battles of the working class today, and nothing about the political forces in the labor movement binding the workers to their class enemy, or about what it will take to transform isolated defensive strikes into a determined struggle for power. Denouncing the struggle for leadership serves as an easy and cheap cover to make peace with the existing, false leadership and accommodate the current consciousness of the masses. The logic is simple: if you do not lead, you follow.

To communists, the concept of a fatal contradiction within the anarchist movement is hardly new. Because anarchism is a trans-class ideology, the anarchist movement suffered a devastating split in the '20s that reflected the unprecedented wave of *class struggle* sweeping the world in the aftermath of Red October in Russia. Many anarchists sided with capital in the face of a workers insurrection. They often turned a blind eye to social backwardness among non-proletarian oppressed strata, championing small proprietors like the Ukrainian-nationalist, anti-Semitic Makhnovists and the Kronstadt peasant-sailors against the young workers state. Others like the once radical French syndicalists Léon Jouhaux and Alphonse Merrheim rapidly degenerated into trade-union bureaucrats. But the most revolutionary elements of the anarchist movement, exemplified by Victor Serge and Alfred Rosmer, merged with the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War. James P. Cannon, a leader of the early American Communist Party and the eventual founder of American Trotskyism, had also earlier been in the anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World.

Many courageous labor activists abandoned anarchist moralism and embraced the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship when they witnessed the unrelenting carnage and counterrevolutionary intransigence of the White forces. The generation of young workers and leftist intellectuals whose hatred of the bourgeois order was formed amid the mud and blood of the battlefield in World War I, whose hope for a better future was inspired by Red October, abandoned anarchism en masse for the Communist International. The one exception was Spain, where, tragically, the lessons learned by Cannon and his co-thinkers were not grasped by the anarchist movement two decades later.

Anarchists Sell Out the Spanish Revolution

Uninvolved in the First World War and sheltered from the earthshaking political developments that followed, Spain was the last great bastion of traditional anarchism. At the height of a vast revolutionary upsurge in the '30s, when workers and peasants had seized their factories and land in the name of revolution, the anarchist-led National Confederation of Labor-Iberian Anarchist Federation (CNT-FAI) entered the capitalist Popular Front government, along with their supposed arch-nemeses, the Stalinists. A popular front is a coalition of workers parties and bourgeois parties through which the workers' interests are subordinated to those of the capitalists. In the name of the "people's front" against fascism, this class-collaborationist popular front strangled an uprising of the working class on May Day 1937 and broke the revolutionary tide, preparing the way for the triumph of the Franco dictatorship.

It is immensely difficult to grasp the magnitude of the Spanish defeat in modern terms. The political consciousness of the working class in Spain at that time was, according to Trotsky, even more advanced than that of the Russian workers in 1917, and the anarchists numbered one and a half million. American Trotskyist Felix Morrow explained at the time why the anarchists failed and indeed refused to seize power:

> "Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to 'all dictatorships,' including the dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers."

That is precisely what happened in Spain. In July 1936, the attempted right-wing military coup led by Francisco Franco was defeated in Catalonia mainly by the anarchist-led workers militias of the CNT-FAI. Garcia Oliver and other CNT-FAI leaders then met with the head of the Generalitat (Catalan government), the liberal bourgeois nationalist Luis Companys. In an interview the following year, Garcia Oliver, then a government minister, recounted what happened at this fateful meeting.

Companys said to the anarchist leaders: "You have won, and everything is in your hands; if you do not need me nor wish me to remain as President of Catalonia, tell me now, and I will become one soldier more in the struggle against fascism." But, Companys continued, if you consent to my remaining as president, "you can count on me and on my loyalty as a man and as a politician who is convinced that to-day a whole past of shame is dead and who desires sincerely that Catalonia should place herself at the head of the most progressive countries in social matters."

Garcia Oliver and his comrades responded:

> "The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. decided on collaboration and democracy, renouncing revolutionary totalitarianism which would lead to the strangulation of the revolution by the anarchist and confederal dictatorship. We had confidence in the word and in the person of a catalan democrat and retained and supported Companys as President of the Generalitat."
>
> —quoted in V. Richards, *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939* (1953)

Following the anarchists' treacherous collaboration with and entry into the Popular Front, the bourgeoisie taught the working class a deadly lesson: no war in history has ever been won through democratic consultation with the enemy: the class war, waged for the largest stakes in history, the earth and all its fruits, is no exception. This understanding is at the core of the Trotskyist call for a *dictatorship of the proletariat*. And to an extent, many of the workers in Spain understood. They had no intention of deserting the May Day barricades in Barcelona as part of a deal that the CNT-FAI cut with the bourgeoisie. The popular-front government's move to suppress the uprising was successful because the workers lacked a well-established revolutionary vanguard party to organize and lead the insurrection to victory.

Bookchin, who claims the defeated Spanish Revolution as his own, does not deny the anarchists' treason in May '37. Instead, he denounces the CNT-FAI leaders and the capitalist Popular Front for creating "a civil war within the civil war, irrespective of its toll on the struggle against the Francoists" (see his book *To Remember Spain: the Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936* for more details). This "secondary" civil war was in fact an expression of the fundamental class divide between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It was precisely the task of every class-conscious worker to mount such a civil war in advance to purge the revolution of its bourgeois-democratic betrayers who, in the end, proved to have more in common with Franco than they did with the left-wing insurgents. But history has shown that even the most militant anarchists are too intoxicated

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Roger Viollet

Historia 16

Spanish Civil War: workers man barricades in Barcelona, May 1937 (top). Anarchists like Juan Garcia Oliver (far left) became ministers in capitalist government which suppressed armed workers struggle.

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Introduction to Marxism
September 18: **Historical Materialism**
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September 19: **Basic Marxism and the Fight for a Workers State**
222 South Morgan (ring 23 on buzzer)
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York University Student Ctr., Room 313
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Toussaint L'Ouverture's "Black Jacobins"

The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy

"When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world."

—Black abolitionist
Frederick Douglass on the
Haitian Revolution

Amid the usual patriotic hoopla around this year's Fourth of July holiday, there was an interesting piece in the *New York Times* (1 July) titled "Founding Fathers Dreamed of Uprisings, Except in Haiti." The author, Thomas Bender, a history professor at New York University, focused on the racist character of American "democracy" from its very origin. While Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, was a staunch supporter of the French Revolution, he was hostile to its offspring, the Haitian Revolution.

Why? Because the Haitian Revolution was a revolt of black slaves against white colonial planters. When in 1799 the U.S. Congress passed a bill opening trade with Haiti under its revolutionary leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Jefferson, himself a wealthy slaveholder, wrote to his colleague James Madison: "We may expect therefore black crews, and supercargoes and missionaries thence into the southern states.... If this combination can be introduced among us under any veil whatever, we have to fear it."

Jefferson's fear proved well-founded. While Haiti is today a desperately impoverished and brutalized neocolony of U.S. imperialism, in the early years of the 19th century it stood as a beacon of freedom for oppressed blacks and other peoples throughout the Americas. The Haitian Revolution and the establishment of an independent black republic in the Caribbean was an example and an inspiration for all the major slave revolts in the American South that followed. Many black freedmen in the U.S. refused to celebrate the Fourth of July and instead commemorated Haitian Independence Day.

The United States, then politically dominated by the Southern slavocracy, refused even to extend diplomatic recognition to Haiti until the government of Abraham Lincoln did so during the Civil War. In the 1820s, Senator Thomas Benton, a Jacksonian Democrat from Missouri, explained that the United States could receive "no mulatto Consuls or black Ambassadors" from Haiti because "the peace of eleven States in this Union will not permit black Consuls and Ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through the country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States, proof in hand of the honors which await them, for a successful revolt on their part."

Hulton Archive

Saint-Domingue (Haiti), 1802: Former slaves hang French soldiers as revolutionary army defeats attempt to re-establish slavery.

The American, French and Haitian Revolutions were all bourgeois revolutions fought under the banner of "the rights of man"—individual liberty, equality before the law, opposition to tyrannical government. Yet these upheavals were very different from one another. The Haitian Revolution rose out of the soil of the Great French Revolution of 1789-1793, the most radical of the bourgeois revolutions. What happened in the France of Robespierre's Jacobin dictatorship and in the Haiti of Toussaint were *social* revolutions. What happened in the America of Washington and Jefferson was not. France and Haiti underwent a massive downward redistribution of wealth and a radical change in class structure and power. Not so America.

Schomburg Collection

Toussaint L'Ouverture forged a disciplined army out of illiterate slaves. Drawing depicts Toussaint's council of war interrogating an English spy.

Thomas Jefferson: Bourgeois-Democratic Ideologist, Racist Slaveholder

How is it that the democratic principles inscribed in the Declaration of Independence were written by a slaveholder? The basic underlying cause of the War of Independence was the increasing conflict of economic interests between the propertied classes in the American colonies—Southern plantation owners and Northern merchant-traders—and Britain's ruling circles. In order to mobilize the mass of the white populace—small farmers, artisans and shopkeepers—to risk their lives and livelihoods in going to war against Britain, the wealthy colonial elite had to tell them that all men, having been created equal, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

At the level of practical politics, black chattel slavery made the democratic enfranchisement of white farmers and artisans in the early American republic less economically threatening to the Southern ruling class. Liberal planters like Jefferson could advocate extending voting rights to most white males since their own labor force, on which their wealth and social power depended, was made up entirely of black slaves. In the early 1800s, a British diplomat, Sir Augustus John Foster, observed that Virginia planters could "profess an unbounded love of liberty and of democracy in consequence of the mass of the people, who in other countries might become mobs, being there nearly altogether composed of their own Negro slaves" (quoted in Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Jeffersonian Legacies* [1993]). At the same time, the ideology of racial supremacy facilitated the political dominance of the planter aristocracy over the Southern white lower classes.

To be sure, some radical elements in the American Revolution, including Thomas Paine, denounced slavery as a moral evil and called for its abolition. And Jefferson himself was well aware—and was constantly reminded by his liberal and radical English and French friends—that black chattel slavery was blatantly incompatible with the democratic principles he so eloquently proclaimed. He sought to resolve this glaring contradiction by projecting that slavery would be abolished through the enlightened benevolence of the slaveholders themselves. But since the overwhelming majority of Southern planters (including Jefferson) were not willing to give up their valuable "property," he postponed this liberating act to a future generation.

"I had always hoped that the younger generation," Jefferson wrote in 1814, "would have sympathized with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it." Joseph J. Ellis, a critical student of Jefferson's thought, commented: "He thereby kept his principles pure and intact by placing them in a time capsule; there they could stay until that appropriate moment in the future when the world was ready for them" (*American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* [1997]). Jefferson did not even free his slaves as he was dying, as Washington did.

Jefferson's weasely positions and apparent hypocrisy with regard to slavery and black oppression were subject to sharp attacks in his own lifetime. One political opponent, the Federalist Timothy Pickering, baited Jefferson that he refused to support the black rebels on Saint-Domingue (Haiti) because they were "guilty" of having a "skin not colored like our own." It would, however, be an oversimplification to maintain that Jefferson regarded the "rights of man" as the exclusive province of white European males.

Were Jefferson and the other founding fathers simply cynics and hypocrites who outwardly professed principles in which they did not believe? No, they were governed by what Marxists call false consciousness: the denial and distortion of reality practiced by all ruling classes as a self-justification for exploitation and oppression. Jefferson truly believed that blacks were inherently inferior to whites, even though this flatly contradicted the basic premises of Enlightenment rationalism to which he generally subscribed.

Like some other Enlightenment thinkers (e.g., the French philosopher Voltaire), Jefferson considered American Indian tribes to be most admirable in combining social harmony with individual freedom and dignity. In his 1787 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he describes Indians as "endowed with faculties and rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence." He contrasted the heroic virtues of American Indians with the servility, corruption and decadence of monarchical Europe.

But when Jefferson compares European-derived whites with African-derived blacks, he paints just the opposite picture:

> "Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and compre-

> bending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous.... Never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration."
>
> —excerpted in Isaac Kramnick, ed., *The Enlightenment Reader* (1995)

The difference between Jefferson's enlightened, even idealized, attitude toward American Indians and his racist disdain for black people was conditioned by his *class allegiance*. The Native American Indian peoples, decimated by diseases brought by the European colonists and driven ever farther west (including under Jefferson's presidency), posed no serious threat to the Southern planter aristocracy. But Jefferson and his fellow plantation owners lived in constant and mortal fear of slave revolts.

When in 1775 colonial militias led by the Virginia planter George Washington took up arms against the British crown, the royal governor of Virginia offered freedom to any slave who joined the British army in its effort to suppress the rebellion. This move infuriated Jefferson. Included in the famous indictment of King George III in the Declaration of Independence was the charge that "he has excited domestic insurrections against us." Historian Paul Finkelman explained in *Jeffersonian Legacies*: "For southern slaveowners 'domestic insurrections' had only one meaning: slave revolts."

That the founding father of American liberalism was a racist slaveholder has posed an embarrassing problem for present-day American liberals. Some, like Finkelman, scathingly denounce Jefferson for betraying democratic principles. More generally, however, liberal intellectuals seek to divorce the message from the messenger. The now-standard argument is that the democratic principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence proved to be far more powerful than the retrograde prejudices of its author. Thus Joseph Ellis writes:

> "The entire history of liberal reform in America can be written as a process of discovery, within Jefferson's words, of a spiritually sanctioned mandate for ending slavery, providing the rights of citizenship to blacks and women, justifying welfare programs for the poor and expanding individual freedoms.
>
> "No serious student of either Jefferson or the Declaration of Independence has ever claimed that he foresaw all or even most of the ideological consequences of what he wrote."

This is a typical liberal-idealist version of American history, the notion that American democracy strode forward, as if based on some kind of "manifest destiny," to satisfy the political and economic aspirations of ever greater sectors of the populace. What this ignores is the *class struggle*. In particular, the emergence of an industrial proletariat and the influx of large waves of immigrants all led to tumultuous struggles to secure the rights which had previously been the preserve of white, Anglo-Saxon, property-owning men.

Slavery was abolished not as a result of a "spiritually sanctioned mandate" but through a bloody civil war, in which 200,000 blacks fought in the Union Army. Women did not get the right to vote until 1920, after almost a century of political agitation and in the aftermath of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which enfranchised women *before* "democratic" America. The "New Deal" reforms of the 1930s (e.g., Social Security) were won through mass labor struggles with workers battling the police on the picket lines, with the American ruling class increasingly worried about the attraction of Communism among workers and oppressed minorities. To the extent that the democratic principles inscribed in the Declaration of Independence were translated into reality, it was through generations of struggle by the exploited and oppressed *against the American ruling class*, of which Jefferson was indeed a founding father.

John Trumbull

Stanley M. Arthurs

Signing of Declaration of Independence. Ideals of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were belied by institution of black chattel slavery. Right: Jefferson with slave at Monticello.

Bibliotheque Nationale

Contemporary print shows 1791 French decree giving civil rights to free black men and Declaration of Rights of Man. Reason is seen holding a level to symbolize equality of black and white.

France 1789 vs. America 1776

The American War of Independence was a conflict within the English-derived propertied classes on the two sides of the Atlantic, although a sizable section of the upper classes in the colonies remained loyal to Britain. Most of these Tories, as they were called, emigrated to Canada or England during or right after the war, leaving their property behind. This was then taken over by those men of wealth who became the rulers of the new American bourgeois state.

In France, the revolutionary turmoil enabled the peasants to seize the land from the feudal-derived aristocracy. The landed nobility, most of whom fled the country in fear for their lives, ceased to exist as a ruling class. Moreover, the pressure of the Parisian working people and poor forced the government for a time to limit the maximum price of necessities like bread. It was in the crucible of the French Revolution that the forerunner of the modern communist movement, Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals, originated in 1796. No such revolutionary egalitarian movement emerged or could have emerged in the America of Washington and Jefferson.

The American Revolution was led throughout by the political agents of the propertied classes—Washington and Jefferson representing the Southern plantation owners, the Adams family in Massachusetts representing Northern mercantile capital. A Philadelphia newspaper at the time described the Virginia delegation to the 1775-76 Continental Congress as the "haughty sultans of the South." By contrast, during the course of the French Revolution the initial moderate leaders—wealthy liberal noblemen like Mirabeau and Jefferson's friend Lafayette—were displaced by middle-class radical Jacobins like Danton and Robespierre.

In their own way, the rulers of the early American republic understood that "their" revolution was very different from the social explosion in France. The founding fathers generally condemned the French Revolution when it entered its radical Jacobin phase, although Jefferson was an exception. But the antipathy of the new American rulers toward the French Jacobins was relatively mild compared to the intense hatred and fear felt by Southern plantation owners toward Haiti's "Black Jacobins," as C.L.R. James titled his classic 1938 history of the Haitian Revolution. Writing in the 1940s, historian Rayford W. Logan commented: "It would perhaps not be too much to say that the spectre of a free Negro republic that owed its independence to a successful slave revolt frightened slaveholding countries as much as the shadow of Bolshevist Russia alarmed capitalistic countries in 1917" (*The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti 1776-1891* [1941]).

The Haitian Revolution and the American Slavocracy

The Haitian Revolution was in a sense an extension of the French Revolution to its richest and most important slave colony, Saint-Domingue, the western half

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Haiti...

(continued from page 7)

of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola. (When the country became independent in 1804, the name was changed to Haiti, derived from an Arawak Indian word for mountains.)

Like other West Indian French colonies, Saint-Domingue had a large population of mulattos, free men of mixed race who constituted an intermediate social layer between the French planters and black slaves. In the early stages of the French Revolution, the mulattos of Saint-Domingue demanded full citizenship rights from the Constituent Assembly in Paris. Opposition to the democratic enfranchisement of the mulattos by a reactionary section of the French planters precipitated a civil war on the island beginning in 1791. Combined with the deepening revolutionary turbulence in France, this civil war opened the way to a full-scale slave insurrection led by Toussaint. Under the impact of the events in Saint-Domingue, in 1794 the Jacobin regime in Paris declared the abolition of slavery in all French colonies.

A former slave, Toussaint benefited from an enlightened master who allowed him to get a liberal education. He read extensively, including works by Enlightenment *philosophes* whose views shaped the outlook of the most radical leaders of the French Revolution. In *The Black Jacobins*, written when he was a Trotskyist, James rightly emphasizes Toussaint's deep commitment to the French Revolution as the highest level of social and political progress then attained in world history:

> "What revolutionary France signified was perpetually on his lips, in public statements, in his correspondence, in the spontaneous intimacy of private conversation. It was the highest stage of social existence that he could imagine.... No one else was so conscious of its practical necessity in the social backwardness and primitive conditions of life around him."

Toussaint strongly opposed the indiscriminate killing of whites and made every effort to enlist those former French planters who were willing to work under a revolutionary-democratic black government.

Toussaint was unquestionably one of the greatest military leaders of the late 18th century. In ten years of warfare, he forged groups of illiterate slaves into a disciplined army that drew the astonishment of European commanders and defeated the best troops Napoleon could muster at the height of his power. In 1802, he was kidnapped and deported to a damp mountain cell in eastern France, where he soon died of mistreatment and lack of medical care. Shortly thereafter, the French army, stricken by yellow fever, withdrew from Saint-Domingue. One of Toussaint's former generals, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, declared independence on New Year's Day 1804.

Ever since the early 16th century, there had been slave revolts in the colonies, which were always viciously suppressed. At most, these revolts resulted in some slaves escaping the master's whip and setting up isolated, primitive communities in the hinterland. As we wrote in "Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 6 [1989]):

> "The Haitian Revolution changed all that, shifting the goal from restoration of primitive communal African social relations to the spread of social revolution. And this was made possible precisely by the combination of the greatest slave revolt of all with the bourgeois revolution in France."

The Haitian Revolution inspired slave uprisings throughout Britain's Caribbean colonies. Its impact was felt as well throughout Latin America. In 1815-16, Haiti provided refuge, as well as money and arms, to Simón Bolívar as he led wars of independence against Spain; at Haiti's urging, he proclaimed the abolition of slavery in Spanish America.

The immediate and direct effect of the Haitian Revolution on U.S. politics was somewhat confused by partisan maneuvers and rhetoric. Both the two rival parties of the day—John Adams' Federalists and Jefferson's Republicans (predecessors of the present-day Democrats)—sought to use the slave insurrection on Saint-Domingue as a political weapon against the other. The Federalists blamed the slaves' uprising on the radical doctrines of Jacobinism with which it falsely identified the Jeffersonians. The Jeffersonians countered that at one point the Adams administration had given military aid to Toussaint's forces as part of its de facto alliance with Britain against France.

In fact, the Haitian Revolution had a profound impact on the early American republic at two polar levels, that of the Southern planter aristocracy and that of their black slaves. The Haitian Revolution turned the Southern wing of the American ruling class into counterrevolutionaries in deed and in doctrine.

Dorothy B. Wright

Painting of Denmark Vesey addressing his followers in South Carolina. Vesey planned to lead slave revolt and escape with fellow insurrectionists to Haiti but was betrayed and executed along with 35 others.

From the very outset of the civil war in Saint-Domingue in 1791, Southern leaders advocated American military intervention on behalf of the beleaguered French planters. South Carolina governor Charles Pinckney wrote to George Washington urging this policy lest the insurrection become "a flame which will extend to all the neighboring islands, and may eventually prove a not very pleasing or agreeable example to the Southern States" (quoted in Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* [1968]).

The ruling elite of the American South now allied themselves with the forces of European reaction ideologically as well as in practice. Whereas Washington and Jefferson regarded slavery as a temporary evil, the subsequent generation of Southern plantation owners declared slavery to be the economic basis of a superior civilization, namely their own. Beginning in the 1790s, influential voices in the South renounced the democratic principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence as an incitement to slave revolts. In *White Over Black*, Jordan quotes a contributor to the Fredericksburg, Virginia *Herald* who wrote following the slave revolt led by Gabriel Prosser in Virginia in 1800:

> "Liberty and equality have brought the evil upon us. A doctrine which, however intelligible, and admissible, in a land of freemen, is not only unintelligible and inadmissible, but dangerous and extremely wicked in this country, where every white man is a master, and every black man is a slave. This doctrine, in this country, and in every country like this (as the horrors of St. Domingo have already proved) cannot fail of producing either a general insurrection, or a general emancipation."

Hostility to Jacobinism became a central element in the ideology of the Southern slavocracy. In 1861, on the eve of the Civil War, a South Carolina newspaper denounced what it called the "black Republican" party of Abraham Lincoln as "ready for bloody and forcible realities as ever characterized the ideas of the French revolution."

Inspiration for American Slave Revolts

What Southern reactionaries decried as "the horrors of Saint-Domingue" was for their slaves a liberating example. During the 1790s, large numbers of French colonial planters fled to the American South, where they naturally felt more at home than they would have in revolutionary France. Many brought along their slaves, who spread the message of revolution from the plantations of Louisiana to the cities of Charleston and Richmond. At the same time, Toussaint sought to strengthen the anti-slavery forces in the United States by having his revolutionary decrees published in American newspapers, including in Southern cities like Charleston.

In 1793, a New York City newspaper reported: "They write from Charleston that the NEGROES have become very insolent, in so much that the citizens are alarmed, and the militia keep a constant guard. It is said that these St. Domingo negroes have sown those seeds of revolt." All slave revolts, real or suspected, were now blamed on the pernicious influence of the French Revolution and its extension to Saint-Domingue.

So fearful was the planter aristocracy of black Jacobinism that several Southern states barred entry to all "colored" persons from the West Indies, whether mulattos, free Negroes or slaves. In the early 1800s, the federal government under Jefferson adopted a similar policy, declaring the importation of slaves from the West Indies as "fraught with danger to the peace and safety of the United States."

Library of Congress

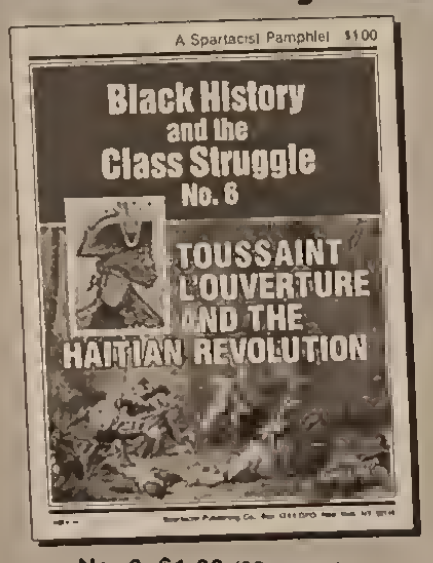
Black troops in Union Army played decisive role in defeat of Southern slavocracy.

But the American ruling class was unable to completely seal off the slave South from black Jacobinism. A free mulatto from Saint-Domingue, Charles Deslondes, was one of the leaders of a major slave revolt in 1811 in southern Louisiana. Some knowledge of the French and Haitian Revolutions was evident in the two major slave revolts in Virginia, that of Gabriel Prosser in 1800 and of Nat Turner in 1831.

The long shadow of Saint-Domingue was even more strongly visible in the insurrectionary conspiracy led by Denmark Vesey in Charleston in 1822, as detailed, for example, in a recent book by David Robertson, *Denmark Vesey*. The South Carolina port had attracted the largest number of French colonial émigrés of any American city after New Orleans. Hence, knowledge of the successful slave insurrection on Saint-Domingue was more common among black people in Charleston than elsewhere in the South.

Denmark Vesey had himself been a slave in Saint-Domingue prior to the

Black History and the Class Struggle



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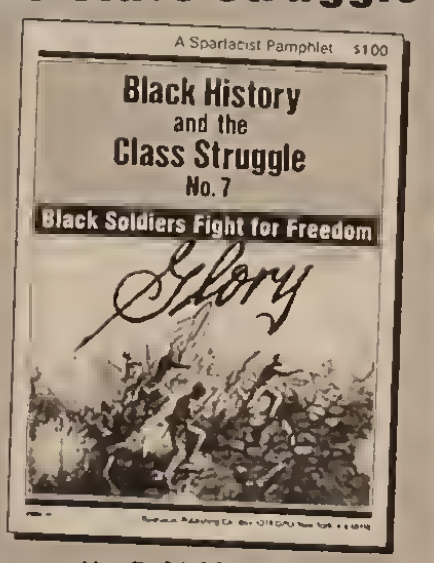

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French Revolution. He was purchased by an English sea captain and slave trader, Joseph Vesey, who settled in Charleston and made Denmark his personal servant. In 1800, Denmark used his winnings from a local lottery to buy his freedom and opened a carpentry shop. Apparently, beginning in 1817 Vesey sought to organize an insurrectionary conspiracy using the black churches as his main base of operations. The insurrection was suppressed at the eleventh hour when a house servant who was approached to join it informed the authorities, leading to the execution of 35 people. Many were tortured to reveal their accomplices.

The historian Robert S. Starobin, who edited a documentary account of these events, commented:

> "Compared to other insurrections, the Vesey Plot embodied an extraordinarily rich ideology. Beyond a general anti-white attitude, Vesey combined the Old Testament's harsh morality and the story of the Israelites with African religious customs, knowledge of the Haitian Revolution, and readings of antislavery speeches from the Missouri controversy."
>
> —*Denmark Vesey: The Slave Conspiracy of 1822* (1970)

One insurgent recounted that Vesey frequently read aloud from newspaper articles about Haiti as well as the controversy in the United States over the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Another participant, awaiting his execution, said of Vesey:

> "He said, we were deprived of our rights and privileges by the white people, and that our Church was shut up, so that we could not use it, and that it was high time for us to seek for our rights, and that we were fully able to conquer the whites, if we were only unanimous and courageous, as the St. Domingo people were."

Had the insurrection been successful, Vesey's plan was for the liberated slaves to commandeer ships and flee to Haiti.

In its own way, the Southern ruling class understood that the liberating message of the French Revolution transmitted through the Haitian Revolution had penetrated their own slaves as well as black freedmen. In the panic following the suppression of the Vesey conspiracy, a pro-slavery apologist, Edwin C. Holland, declaimed: "Let it never be forgotten, that 'our NEGROES are truly the *Jacobins* of the country; that they are the *anarchists* and the *domestic enemy*'" (quoted in William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* [1965]).

Unlike in Saint-Domingue, other West Indian islands and parts of South America (e.g., Brazil), a successful slave revolt was not feasible in the American South, where black slaves were outnumbered by whites and dispersed over many plantations across a wide expanse of territory. In the United States, black Jacobinism became incorporated into a broader and racially integrated radical democratic current—the abolitionist movement. Black activists, many of them escaped slaves like Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass, played a central role in this movement.

WV Photo

Union banner at August 1997 NYC protest that brought out thousands of Haitian immigrant workers against sadistic cop torture of Abner Louima.

The abolitionist movement involved not only political agitation but also organized defiance of the laws upholding slavery. Tubman and other heroic black militants conducted the "underground railway" which transported escaped slaves from the South to the North and often into Canada. Abolitionist-led forces physically confronted government agents seeking to recapture runaway slaves. In the Pennsylvania town of Christiana in 1851, a few dozen armed black freedmen prevented a Maryland slaveowner aided by U.S. deputy marshals from retaking two runaways.

The Haitian Revolution was an integral part of the historic tradition claimed by black abolitionists. Some, like Douglass and James T. Holly, themselves visited Haiti. In 1858, amid the deepening crisis that would soon lead to civil war, Holly praised Toussaint L'Ouverture in a public talk titled "The Auspicious Dawn of Negro Rule." It was historically fitting and symbolic that one of the first American ambassadors to Haiti was Frederick Douglass, who, shortly after returning from Port-au-Prince, declared that "the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago."

Finish the Civil War!

In a certain sense, the American Civil War ranks as one of the great slave revolts in world history. When the Union Army entered the upper South, hundreds of thousands of slaves fled the plantations and took refuge with the Northern forces. Initially the Lincoln government, sensitive to racist sentiment in the North as well as the South, used the former slaves solely as laborers. But as Northern casualties mounted, black men were recruited into the Union Army en masse. Their numbers and courage provided a crucial margin of victory for the North.

When Northern Democrats demanded in 1864 that Lincoln rescind the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery in the Confederate states, he responded: "No human power can subdue this rebellion without using the Emancipation lever as I have done." Lincoln pointed to the 130,000 black soldiers and sailors then fighting for the Union:

> "If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motives—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept.... Abandon all the posts now possessed by black men, surrender all these advantages to the enemy, & we would be compelled to abandon the war in 3 weeks."
>
> —quoted in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (1988)

The Civil War was the second American Revolution. But while the Union victory ended chattel slavery, the Northern ruling class soon betrayed the promise of black freedom. After the few tumultuous years of Radical Reconstruction—the most democratic period in American history, especially for black people—total white supremacy was restored in the South as blacks were stripped of their rights and exploited as sharecroppers by the Southern gentry allied with Northern capital.

In the 20th century, the massive migration from the rural South to cities across the country changed the character of black oppression and exploitation, as the vast majority of those who had been sharecroppers became part of the urban proletariat. As a result of the Civil War and the mass civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s, black people in the U.S. now have the formal democratic rights denied them by the "founding fathers" of the American bourgeois state, although those rights are still often denied in practice. Black people remain deeply oppressed as a race-color caste concentrated at the bottom of American society.

The black masses are penned in the inner-city ghettos, ravaged by disease, alcoholism and drug addiction and brutalized by murderous police terror. Infant mortality rates in America's ghettos are higher than in many "Third World" countries. Almost a million black men and women in the U.S. today are in prison hellholes, and one in eight black men are disenfranchised due to felony convictions. It will take a third American revolution—a proletarian socialist revolution—to genuinely liberate black people from the chains of racist oppression and attain full social equality.

A leading role in that revolution will be played by the black workers who constitute a strategic part of the multiracial proletariat. In New York City and elsewhere along the Eastern seaboard, these workers include a significant number of Haitian immigrants, who will serve as a living bridge to the downtrodden masses in Haiti in the fight for their liberation from American imperialism and its local enforcers. The road to black liberation lies in the integrated fight of labor to smash the capitalist system and its state and to replace them with a workers government. Success in this fight requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component. We say: Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

phony "eyewitness" testimony and concocted a "confession." The prosecution hid crucial evidence from the defense and, aided by Sabo, engaged in blatantly racist jury-rigging. Sabo was openly hostile to Jamal, denying him the right to represent himself and even expelling him from the courtroom as he fought for his very life.

Sabo employed the same kangaroo court methods during the Post-Conviction Relief appeal hearing for Jamal beginning in 1995, leading even the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 July 1996) to chastise him for "undue haste and hostility toward the defense's case." A pamphlet published last year by Amnesty International, *The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal—A Life in the Balance*, briefly details Sabo's sordid history as a racist hanging judge, noting that he had been an undersheriff for 16 years and a member of the Fraternal Order of Police, which has spearheaded the drive to see Jamal executed.

Fueling growing popular opposition to the death penalty, in the last few years numerous death row prisoners—who, like Jamal, had been framed up and denied effective legal counsel—have had their convictions overturned after proving their innocence, often through DNA tests. Last month, a Pennsylvania state court threw out the conviction of Dennis Counterman, who was sentenced to death eleven years ago, when it emerged that the cops and prosecutors had withheld critical evidence of his innocence at the time of his trial.

But unlike Counterman, Mumia is black and was targeted by the cops because he is a supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist who has been defiant and eloquent in his opposition to racist capitalist injustice. The Philly cops and FBI spied on and hounded Jamal from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in 1969. And when they found him at the scene of Faulkner's killing in December 1981, they seized the opportunity to set him up for a legal lynching.

The liberals would like to depict Sabo as an aberration in an otherwise fair and impartial system of justice. Sabo is truly a racist pig. But as Yohn's recent ruling and the whole history of Jamal's case demonstrate, the capitalist state is a machinery of racist frame-up from top to bottom. Mumia's fate must not be allowed to rest on the rigged scales of capitalist "justice." What's urgently needed is mass protest centered on mobilizing the social power of the multiracial working class to demand: ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!***■

NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended, respecting a strike by cleaners who work in the building where the office is located. If you are interested in meeting or picking up literature you can do so between 7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday in September on the third floor of the Student Events Center at New York University, 5 Washington Place. Please contact us at (212) 267-1025 for further information.

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WTC Attack...

(continued from page 1)

of the American rulers abroad. We stood for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the Gulf War and in the face of the subsequent terror bombing, and opposed the starvation blockade—an act of war—from the outset. Likewise, in the face of the U.S.-led NATO onslaught against Serbia two years ago, which destroyed the entire infrastructure of that country, we raised the banner: Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia! In the case of both Iraq and Serbia, we said that it was the task of the workers of those countries to overthrow the bloody nationalist regimes that oppressed them.

In the wake of the World Trade Center attack, various concocted "incidents" have been flying fast and furious in the bourgeois media. Stories that the plane which crashed in Pennsylvania was on its way to Camp David (how would they know?), that a bomb had been planted at the Washington Monument, that the military had shot down a plane over Washington, D.C.—all vanished almost as soon as they were reported. This is standard imperialist war propaganda, just like the manufactured Gulf of Tonkin incident which the U.S. used to escalate its war against Vietnam, killing three million Vietnamese before the heroic workers and peasants of that country defeated the American behemoth.

The attack on the World Trade Center has been attributed to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic groups like Hamas, the Afghan Taliban government and Osama bin Laden. All have vehemently denied any responsibility. But even if it were bin Laden, now the all-purpose enemy of U.S. imperialism, he is the creature of the American imperialist rulers who bought and paid for his services in the Islamic "holy war" against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. We ***hailed*** the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, noting that this was one of the few genuinely progressive acts by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution particularly to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan. The purpose of bin Laden and his CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists was to perpetuate barbarity and enslavement in Afghanistan.

But it is not simply the apparently ubiquitous and unidentifiable "enemy without" that they are gearing up to brutally repress. The capitalist rulers will also seize on the attack on the World Trade Center to dramatically increase the powers of their state—the cops, courts, prisons and armed forces—against the "enemy within." In the aftermath of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton's Democratic Party administration enacted the "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act" under which immigrants and all "aliens" can be subjected to star chamber proceedings in secret trials without any charges even being presented. The Democrats, with the full support of the Republicans, also enacted the Effective Death Penalty Act greatly extending the number of crimes punishable by death.

The most immediate targets of the forces of repression will be any and all people of Near Eastern descent, as this chauvinist hysteria goes into overdrive. This is true not only in the U.S. but in West Europe where, for example, the French government has flooded the subways with paramilitary police forces to terrorize those of North African and Near Eastern origin. More fundamentally, the purpose is to intimidate and constrain the multiracial working class from any social struggle. To be sure, the bourgeoisie's labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy—who tie the workers to the parties of their exploiters, particularly the Democrats—do their utmost in this regard. But as the gap between the handful of filthy rich who profit from the increasingly brutal exploitation of labor and the rest of the society grows exponentially, the rulers fear that even the spark of protest could provoke a social conflagration. Continuing to build up their forces of domestic repression, which they have long deployed against the hideously oppressed ghetto and barrio masses, is crucial to maintaining their class rule.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union, a workers state which however bureaucratically degenerated did represent an alternative to capitalist exploitation and oppression, the U.S. boasted of being the "world's only superpower" and the American imperialist rulers thought they would face no challenge as they run roughshod over the rest of the world. It is a measure of the intense hatred for U.S. imperialism that the destruction of the World Trade Center, at the cost of likely thousands of innocent lives, could be greeted enthusiastically by many around the world. It is also a measure of the lack of any perceived possibility of defeating U.S. imperialism from within. The men who run Wall Street and Washington can and must be swept away ***from within*** by the working class in the U.S., which includes large numbers of black, Latino and, increasingly, immigrant workers from the Near East, the Indian subcontinent and East Asia.

The pusillanimous reformist "left" in this country, particularly typified by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), now points a finger at the American rulers' support to bin Laden and the Afghan Taliban as "freedom fighters" during the Cold War. Left unsaid is the ISO's own support for these reactionaries against the Soviet Red Army. In Europe, the groups that were once called the "far left" long ago sold their political souls to their "own" bourgeoisies. For them, railing against American imperialism as the "main enemy" is simply an alibi for their fealty to the social-democratic governments that were installed to carry out massive austerity against the working class.

In the neocolonial countries, where the masses of people are confronted with the complete bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism, there has been a growth of religious obscurantism, particularly Islam. In the face of the armed might of the U.S. imperialists, and the genocidal Zionist rulers they bankroll and arm, some see little alternative than to strap their bodies with explosives and hurl themselves against their perceived oppressors.

Whoever the perpetrators of the suicide attack on the World Trade Center, it demonstrated the mindset of those who, typically religious fanatics, believe they have a god-given mission to exterminate all "non-believers." Such Islamic zealots see trade unionists, leftists and unveiled women as infidels deserving of god's wrath. In its essence, their outlook is no different than that of Christian fundamentalist bigots who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S., where the domestic secret police, the FBI, was until recently headed by Louis Freeh, a member of the truly sinister Catholic Opus Dei. Nor is this outlook any different than that of fascistic Zionists who seek to "cleanse" the Palestinian nation from what is deemed to be the Jewish "holy land."

Terrorist bombings tend to be carried out by nationalist or religious forces because they are at best indifferent or at worst hostile to the entire population they consider to be the enemy. The World Trade Center attack was and could only have been aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many—ordinary, multiethnic, working—people as possible.

As Marxists, we oppose terrorism as a strategy, even that which derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses and takes as its target genuine institutions of state repression, which was manifestly not the case in the attack on the World Trade Center. Substituting individual acts, however heroic in particular circumstances, is counterposed to proletarian *class* struggle and the consciousness the working class needs if it is to stand at the head of all the oppressed in the revolutionary overthrow of the entire system of imperialist exploitation and repression. Rather, such terrorism serves mainly to provide a pretext for the bourgeois state to intensify repression.

In the aftermath of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the American imperialist rulers have sought to find a surrogate for the war against "godless Communism" in the spectre of "Islamic terrorism." This is the new external enemy against which they have sought to rally the population, and they aim to use the attack on the World Trade Center for furthering public support for their imperialist terror abroad, fostering the lie that the working people of the U.S. have a common interest with their capitalist exploiters. We say: U.S. imperialism hands off the world! The main enemy is at home! Our purpose is to build the proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary party that will infuse the working class with the understanding of its social power and historic interests as the gravedigger of U.S. imperialism.■

Anarchism...

(continued from page 5)

with liberal rhetoric to draw a clear class line through the "democratic movement against fascism." Incorrigibly, and against the necessity of what Bookchin labels "a contrived 'program'," he and other modern-day anarchists vaunt their petty-bourgeois disdain of the working class by claiming that the CNT-FAI leadership betrayed the interests of its proletarian base merely because it was not democratic enough.

The Vanguard Party and Revolutionary Program

The question of leadership dominates the history of workers revolutions. It was the Bolsheviks that made the Russian Revolution different from all others, which were either betrayed and defeated by class-collaborationist sellouts like the anarchists in Spain and social democrats in Germany two decades earlier, or bureaucratically deformed from their outset by the Stalinists in China and elsewhere. The Spartacus Youth Clubs exist to break revolutionary-minded youth and young workers away from the false consciousness that paved the way for the betrayals in history. We defend the gains of revolutions past in order to fight for new Octobers worldwide. In this process, our revolutionary program, described in our slogans and demands at demonstrations, at speakouts and in our press, is absolutely indispensable.

Murray Bookchin cites the goals he sees as central to the anarchist movement in the conclusion of *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism*: "a confederation of decentralized municipalities; an unwavering opposition to statism; a belief in direct democracy; and a vision of a libertarian communist society." But he gives no viable revolutionary program to achieve them. In fact, this is not a new problem for the movement Bookchin represents. Opposing the vanguard party on principle, anarchists have no means of establishing a coherent strategy toward leading the real-life struggles of workers and the oppressed to a worldwide victory. Rejecting the "Leninist tyranny" of a unitary revolutionary program, modern anarchists like the Quebec-based CLAC (Anti-Capitalist Convergence) among others issue calls for "a diverse and pluralistic resistance movement." Faced with the highly organized, ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state—and ask anyone from the Balkans and Iraq to Hiroshima, the terror in Genoa was a very small taste—this is a call for impotence. Defeat and disillusion are the result, paving the way for a return to the "politics of the possible" espoused by the very national-reformist sellouts that anarchist youth claim to oppose. This would not be the first time that anarchists end up ceding leadership to opportunistic mainstream politicians.

Like the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917 and the Spanish Trotskyists in 1937, the Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win the most revolutionary elements from all subjectively anti-capitalist movements to the perspective of socialist revolution internationally. That begins with a party that will mobilize the social power of the proletariat in defense of the rights of black people, immigrants and all the oppressed—and that intransigently defends the conquests of workers against U.S. imperialism abroad. This is the only way to bridge the chasm between the ideal of a classless, stateless society and the day-to-day struggles that workers and minorities take up against capitalist oppression. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: *For new October Revolutions, worldwide!*■

Polygamist...

(continued from page 3)

rolling back women's right to abortion, both in the U.S. and Europe. Such social reaction often hits minorities and immigrants particularly hard. In a recent case in France, a 59-year-old man from Mali and his two wives, who entered the country perfectly legally and have lived there for nearly 30 years, were suddenly targeted in a new ban on polygamy that is being applied retroactively. His residence permit was downgraded, and he and his wives were denied the right to work. "It's not humane," said Kouly Konate. "You can't just say to a wife after 20 or 25 years, there is no more marriage between us. And what will she do? Where will she go? I can't afford two homes, and I've nothing in Mali" (London *Guardian*, 9 May). This bureaucratic cruelty is purely punitive, with a particularly racist, anti-immigrant twist.

There are practices, religiously or traditionally sanctioned, which we do support state intervention against; for example, the hideous permanent mutilation of young girls through clitoridectomies. Like foot-binding in prerevolutionary China, violent, life-threatening, disfiguring acts must be opposed. Religious freedom does not include the freedom to wound or kill. A classic example is, what should you do when the child of a Christian Scientist (who believes "sickness is error" and faith alone will heal) is threatened with death from a ruptured appendix? Obviously take the kid to the hospital, against the parents' will if necessary.

President Abraham Lincoln, though he later signed a bill outlawing plural marriages, made an early statement to a Mormon journalist regarding the Mormons, a model of good sense and tolerance which this decaying capitalist society has long since abandoned. When he was a boy on the farm, he said, "Occasionally we would come to a log which had fallen down. It was too hard to split, too wet to burn and too heavy to move, so we plowed around it. That's what I intend to do with the Mormons. You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone I will let him alone."■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

Beit Jala was the most sustained of the ever more frequent incursions into "autonomous" areas supposedly under the control of Arafat's Palestinian Authority. Combined with the escalating military attacks on Palestinian Authority offices, officials and police forces, this is a brutal statement by the government of Ariel Sharon that the U.S.-sponsored 1993 "autonomy" accord with the PLO is now a dead letter.

Armed to the teeth with high-tech weaponry supplied by their U.S. imperialist quartermasters, Israel's rulers have carried out a virtually one-sided war against the Palestinian people over the past eleven months. Over 600 Palestinians have been killed, including infants and children, and more than 15,000 more wounded. Three million people have been subjected to virtual house arrest, denied access to jobs, schooling and medical care as their villages are blockaded by barriers, troops and tanks. Farms have been destroyed to cut off local food supplies. With disease and malnutrition already rife, United Nations officials warn that by year's end half the population of the Occupied Territories will be getting by on the equivalent of $2 a day.

In the wake of the latest bloody provocations, the *Jerusalem Post* (31 August), effectively a government mouthpiece,

AP

Damascus, August 28: Palestinian refugees protest Israeli assassination of PFLP leader Abu Ali Mustafa.

Reuters

South African protesters outside Durban conference on racism. Zionist rulers have locked Palestinians into impoverished mini-bantustans.

declared that "inevitably" Israel "will have to launch a massive lightning strike on the Palestinian Authority." The article continued:

> "Every element of Arafat's police state infrastructure will have to be destroyed: headquarters and commanders of his personal security services, police stations, weapons depots, training camps, communications and propaganda facilities, including radio, TV, and government-controlled newspapers....
>
> "Who will then rule the Palestinians? Perhaps it will be chaos, but chaos is preferable to the current unholy alliance of Arafat's Palestinian Authority and the Islamic terrorists."

Whatever the pretext cited for each particular escalation by the Israeli occupation forces in recent months, their murderous provocations all underline our warning that "the ultra-chauvinist Zionist rulers could well be moving toward a bloodbath of catastrophic proportions" ("Zionist Butchers Escalate War on Palestinians," *WV* No. 760, 8 June). It is vitally necessary to fight for powerful protest action by working people around the world, especially in the U.S., to demand: *Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!*

No to Imperialist Intervention!

While the DFLP raid deeply embarrassed the Zionist stormtroopers, it is obvious that the Israeli garrison-state cannot be repulsed militarily by the Palestinians. The aim of the petty-bourgeois nationalists, whether Arafat's Fatah or the DFLP and PFLP, is to secure imperialist intervention, either through direct appeals or through using the Arab bourgeois regimes as intermediaries. That is what was behind the hoopla at the UN conference against racism in Durban, South Africa last week.

With consummate chutzpah, the U.S. imperialist and Israeli mass murderers condemned any talk of equating Zionism with racism and walked out in protest. With the Bush administration currently opposed to even cosmetic concessions to the PLO, the rival EU imperialists have tried to put themselves forward as "peacemakers" in the hope of wresting some influence from the U.S., with German Green foreign minister Joschka Fischer and EU chief Javier Solana both visiting Sharon and Arafat recently. As for the "anti-Zionist" rhetoric of the venal Arab bourgeoisies at Durban, the London *Independent* (5 September) aptly observed that it boosted their "credentials as enemies of Israel in a way that cost neither money nor blood." While seeking to assuage popular anger over the Israeli slaughter of Palestinians, the Arab regimes brutally enforce the oppression of working people, women and religious and national minorities—including Palestinians—in their own countries.

In the U.S., appeals to the "human rights" pretensions of American imperialism are promoted by reformists like the International Socialist Organization, which is one of the chief movers behind the campus campaign for universities to "divest" themselves of stock in companies that do business in Israel. This campaign is aimed at conning students into believing that the American bourgeoisie, which has greased the Zionist terror machine to the tune of more than *$92 billion* since Israel seized Gaza and the West Bank in 1967, can be pressured to come to the defense of the oppressed Palestinians. Such appeals are particularly grotesque as Washington again escalates its terror bombing against the Iraqi people, while domestically an FBI-led "terrorism task force" last week raided a Dallas-based host of Arabic Web sites, including that of the Arab world's leading independent news channel.

The last time U.S. imperialism intervened in "defense" of Palestinian national rights, the vaunted "peace process" led to a deepening of the Israeli state's apartheid-style practices. An electrified fence was erected around Gaza; the "settlements," which are in effect fortified military outposts manned by fascistic auxiliaries to the Israeli occupation forces, were vastly expanded throughout the Occupied Territories; Palestinian areas were carved into mini-bantustans by "strategic highways" open only to Jews. We say: *All U.S./UN imperialist forces out of the Near East! Down with the bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq!*

True to form, Israeli spokesmen responded to attacks in Durban with screams of "anti-Semitism" and cynical invocations of the Nazi Holocaust. In fact, it is the Zionist rulers who bring to mind the Nazis, with their "lightning strikes" (*Blitzkrieg*), pogroms and "collective punishment." The fenced-in ghettos imprisoning and starving the Palestinians recall the Jewish ghettos erected by the Nazis in East Europe as they geared up for their genocidal "final solution." And it was current Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon who ordered the massacre of more than 2,000 Palestinian men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. Warsaw Ghetto 1943, Sabra/Shatila 1982, West Bank/Gaza 2001—We will not forget!

Zionism, like all nationalism, is inherently chauvinist and ultimately genocidal in its logic. In countries where two or more peoples lay claim to the same land, national consolidation under capitalism inevitably means driving out or forcibly assimilating national and ethnic minorities through "ethnic cleansing" or brutal repression—whether it is carried out in the name of Zionism, Arab nationalism or "nation-building" in Africa. In the case of Israel/Palestine, the Zionists got the whip hand—with the backing of first British and then American imperialism—and proceeded to systematically subjugate and expropriate the Palestinians.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Zionist rulers' murderous onslaught against the Palestinians over the past eleven months has further cemented a chauvinist consensus among the Hebrew-speaking population. The liberal Zionist "peace camp" has all but disappeared, while the (bourgeois) Labor Party with which the Palestinian nationalists hoped to cut a deal is firmly ensconced in Sharon's bloody "national unity" government. The ensuing despair and frustration among the Palestinian masses, and the palpable incapacity of Arafat's PLO to in any way ameliorate their plight, have served to drive many Palestinians, once among the most cosmopolitan elements in the Near East, into the arms of anti-Semitic, anti-woman Islamic fundamentalist groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

The English-language Egyptian weekly *Al-Ahram* (23 August) observed: "The resistance, increasingly, is equated with Hamas and Jihad, their 'martyrdom' operations, and the enormous kudos these generate among all strata of Palestinian society." The young women who were prominent in the protest marches at the start of the current *Intifada* are no longer to be seen on the streets. Increasingly, such marches are dominated by the green banners of the fundamentalists. Opinion polls indicate that Hamas and Islamic Jihad now have more support in Gaza than Arafat's Fatah and almost as much support in the West Bank, which only a dozen years ago was a stronghold of the now-defunct Palestinian Communist Party.

The hallmark of Hamas and Islamic Jihad are the desperate suicide bombings that have become ever more common, including one yesterday by an Arab citizen of Israel. While we defend against state repression those who carry out attacks against the Israeli military and its settler auxiliaries, the indiscriminate bombing of Israeli civilians simply for being Jews is a reprehensible crime which mirrors the Zionist rulers' genocidal "collective punishment" of all Palestinians and serves only to intensify anti-Arab chauvinism among Hebrew-speaking workers. It is the sheerest cynicism for the Israeli and American capitalist rulers to scream about "Islamic terrorism." For years, the Israeli secret police funded Hamas as a counterweight to the secular nationalist groups, and the Islamic fundamentalists were further boosted by U.S. imperialism's "holy war" against Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Afghanistan under the Taliban is Hamas' vision of "liberated Palestine."

The only salvation for the Palestinian people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. Short of workers revolutions that sweep away the Zionist butchers and all the capitalist states of the region, there can be no equitable and just resolution to the conflicting national rights of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. And the key to this perspective lies in the forging of internationalist communist vanguard parties. The Hebrew-speaking proletariat must be broken from the reactionary chauvinism of its capitalist rulers and won to the defense of the oppressed Palestinians, and Palestinian and other Arab workers must be broken from petty-bourgeois nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. If the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole region in a holocaust, the Hebrew-speaking proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East.■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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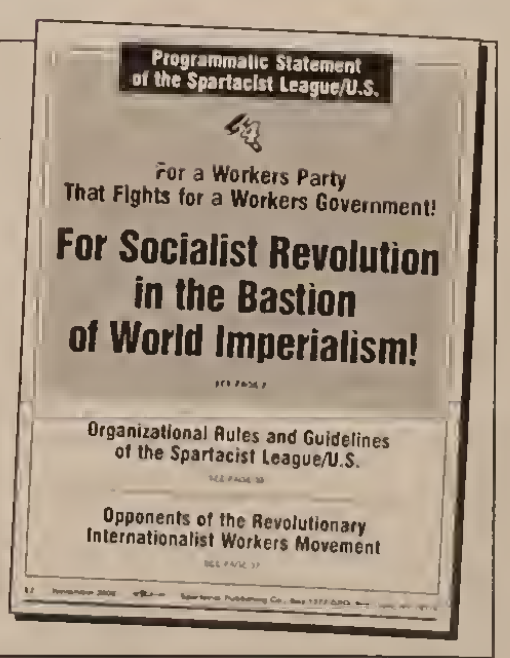


WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Reporter Testifies on 1982 Trial

Lynch Law Judge Vowed to See Mumia Dead

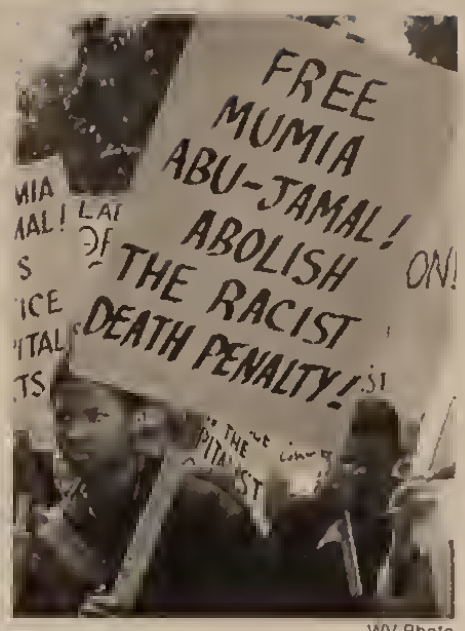
At an August 28 press conference at Philadelphia City Hall, Mumia Abu-Jamal's attorneys announced a spectacular new revelation exposing the sham of a "trial" under Judge Albert Sabo that railroaded Jamal to death row in 1982. In a sworn statement, court stenographer Terri Maurer-Carter reports a discussion she overheard Sabo having with others in the courthouse where Jamal was tried: "Judge Sabo was discussing the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In the course of that conversation, I heard Judge Sabo say: 'Yeah, and I'm going to help them fry the n----r'." What sharper evidence could there be of the lynch law "justice" that put an innocent man on death row!

By the time he presided over Jamal's case, Sabo had already achieved notoriety as a racist hanging judge, a "prosecutor in robes." In the mid-1970s, Philadelphia became the first city in the country to direct all homicide cases to a specialized group of judges. Even among this select gang of executioners, Sabo stood out as the "king of death row," responsible for meting out more death sentences than any other judge in the country. Of those 31 death sentences, 29 were handed down to minority defendants. And it was to Sabo's Courtroom 253 that Jamal's case was steered when he was framed up for the December 1981 killing of Philly policeman Daniel Faulkner.

Mumia has affirmed his innocence from the outset. It was dramatically reaffirmed in May when Jamal's new legal team brought forward a 1999 confession by Arnold Beverly, the man who actually killed Faulkner. Underlining the determination of the forces of racist "law and order" to see Jamal executed, two months ago U.S. district court judge William Yohn, who is presiding over Jamal's federal *habeas corpus* appeal, barred the introduction of Beverly's confession, ruling in effect that a court of law is no place for evidence of Mumia's innocence! Aiding the cops and prosecutors, the capitalist media outside Philadelphia has imposed a blackout on the Beverly confession.

As we documented in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, August 1998), Jamal's trial was a travesty of justice in every respect. The cops manufactured bogus "evidence," coerced

continued on page 9



WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 12 San Francisco rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Furor over NYC Little League Champs

Bigotry, Baseball and the "Baby Bombers"

Young Spartacus

Almost two weeks after the Little League World Series ended, the New York papers from the tabloids to the *Times* prominently display articles about the Bronx "Baby Bombers," who took third place in the tournament. Sparked by outbursts of anti-immigrant racism against the team and its star pitcher, the media has gone into a frenzy, arguing with astonishing hypocrisy about "ethics" in sports in the U.S.

The controversy started when a team from the overwhelmingly white and heavily police-populated borough of Staten Island lost to a Latino team from the South Bronx 13-0 in a semifinal in August. Following rumors about the age of the Bronx team's pitcher, Danny Almonte, the coach of the Staten Island team spent *$10,000* to investigate Danny's age. Even though this investigation came up empty-handed, it kept the issue hot after the pitcher launched his team into the national spotlight on August 18 by pitching the first perfect game in the Little League World Series since 1957. When Danny brought his team to the American finals, posing the possibility of a non-white team representing the U.S. in the World Series finals, the investigation went into high gear.

Soon after the Bronx team lost the American finals, allowing a white team from Florida to represent the United States in the final game of the tournament, *Sports Illustrated* released a document from the Dominican Republic showing that Danny is 14, two years too old to play in the Little League. After Dominican Republic officials declared *Sports Illustrated*'s document to be the accurate one, as opposed to the one presented to the Little League by Danny's father, the Bronx team was penalized. All of the team's victories were forfeited, including the third place final, and the coach of the team, Rolando Paulino, and Danny's father, Felipe Almonte, are banned from any further involvement with Little League worldwide. Now the district attorney for Almonte's hometown in the Dominican Republic has charged Felipe Almonte with falsifying public documents; if convicted, he could be sentenced to two to five years in prison, possibly ten.

If it were a white Little League team that had overage players, such age forgery would go completely unnoticed, as it has for years. It is common practice in sports at all levels to falsify age, district, school records and any information necessary to allow players to play on teams they are not technically eligible to play on. Little League is no exception to this rule. Children who show promise are tracked from very early on to play on a Major League team. So it was for Danny Almonte, who seems to have been recruited out of the Dominican Republic for the express purpose of playing for the Bronx Little League team. The outcry over this player, and the attendant media blitz, are an expression of the vile racism and xenophobia of American society. The bourgeoisie's need for cheap labor during the '90s economic boom slightly dampened its expression as regards immigrants, but by no means erased it.

AP

Dad could get jail or boot

By RALPH R. ORTEGA
DAILY NEWS STAFF WRITER

Baby Bomber Danny Almonte is 14, not 12.
Officials in the Dominican Republic finally set
making an umpire-like call that drew cheers and

Daily News
1 September 01

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ngo to

Hypocritical anti-immigrant outcry targeted NYC Little League team, star pitcher Danny Almonte.

These events come in the context of multiple outbursts of anti-immigrant racism in the New York area. Prominent among them was the brutal beating of two immigrant day laborers by racist thugs on Long Island last year. In the midst of the Almonte saga, a legislator from Suffolk County, Long Island, commented at a public hearing that if his town "was attacked tomorrow with [an influx of 'illegal aliens'], we'll be up in arms; we'll be out with baseball bats" (*New York Times*, 31 August). In response to the case of Danny Almonte, Turk Wendell, a former Mets pitcher, summed up the vehement response to the idea of an immigrant team playing for the U.S., saying, "I thought it was kind of funny. Here's a kid playing in the Little League World Series for an American team, holding an American flag and he can't even speak English. I was like, 'No way. He can't speak English?'" (*New York Post*, 2 September).

Against the racism and xenophobia promoted by the American ruling class, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club say: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Defend the rights of racial and ethnic minorities!* Racism is used to divide the working class so that it doesn't unite against its common enemy, the bourgeoisie. We seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and INS raids, a common occurrence in the '90s which can only increase in times of economic contraction. We call to organize immigrant workers into the unions with full rights and protections. Through such mobilizations we seek to imbue the working class with a sense of its own power as well as the common interests it has with fellow workers of all races. We struggle to forge a workers party in the United States, a party which could lead a socialist revolution to eradicate once and for all the material basis for all forms of racism.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 765

28 September 2001

"National Unity" Jingoism: Bosses Profit, Workers Pay

Repression, Recession and War

• U.S. Hands Off Afghanistan, Iraq!
• Defend Immigrants Against Racist Witchhunt!
• Unchain Labor/Black Power!
For Class Struggle! For a Workers Party!

AP

Lower Manhattan, September 12. U.S. rulers have seized on World Trade Center attack to push through sweeping repressive measures targeting immigrants, blacks and all perceived opponents.

SEPTEMBER 25—The hijacked airliners that slammed into the World Trade Center on September 11 have changed not simply the landscape of lower Manhattan but the political landscape of the world. Upwards of 6,000 people are dead, most buried in the still smoldering ashes of the rubble. The New York Stock Exchange took its biggest weekly drop since the Great Depression of the 1930s, losing over a *trillion dollars*. A wounded, dangerous and nuclear-armed U.S. imperialism has dispatched four aircraft carriers, 30 warships, at least one nuclear submarine, 15,000 troops and hundreds of warplanes to the Persian Gulf. And that is only the beginning. The most immediate target is Afghanistan's Taliban government. Yet these same Islamic fundamentalist forces were armed and bankrolled by the U.S. to fight the Soviet Army, whose intervention into Afghanistan in 1979 offered the prospect of bringing progress to that hideously backward country. At home, the rulers have seized the opportunity to tighten the screws of state repression on the working people, the ghetto masses, desperate and increasingly besieged immigrants and anyone else they perceive as getting in their way.

The attack on the World Trade Center took place a decade, almost to the day, after the ascendancy of the forces of counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, who were also backed by U.S. imperialism. However bureaucratically deformed and undermined by the nationalist rule of a privileged, parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was a workers state; as such it stood as a counterweight to the boundless ambitions of the American empire. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, the U.S. rulers boasted of being the "world's only superpower" as they ran roughshod over the rest of the world, leaving a trail of untold misery, devastation and death in their wake—from Iraq to Sudan to the Balkans. The intensity of hatred, humiliation and desperation the American imperialists have inspired among tens if not hundreds of millions of people around the globe was brought home in blood and fire as two airplanes full of civilian passengers crashed into the Twin Towers, while a third hit the Pentagon and another went down while headed toward the Washington, D.C. area.

In a 12 September statement by the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. titled "The World Trade Center Attack" (*WV* No. 764, 14 September), we wrote: "Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*" But this attack, however criminal from the vantage point of the working class and oppressed, doesn't hold a candle to what the U.S. imperialists are now preparing to perpetrate against their enemies—internationally and *at home*.

In a 13 September statement, Radio Havana condemned "the most astonishing act of terrorism in history against what has been for Cuba an implacable enemy for 40 years." The 1959 Cuban Revolution overthrew the Batista regime of henchmen for U.S. imperialism, leading in 1960-61 to the expropriation of the capitalists and the establishment of a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed and nationally limited by its own Stalinist-style bureaucracy. Ever since, Cuba has been the target of the CIA's own terrorist network. Counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* have perpetrated countless bombings, acts of sabotage and airline hijackings. This terror, the U.S. military bastion at Guantánamo Bay and the 40-year-long starvation blockade are all aimed at recapturing Cuba for imperialist exploitation. As the Radio Havana statement warned:

> "The most powerful nation on earth has been put on a war footing and history has taught us all what to expect when Washington starts waving the cudgel self-righteously. The families of almost a million Japanese, four million Koreans, three million Vietnamese, and thousands of Iraqis and Yugoslavians can all attest to what occurs when the Oval Office scrambles its bombers."

The ruling parties—Republicans and Democrats—with the fawning assistance of their media lackeys are fanning the flames of a patriotic fervor not seen since the bombing of Pearl Harbor. They seek to line up the population behind their military aims abroad and to further chain the working class at home to the interests of the capitalist exploiters. From the halls of Congress to the talking heads on television, they rail against the barbarity of Islamic fundamentalism, fomenting a wave of chauvinist terror against Muslims, people of Near Eastern descent, as well as Sikhs, other South Asians and dark-skinned Latinos. Not so long ago, the American bourgeoisie heralded the Islamic reactionaries as "freedom fighters" in the war against the Soviet "evil empire."

When Soviet troops first moved into Afghanistan, we wrote in an article headlined "Hail Red Army!" (*WV* No. 247, 11 January 1980):

> "The imperialist media pulled out the stops to build sympathy for 'freedom fighters' battling sophisticated tanks and planes with sticks, stones and chants of 'allah akbar.' But in the military confrontation pitting the Soviet soldiers, backing the nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against feudal and pre-feudal forces aided by imperialism, Marxists side with the Russian tanks."

When the Kremlin Stalinists criminally withdrew Soviet military forces in 1989, the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the SL/U.S., wrote to the PDPA government offering "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" against the forces of Islamic

continued on page 8

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

Page 4

Trotskyists Hailed Red Army Intervention

ISO Cheered CIA's "Holy Warriors" in Afghanistan

The intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan in 1979 was seized on by the American imperialist rulers under Democratic president Jimmy Carter to launch a renewed Cold War offensive to realize their longstanding aim of reversing the 1917 Russian Revolution. Washington mobilized the biggest covert CIA operation in history to aid the Islamic "holy warriors" fighting to maintain the enslavement of women and other barbaric practices. As Trotskyists who fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, we said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" In contrast, virtually every other self-proclaimed Marxist organization howled along with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet intervention.

Foremost among them was the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Today, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (14 September) declaims that Osama bin Laden and the Taliban "are products of the 10-year-long, U.S.-backed war against the ex-USSR occupation of Afghanistan.... Back then, President Ronald Reagan liked to call bin Laden and his cohorts *'freedom fighters'*." But back then, *so did the ISO!*

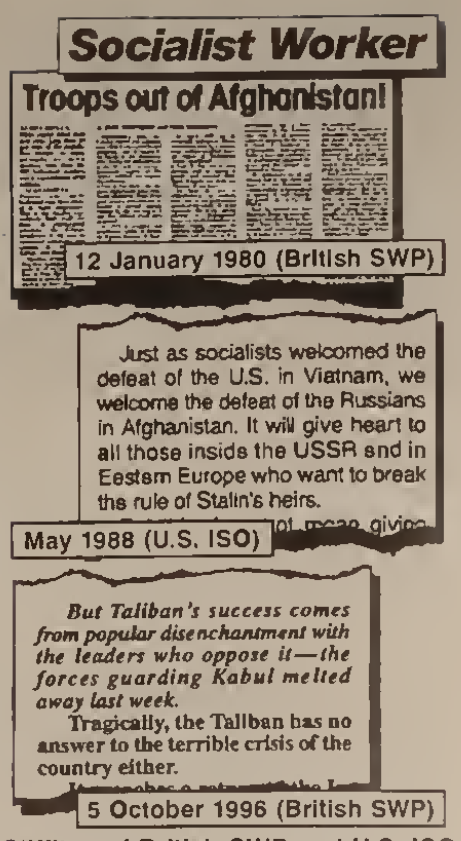
Afghanistan Today

Stinger missiles supplied by U.S. were used by *mujahedin* to shoot down civilian airliner carrying Afghan schoolchildren, March 1987.

For the ISO's then-mentor, the Cliffite British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), screaming "Troops Out of Afghanistan!" was not enough. Leading SWPer Paul Foot used his weekly columns in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror* to denounce then-prime minister Margaret Thatcher, known as the "Iron Lady" of anti-Communism, for allowing exports of "*our* beef" to the USSR. Foot's "exposés" succeeded in provoking an anti-Communist clamor in Parliament for an all-out trade embargo of the Soviet Union.

When the Kremlin Stalinists began withdrawing Soviet troops in order to placate the imperialists, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (May 1988) cheered: "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." Indeed it did "give heart" to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that in the next few years succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. The ISO could have scripted the lines for crazed anti-Communist Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under Carter, when he ranted: "What was more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred-up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War?"

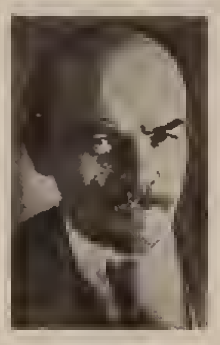
The withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan flowed from the whole nationalist outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which subordinated the interests of the international proletariat to defense of its own privileged position as a parasitic layer resting on the planned, collectivized economy. As the last Soviet troops were pulled out, we declared: "The Red Army withdrawal from Afghanistan is a coldblooded betrayal of the Afghan *and Soviet* peoples" ("War to the Death Against CIA's Mullah Cutthroats! Battle for Afghanistan," *WV* No. 471, 17 February 1989). A year later, in the first issue of our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* we wrote: "Far better to have fought imperialism through an honorable fight in Afghanistan than to have to now fight it within the borders of the Soviet Union!" (see *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91).



Cliffites of British SWP and U.S. ISO embraced imperialist anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan, "welcomed" victory of anti-woman Islamic fundamentalists.

The capitalist counterrevolution welcomed by the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys brought the working people of the former Soviet Union massive misery, unemployment and homelessness, an unprecedented drop in lifespan, as well as ethnic slaughter. As opposed to the ISO, which cheered the CIA's reactionary "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan and now begs the U.S. imperialists to be peaceful in their "war against terrorism," we fight for new October Revolutions to liberate the working people and the oppressed masses of the world.■

TROTSKY



LENIN

Pacifism, Imperialism and War

Having embraced the anti-Sovietism of the imperialist rulers during the Cold War, much of the reformist left beat the drums for the war aims of the U.S.-led NATO attack on Serbia two years ago. Today, many of these groups capitulate to the patriotic "anti-terrorism" war hysteria, pleading only for a "peaceful" alternative. In a 1932 statement, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed that such pacifist illusions are an obstacle to mobilizing the proletariat in the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois order, the only way to end the threat of imperialist war.

To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands botb its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it. But the propertied classes never cede power without a struggle....

The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force *in general*. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors. Idealistic pacifism confronts war with moral indignation the way the lamb confronts the butcher's knife with plaintive bleatings.

—Leon Trotsky, "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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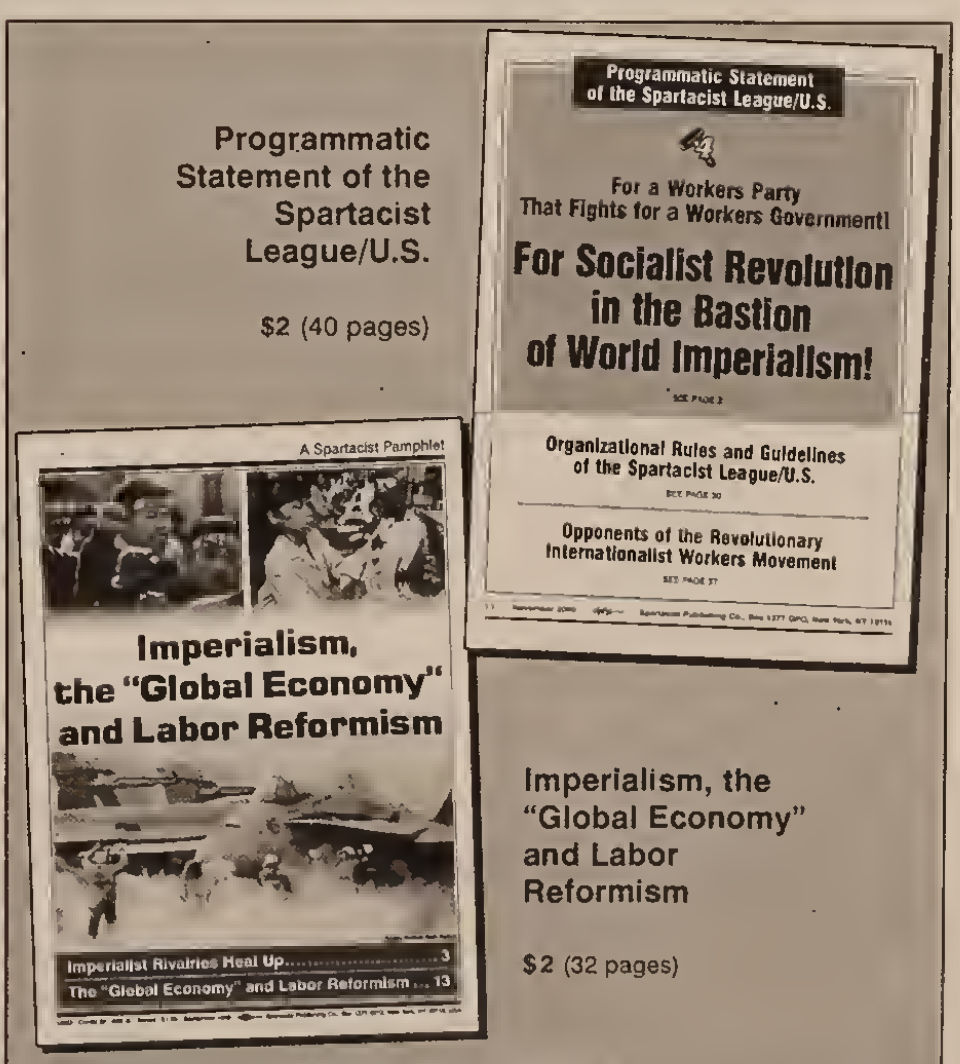

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Young Spartacus

Join the SYC!

The attack on the World Trade Center that killed thousands of innocent people was a crime from the perspective of those who fight in the interests of the working class and the oppressed. It is serving only to reinforce the might of the American imperialist rulers as they mobilize their warships abroad while cracking the whip of state repression at home. While they threaten to "end states" that harbor "terrorists," the capitalist rulers are already waging a war to dramatically further suppress the working class, the black population, immigrants, youth and any they perceive as even potential opponents of their rule.

As the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. wrote in a September 12 statement, the ruling parties, Democrats and Republicans, "peddle 'one nation indivisible' patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign 'enemy,' as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people."

Groups like the International Socialist Organization merely give a pacifist veneer to the rulers' national unity campaign in their vigils for peace and teach-ins pleading: "War is not the answer." As Leon Trotsky, a leader together with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote: "The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force *in general*. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors." Our answer is *class war* to end a system that is premised on brutal exploitation, vicious racist repression and war. The Spartacus Youth Clubs, youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, fight to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary workers party that can do just that.

The myth preached by the organizers of anti-globalization protests that the bloody imperialist rulers can be pressured to bring "democracy" and "human rights" to the oppressed masses of the world is a deadly lie. Youth repelled by this embrace of the capitalist rulers have looked to anarchism as an alternative. But anarchism, which is based on moral suasion and individual actions against the symbols of imperialism, has no program or strategy to prevail against capitalist class rule.

WV Photo

The killing of Carlo Giuliani and the mass cop terror in Genoa, Italy provided a concrete and murderous demonstration of the highly organized and ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state which are now going into even higher gear. To prevail against that might requires an organized and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule—the proletariat. Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate mankind from oppression. The purpose of the revolutionary party is to infuse the proletariat with that understanding.

Armed with the revolutionary program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the SYCs seek to build a youth movement that intervenes on the side of the working class against the capitalist exploiters, fighting for the rights of black people, immigrants and all the oppressed. We fight to build the Leninist vanguard party that will lead these defensive struggles into an offensive battle for socialist revolution and workers power, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter. Join us!

SYC Ten Point Program

1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized—unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

2 Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

3 For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Defeat the racist assaults on affirmative action! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against crimes without victims—prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

6 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! The UN is a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, East Timor, the Persian Gulf! Down with U.S. terror bombing of Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

9 For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

10 Break with the racist, war-mongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League of the U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
October 2: **The Marxist View of the State**
October 9: **Imperialism and War**
UC Berkeley, 155 Kroeber Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
October 4: **Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism**
Boston University
Back Court Lounge, GSU Cafeteria
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6 p.m.
October 4: **U.S. Imperialism— World's Biggest Exploiter, World's Biggest Terrorist!**
University of Illinois at Chicago
215 Behavioral Sciences Building
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

LOS ANGELES
Thursday, 7 p.m.
October 4: **Historical Materialism**
UCLA, Ackerman Union 3516
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

MADISON
Saturday, 10:30 a.m.
September 29: **Basic Marxism and the Fight for a Workers State**
University of Wisconsin, Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for room)
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY
Tuesday, 7:30 p.m.
October 2: **Imperialism Means War Abroad, Repression at Home— For Workers Revolution!**
Columbia University, SIPA, Room 405
(118th and Amsterdam)
information: nysl_syc@yahoo.com

TORONTO
Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.
October 3: **Marxism and the State**
York University Student Ctr, Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
October 3: **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

We reprint below the introduction to a pamphlet published by the Partisan Defense Committee earlier this month.

> "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

With these words in a sworn statement, Mumia Abu-Jamal reaffirmed once again that he is an innocent man. A prize-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, supporter of the MOVE organization and defiant opponent of racist state terror, in 1982 he was railroaded to death row at the hands of Philadelphia's notorious cop and court frame-up machine on false charges of killing Philly policeman Daniel Faulkner.

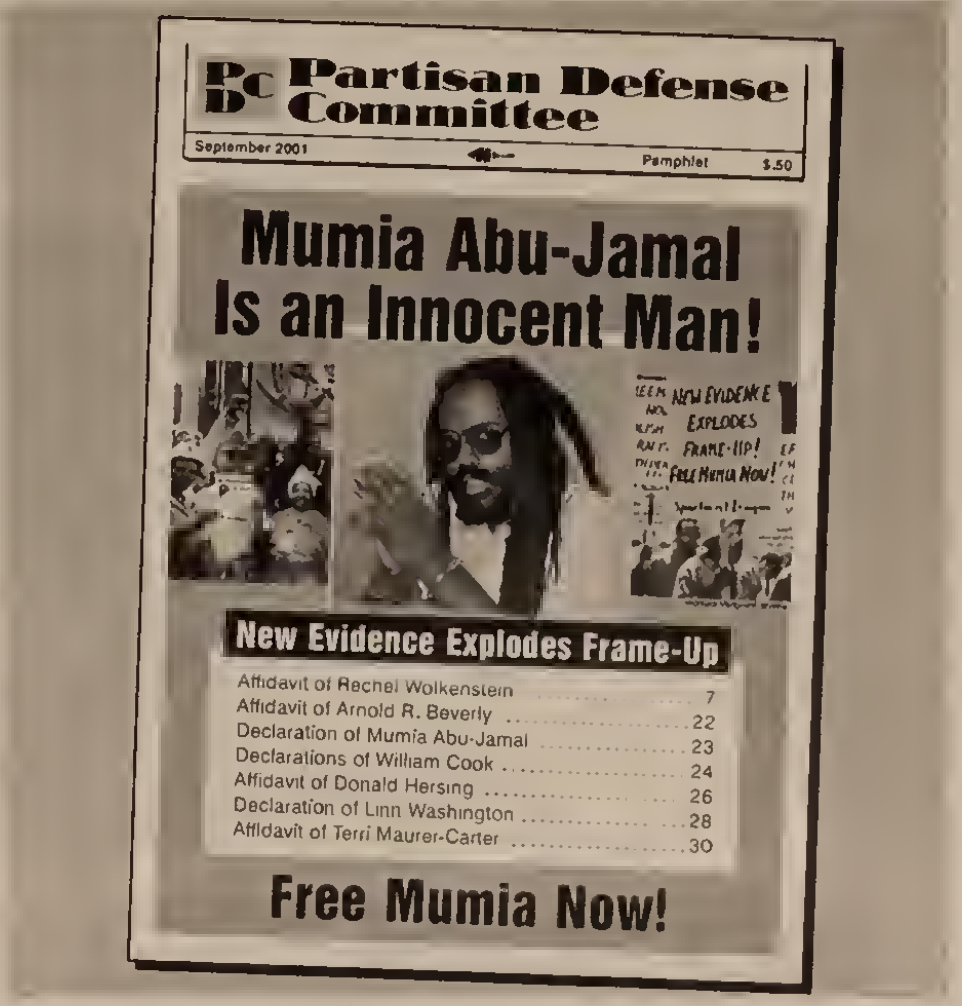
In 1995, as Jamal pursued his Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) fought to bring the case for his innocence to national and international attention. In a pamphlet titled *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (reprinted in the Spartacist League's *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"), we exposed the prosecution's case as completely manufactured: "eyewitness" testimony coerced through police manipulation and outright terror; a purported confession by Jamal as he lay near death the night of the shooting, which was manufactured *two months later* under the tutelage of Philadelphia's District Attorney; ballistics "evidence" concocted by the cops, who had no proof that Jamal's gun was even fired the night of Faulkner's killing, let alone by Jamal. As we wrote:

> "The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state. The cops, the courts and the entire 'criminal justice' system colluded and conspired to bring down this man whose only crime was that he was an eloquent and effective critic of the racist oppression they perpetrate and promote."

In this PDC pamphlet, we publish the *sworn confession* of the man who did kill Faulkner, Arnold Beverly. Beverly testifies: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.... I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene." Beverly's account is affirmed in the accompanying declarations of Jamal and his brother Billy Cook, who was at the scene of the shooting.

The affidavit by Donald Hersing, a former informant in an FBI investigation into police corruption in Philadelphia, provides ample evidence that the cops were more than concerned about possible informants for the Feds. This is reinforced in the affidavit by journalist and Temple University professor Linn Washington. Washington testifies to the remarkable fact that the morning after the shooting, the scene of what in the eyes of the cops is the ultimate crime—the killing of one of "their own"—was left completely unprotected by the police. These affidavits not only confirm Jamal's innocence but are completely corroborated by eyewitness reports the night of Faulkner's killing, *including by cops on the scene!*

All of this testimony was barred from being presented in court by U.S. district judge William Yohn, who in a July 19 "memorandum and order" ruled in effect that a court of law is no place for evidence of Jamal's innocence. But this view is not one held just by the cops, courts and prosecutors who are committed to Jamal's state-sanctioned murder. *Former lead defense attorney Leonard Weinglass and central legal strategist Daniel Williams also worked overtime to ensure that this evidence was never introduced in court.*



JUST OUT! Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, $.50 (32 pages). Order from/pay to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

The affidavit by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who was a member of Jamal's defense team from 1995 to 1999, compellingly marshals the evidence of his innocence and powerfully documents the struggle waged against Weinglass and Williams' efforts to bury Beverly's confession and the volumes of evidence corroborating it. As Wolkenstein testifies:

> "Attorney Weinglass' refusal to proceed with the Beverly and Cook statements was also my final realization that Attorney Weinglass would not carry out the defense demanded by our innocent client, that he would not pursue the necessary attack on the massive prosecutorial misconduct permeating this case, and that he would not pursue discovery, scientific testing of the physical evidence and an evidentiary hearing in federal court. With the final realization that, no matter what the evidence, lead counsel Weinglass would preclude the necessary steps from being taken to provide a defense for an innocent man and fight to overturn Jamal's unjust conviction, it was no longer possible for me to function ethically on his legal team."

Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, resigned from Jamal's legal team in July 1999 rather than be complicit in Weinglass and Williams' monumental betrayal. It wasn't until this May 4 that Beverly's confession, which had been secured by Wolkenstein *two years earlier*, was submitted, together with other affidavits, by Jamal's new legal team of Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman, J. Michael Farrell and British barrister Nick Brown.

In papers calling for a new state Post-Conviction Relief Appeal hearing based on this evidence, they note: "Attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams were not paid by the District Attorney's Office, but they might just as well have been. They have been able to accomplish a far more effective job of trying to undermine the Petitioner's case than the Commonwealth District Attorney's office could ever aspire to." In particular, the papers cite the publication of a wantonly malicious and unauthorized book by Williams, assisted by Weinglass, purporting to be an "inside account" of Jamal's case, appropriately titled *Executing Justice*.

Williams' Brief for the Prosecution

With the clock ticking on his life, and most legal appeals close to being exhausted, Jamal was forced to fire Williams and Weinglass when he learned of the lying contents of Williams' book. As we wrote in a PDC statement solidarizing with Jamal's decision and his efforts to assemble a new legal team: "Williams' unconscionable act of using his position as a central lawyer for Jamal in his own interests is now serving as a ticket for the two longstanding lead attorneys on the defense team to bail out." But more than that, Williams' book was a pre-emptive strike aimed at trying to kill the evidence presented in the new affidavits. This is acknowledged by Weinglass himself in a February 22 letter to Jamal, which is appended to the new PCRA papers. Referring to Beverly's confession, Weinglass wrote that Williams "unbelievably, goes into the witness who we blocked from coming forward (I *really* objected to this since it has not surfaced; Dan thinks it will and this is a pre-emptive strike)."

In a chapter of his book titled "Fighting Ideology," Williams derides the Beverly confession as "insane," dismissing any suggestion that the cops knowingly framed up Jamal as the supposed deranged invention of the "ideological zeal" of the PDC:

> "In the spring of 1999, over seventeen years after the killing and nearly four years after the lengthy hearings before Sabo, Rachel and Jon announced that they had discovered yet another 'explosive new witness.' According to them, this new witness would testify that he and another unidentified individual received money from the mob to kill Officer Faulkner. The killing, however, was not to be a mob hit; rather, the mob was merely some sort of conduit for a killing which was sought out by high-level officials within the Philadelphia police department....
>
> "When I heard the story at a defense team meeting at Len's loft, I bit my lip to avoid another unpleasant argument with Rachel. Actually, I was enraged, convinced that bona fide lunacy had set in." (p. 328)

Williams goes on to write that he stayed behind following the meeting to argue that Weinglass suppress this evidence: "Concerned that Mumia would insist upon our presenting this evidence, Len sought out ways to push this witness onto the trash heap." (p. 329)

This section of Williams' book is now the *sole* "evidence" presented in the prosecution's arguments against admitting the Beverly confession and other new evidence of Jamal's innocence. Williams' book has given aid and comfort to the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), which has waged a nationwide campaign of terror and intimidation against Jamal's supporters with the aim of expediting his legal lynching. Williams is now also the authority for articles in the *Philadelphia*

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Inquirer (6 July 2000), a "respectable" mouthpiece for the F.O.P., where he is quoted denouncing Beverly's confession as "not credible."

Outrageously, Williams attempts to make Jamal complicit in his and Weinglass' efforts to bury Beverly's confession, arguing: "An innocent man on death row might grab at anything to get justice; but I should have had faith that Mumia would never get *that* desperate.... It became apparent to me that Mumia is far too honorable to propagate a lie upon which to build a case for his freedom" (p. 330). It was Williams and Weinglass who were perpetrating a lie. The truth of the matter is that for an innocent man on death row, his lead attorney is his lifeline in the fight to win his freedom. As Wolkenstein notes in her affidavit, Weinglass and his acolyte Williams betrayed the trust that Jamal had that they were in fact fighting to demonstrate his innocence:

> "Attorney Weinglass deceived Mumia Abu-Jamal, manipulating, cajoling and misleading his death row client about the legal significance of Beverly's confession.... Attorney Weinglass threatened that he would end his legal representation of Mr. Jamal altogether rather than allow the evidence provided by Arnold Beverly to be presented in court."

In one of his searing commentaries, Jamal powerfully captured "life" on death row: "Don't tell me about the valley of the shadow of death. I live there." He has lived there for the past two decades, and the state executioner was casting an even longer shadow on his life when his two chief lawyers threatened to resign. The decision to fire them was forced on Jamal by their ultimate betrayal, the publication of Williams' mendacious book, which, as Wolkenstein points out, "has borne its intended fruit as it has become the prosecution's 'Exhibit No. 1' in its efforts to defeat Jamal's claims of innocence."

A "True Believer" in Capitalist "Justice"

In the introduction to his book, Williams sneers that statements by prominent figures such as Cornel West unequivocally asserting Jamal's innocence can only be "an ideological stance" or "expression of faith" (p. 14). Throughout the book, he equates those who have rallied to Jamal's defense with the howling mob of cops screaming for his blood, claiming to "marvel at just how much the hard-line anti-Mumia forces and the hard-line pro-Mumia forces have in common." He sympathetically embraces Faulkner's widow, Maureen—who has spearheaded the F.O.P. drive for Jamal's death—as a maligned victim. In the "Acknowledgements" at the end of his book, Williams expresses his debt to one Gerald Nicosia, who "helped to clarify my own thinking." ***Nicosia is currently working on a book asserting that Jamal killed Faulkner!*** This spring, Nicosia hosted a press conference featuring Maureen Faulkner as well as the prosecutor at Jamal's 1982 trial, Joseph McGill, and Hugh Burns, a prosecutor at Jamal's appeal hearings beginning in 1995 (*Socialist Action*, April 2001).

A central theme of *Executing Justice* is the supposed "ambiguity" inherent in the Jamal case. Williams' posture of studied neutrality—of a fictitious "third camp" between Jamal and his would-be lynchers—is not without a heavy dose of self-aggrandizement in portraying himself as the very epitome of "blind justice" evenly weighing the scales.

This is merely an expression of Williams' own "ideological stance," which is premised on absolute faith in the inherent justice of the capitalist courts. He asserts: "The interesting question, to me, is not whether I or any lawyer or celebrity believes in Mumia's innocence. It is the proclamation itself that intrigues me. After all, people proclaim Mumia's innocence at the same time that they (rightly, in my view) denounce his trial as a farce and demand a new one. But without a genuinely fair trial where *all* of the evidence is presented *and* tested, what substance is there to a proclamation of innocence—or of guilt, for that matter?" (p. 13)

Williams' entire book is an articulation of the idea that the capitalist state is some kind of neutral arbiter, expressing and defending the interests of all the people. But the state is not neutral. It is the instrumentality for organized violence by one class, the capitalist rulers, against the working class and all those at the bottom of this society. In the U.S., this is expressed in the terror and frame-ups carried out by viciously racist, brutal and corrupt police. As for Williams' posture of neutrality, this is not only an abomination for a criminal defense attorney, it is a manifest fraud. As the PCRA petition filed by Jamal's new legal team asserts: "In reality, by suppressing the evidence of the Petitioner's innocence together with numerous decisive claims for relief on his part, attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams have assumed the mantle of prosecutor in this case."

Arguing that the "prosecution had a compelling case" (p. 29), Williams tries to breathe new life into the D.A.'s thoroughly discredited frame-up. Not only does he trash Beverly's confession as a "lie," he also denounces William Singletary, an eyewitness who asserted that someone other than Jamal had shot Faulkner and had then run from the scene —just as Arnold Beverly testifies he did. Williams and Weinglass sought to ensure, over Wolkenstein and Piper's objections, that Singletary did not give his eyewitness account during the PCRA hearings, and Williams gloats in his book: "Hard-line pro-Mumia forces have insisted that William Singletary provides a reliable account of what actually happened on Thirteenth and Locust, even though Len and I have gone on record, in oral statements in court and in court documents, to state exactly the opposite." (p. 356)

Indeed, Williams repudiates the idea that the cops would ever knowingly accuse and convict an innocent man:

> "I was sensitive to the possibility that Mumia's sympathies with MOVE might have prompted law enforcement to jump to a conclusion about Mumia's guilt. I even believed that law enforcement was willing to fabricate evidence to help in the effort to convict a man they *believed to be guilty*. Rachel and Jon held more extreme views; they were convinced—actually, to them, it was sacrilegious to believe otherwise—that law enforcement knew Mumia was innocent, knew that the shooter fled the scene, and relished that a conviction and death sentence would be a terrific coup in the city's war against MOVE. Their view was an article of faith that grew out of their ideological zeal." (p. 298)

The Marxist understanding of the capitalist state that PDC attorneys Wolkenstein and Piper brought to Jamal's legal defense was indeed a powerful weapon in ripping apart the frame-up that sent this innocent man to death row. At the same time, it is simply empirically evident that the Philly cops would knowingly frame up innocent people. Hundreds of convictions based on concocted evidence, coerced confessions, police torture and manipulation of prostitutes to serve as "witnesses" have been thrown out in the last several years in Philadelphia alone. And this is hardly the peculiar practice of the Philadelphia police. The whole history of this country is littered with frame-ups of those who have struggled to defend their unions, to fight capitalist injustice or to in any way challenge the rule of capital. In the U.S., where the forcible subjugation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of society is key to maintaining a system based on exploitation, the rulers put their machinery of state repression into high gear if they perceive any potential of the explosive combination of black and red.

The FBI's COINTELPRO operation against the Black Panther Party was a program for extermination, leading to the murder of 38 Panthers and the prosecution of numerous radical black leaders based on their political beliefs. Former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was finally released from prison in 1997, after having been entombed for 27 years for a crime that the FBI's own wiretaps proved he did not commit. Jamal was a target of COINTELPRO since the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Panthers. Despite constant surveillance, as evidenced by a 900-page COINTELPRO file, the state could not come up with even one offense to try to pin on him. But the Feds and Philly cops kept up the vendetta against Jamal because he remained an eloquent and defiant defender of black rights and opponent of racist cop terror.

WV Photos

At May 12 Jamal rally in San Francisco, Revolutionary Contingent fought for mobilization of labor/black power in counterposition to reformists' reliance on capitalist "justice" system.

In the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, the Philly cops found their chance when Jamal was found shot and bleeding at the scene where police officer Daniel Faulkner had been shot. As an article titled "Philly Cops' Reign of Terror" in the *Black History* pamphlet cited above noted:

> "History is not a conspiracy, but there are conspiracies in history. We are not saying that the cops who were at the scene of 13th and Locust Streets the night of 9 December 1981 knew Jamal was going to be there. But they were there and had the chance they had long awaited to catch Mumia in their racist frame-up machine. This was the culmination of a political vendetta, extending back more than a decade, against a man whose impassioned defense of the victims of Philly cop brutality had earned him a special animus among these thugs in blue and their masters in the city and federal government."

The Propagation of a Lie

Williams pays passing lip service to the PDC's "ardent advocacy for Mumia," saying it "reminded me of the communists in the United States who trumpeted the Scottsboro Boys case in the 1930s" (p. 299). This is damning with faint praise, as Williams' whole purpose is to portray Wolkenstein and Piper's fight to demonstrate Jamal's innocence as an example of Marxist "zealotry." But even lawyers who don't have a Marxist worldview are supposed to fight zealously on behalf of their clients. Samuel S. Leibowitz, a prominent criminal defense lawyer in the 1930s, was a bitter anti-Communist who agreed only reluctantly to become lead counsel in the Scottsboro case. But once he did, he threw himself into assembling a powerful case proving that the nine black youth were innocent. When that evidence was simply tossed aside by a Jim Crow court, Leibowitz was so deeply outraged that he continued to campaign for freedom for the Scottsboro Nine—even sharing platforms with Communist Party spokesmen—and vowed, "I will fight to my last breath to send these boys back to their parents and to their loved ones."

As for Weinglass, when he became Jamal's lead counsel in 1991, he had a reputation as a radical lawyer who would fight against "the system." But those who knew him knew better. In *The Sea Will Tell*, Vincent Bugliosi, who served as prosecutor against psychopathic mass murderer Charles Manson and went on to become a defense lawyer, recounted the case in which Weinglass served as his co-counsel. Bugliosi described his shock at this putative "radical" arguing *against* fighting to demonstrate their client's innocence and seeking to manipulate her not to testify on her own behalf.

In Jamal's case, when Beverly underwent a lie detector test that affirmed his confession, Weinglass even rejected that, as expert polygrapher Charles R. Honts testified in an affidavit to the recent PCRA filing. In an earlier affidavit, Honts stated that he had administered two lie detector tests in 1999 and concluded that Beverly was being truthful each time. The

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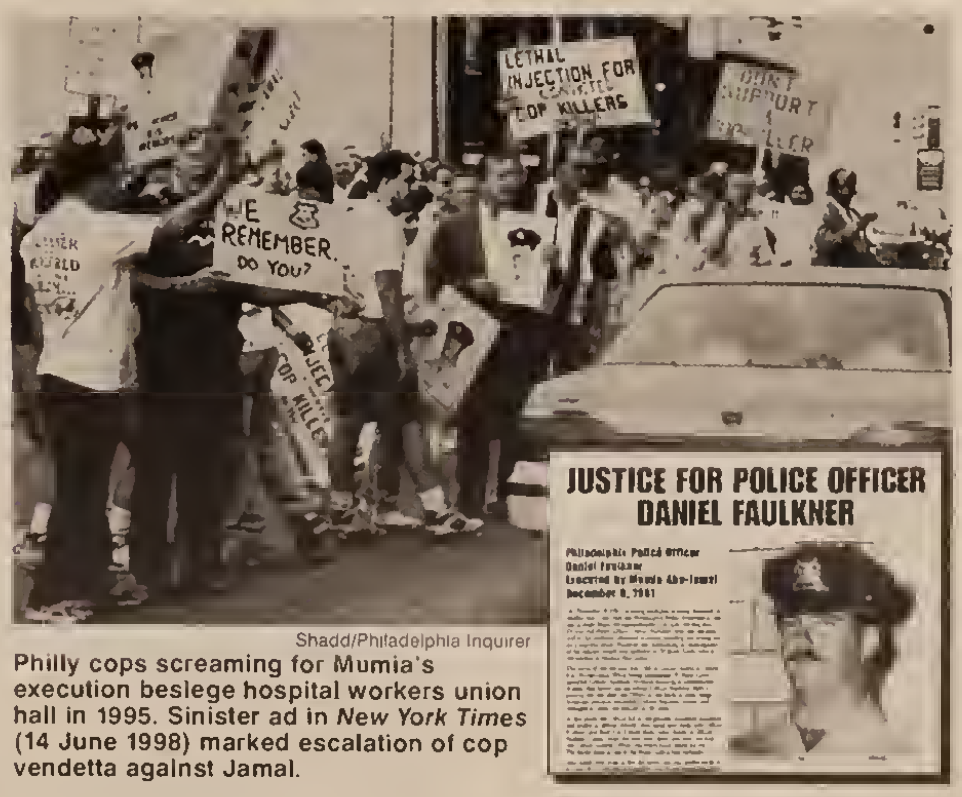

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philly cops screaming for Mumia's execution beslege hospital workers union hall in 1995. Sinister ad in *New York Times* (14 June 1998) marked escalation of cop vendetta agalnst Jamal.

ICL Sections Say:

Down With Imperialism— For Class Struggle at Home!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Like hot ash from the World Trade Center itself, war rhetoric has been strewn all across Europe. Every newspaper front page, television programs and radio shows are devoted to readying the population for war. But war against whom? Apart from Tony Blair, who eagerly saddled up like some kind of Wild West frontier deputy to George Bush playing John Wayne, Europe's capitalist rulers are uneasy about riding herd with the American-led posse. But while they express concerns derived from their own imperialist interests and heightened inter-imperialist rivalries over what the Americans are planning militarily, on the home front they are as thrilled as Bush with this chance to forge "national unity" behind their policies of austerity, racism and repression. Without exception, every state power in Europe and elsewhere has turned the indefensible indiscriminate attack on the World Trade Center and hijacking of civilian airliners into an opportunity to put the forces of state repression into overdrive to wage war against the working people at home, especially oppressed racial minorities and immigrants.

In the immediate aftermath of the attack, the French *Le Monde*, speaking for the most anti-American bourgeoisie in Europe, ran a front-page editorial screaming, "We Are All Americans!" while the German chancellor vowed to stand by Clause 5 of the NATO constitution calling for joint military action. But within days, both a Blair aide in Britain and leaders of the German Green Party, part of the ruling Social Democratic-led coalition, issued statements declaring their governments were not issuing the U.S. a "blank cheque" (*Financial Times* [London], 14 September). Bush's Cold War rhetoric about the "free world" notwithstanding, the major imperialist powers are no longer constrained to subordinate their rivalries to their shared fear and hatred of the former Soviet Union and the "spectre of communism." The governments of Europe and Japan, and behind them the "leftists" who tail their own rulers, are united with the United States only to the extent this serves the interests of their own ruling classes.

Sections of the International Communist League published the 12 September declaration by the Spartacist League/U.S. in six languages and introduced it with statements exposing the machinations of their "own" capitalist rulers, particularly emphasizing the need for the workers movement to rally to the defense of the besieged Arab and Asian minorities. Comrades made a special effort to break the reactionary "national front" pushed in each country by trade-union bureaucrats, mass reformist parties and the bourgeoisies. Recalling the words of Kaiser Wilhelm on the eve of World War I, "I no longer know parties, I know only Germans," the German Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) joined with every major political party including the right-wing Christian Democratic Union in a social-chauvinist mass rally for unity of the German people with the United States on September 14. Italian trade-union tops called reactionary strikes declaring the United States "a free country with a great history of freedom and democracy."

Across Europe, workers were told to down tools and assembly lines were stopped for three minutes of-silence on September 14. Church bells tolled and television screens showed Europe's rulers wiping their eyes in their pews. It looked a little different inside the factories and workplaces, particularly those with large, integrated workforces. Our supporters took coffee breaks with co-workers to talk about how the imperialists armed, trained and masterminded Osama bin Laden and other anti-communist and woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists and why we supported the intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan in 1979. Our supporters talked about why the plant closings, layoffs and attacks on pensions, health care and education are not the result of an indefensible terrorist act, but of an irrational capitalist system's drive to increase profits through increased exploitation of labor.

AP

Soldier and riot cop patrol Paris airport. Jospin government has unleashed thousands of cops to terrorize immigrants and minorities.

Large numbers of immigrants have been integrated into the workforces of Europe, albeit at the bottom. They represent a crucial component of the proletariat which must be defended as the bourgeoisie tries to divide the workers along ethnic and religious lines, while binding the white Christian majority to the bosses through reactionary patriotism. Many North African and Pakistani workers have been among the most politically conscious, recognizing that all this talk by the politicians and union leaders of "freedom and democracy" could only mean "restricted democracy and freedom at home," as one worker in Italy said.

Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in Europe

In Europe, Britain's Blair government understands that the demonizing of Muslims is a gift to his regime to further isolate and subdue Asian youth (many of the country's Asians are Muslims of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent) who sought to repel fascist attacks and cop invasions of their communities in industrially devastated Midlands cities like Bradford and Oldham just a few months ago. In France, the popular-front government launched a full-scale "Vigipirate" plan, unleashing thousands of sadistic riot cops in the train stations, airports and ghettos. Our comrades in the Ligue Trotskyste de France were the *only* leftists in France to demand, "Down with Vigipirate!" Our leaflets have been eagerly snatched up and our emphatic defense of the rights of oppressed minorities in meeting after meeting at the Communist Party's huge *L'Humanité* fête last weekend was enthusiastically applauded even by CP members who can't stomach their own party's shameful capitulation to police-state repression.

The French CP bears direct responsibility for the implementation of "Vigipirate" through their participation in the popular-front government which presently administers French capitalist class rule. Their partners in government, the Socialist Party (SP), are pushing the deadly equation that "Arab = terrorist." Covering their crimes with fine words about "multiculturalism" and "tolerance," French SP mayors in the heavily immigrant districts of Paris are unilaterally refusing residency papers (required for all aspects of public life, from work to banking) to all Arabs for no reason except that their countries of origin are now on the U.S. and NATO target list of states suspected of "harboring terrorists."

Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which has recently postured to the left, opposing a vote to the popular front in the municipal elections in March, took a running leap back into the arms of the French ruling class with a disgusting editorial implicating every Arab all over the world as a guilty suspect. *Lutte Ouvrière* (14 September) declared that the attacks in the United States were carried out "without a doubt with the moral support of the majority of the Palestinian population, and perhaps beyond that, with the support of the population of all the Arab states." This is nothing less than a justification for slamming missiles into the Near East! Correspondingly, LO manages to say *not one word* about the terrible augmentation of police-state repression against Arabs in France, which is so hard to ignore that this can only be read as a tacit endorsement of Vigipirate.

Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) at least noticed the full-scale Vigipirate plan (*Rouge*, 20 September), yet nowhere does the LCR raise the elementary call, "Down with Vigipirate!" In sprinkling in a few words against anti-Arab racism, the LCR expresses its liberal discomfort with overt cop terror but can't bring itself to forthrightly oppose it. Indeed, the preceding week (*Rouge*, 14 September) the LCR declared that the problem with the government's "security" campaign is that the cops don't go after the "real criminals," whining: "What means are in place to fight against the most important crimes...?"

The far right has taken huge advantage of the ruling social democrats' mobilization against oppressed minorities. In Italy, Umberto Bossi's Northern League plastered cities with posters screaming: "Illegal immigrants = Terrorists" as the ultraright Berlusconi government rams through new legislation drastically restricting the right to asylum, work or residency for anyone in Europe who is not a citizen of the European Union. French fascist Le Pen is trying to catch the wind in his sails to propel his electoral bid for the upcoming French presidential elections. The fascist National Front and its breakaway MNR (National Republican Movement) denounce the government for bowing to U.S. diktats and push an agenda of French national chauvinism, particularly an anti-American foreign policy and murderous anti-Arab racism at home. Gangs of young Le Pen supporters terrorize heavily immigrant neighborhoods, slapping on stickers reading "Stop Immigration! Stop Americanization!" Swastikas have proliferated. But it's not just the far right: the "mainstream" bourgeois parties and the social democrats alike are jumping at the chance to rid themselves of "surplus" workers. The stage is being set for mass deportations of immigrants and refugees, bringing starvation not only to the affected workers but to their whole families.

In Germany, Arab students fear for their lives as the bourgeois press whips up a climate of hysteria: the *Hamburger Morgenpost* published the addresses of mosques where Islamic fundamentalists supposedly are "trained." Draconian new legislation is proposed which could result in the banning of all Islamic fundamentalist groups, the fingerprinting of all immigrants and an accelerated machinery for deportations out of Germany. The European Union met in Brussels on September 20 to adopt new joint measures "to combat terrorism" which include the creation of new international task forces for surveillance, police intervention and legal action, including summary deportation of anyone deemed a "terrorist"; the establishment of a new "terrorism" group by Europol for international intervention; and an intensification in the production and stockpiling of arms and explosives. The cops' murder of Carlo Giuliani in Genoa during the huge "anti-globalization" protests against the G8 is clearly just a hint of what Europe's rulers have in store for immigrants, leftists and ultimately the workers who mobilize in defense of their own class interests against social-democratic "law and order."

Anti-Americanism: Counterfeit Currency of European Left

Social chauvinism and class collaborationism go hand in hand for the reactionary trade-union tops who have called off strikes at home to rally 'round the flag for war abroad. Our answer to this is to bring workers and youth to the consciousness of the need to wage *class war* against our "own" bourgeoisies—anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! In Europe

this has entailed combatting the anti-Americanism which is the dirt-cheap camouflage donned by reformists and centrists to cover their support to their own capitalist rulers. Thus the French CP and the German PDS make much ado about not following U.S. diktats and arguing instead for more powers for their own capitalist rulers, or for a war directly administered by that giant condom for U.S. imperialism, the United Nations. It was under UN wrapping that Iraq, Sudan, the Balkans and Haiti were all devastated. The declaration by the Spartacist League/U.S. has been a powerful political tool to educate workers and youth that U.S. imperialism must be brought down through class struggle of American workers in solidarity with the proletarian struggle internationally.

There are frictions between the United States and its European allies, and among the European states, as each jockeys for positions of influence and scrambles to protect its plunging economy. The anti-Americanism of the European left is a direct reflection of the appetites of the European rulers. Germany is the most powerful economy in Europe and a new post-World War II generation of Germans represented by Social Democrat Schröder complain they are tired of apologizing for the Holocaust and kowtowing to U.S. imperialism. The German PDS, political heir to the Stalinists who sold out East Germany to the West German bankers, now postures as the "peace" party, which means only that they resist following American-led war moves and seek a more forward and direct role for Germany. PDS leader Gregor Gysi calls for "limited military action" and a new "Marshall Plan" (the Marshall Plan poured money into devastated Europe as part of U.S. efforts to stabilize capitalist rule immediately following the end of World War II) for the "Third World."

Though the situation is very different, the posture of the European "left" is quite similar to that taken during the 1999 Balkans War, when they served as a cover for their own bourgeoisies' appetites for greater independence from the U.S. They fully subscribed to NATO's war aims of smashing Serbia and Milosevic, but looked for instrumentalities separate from the American-dominated NATO, such as the UN or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Today the French Communist Party is complaining about a "unipolar world" dominated by the Americans, while Bertinotti, leader of Rifondazione Comunista in Italy, declares that while he subscribes to the goal of smashing "terrorism," this needs to be implemented by the UN.

In Germany, the PDS advocates of a "new antiwar movement" similarly lend their support to the ideological basis for a war to destroy "terrorism," so long as it's sanctioned by the UN and not run unilaterally by the U.S. While German pseudo-Trotskyists cling to the PDS' coattails and seek to build a German national "antiwar" movement, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) spoke out against illusions in the PDS at an antiwar coalition meeting in Berlin on September 15:

> "Right now the PDS is standing at the Reichstag, at the government demo, to whip up nationalism and chauvinism in order to prepare the population for war. We stated in the Balkans War that the PDS' opposition to war is not directed against German imperialism, but against the U.S. leadership of the war. The PDS was simply for an alternative strategy for German imperialism."

Our comrade went on to respond to a certain "Mr. Kimpel," a former supporter of the Mandelite "United Secretariat" and now around the PDS, who "expressed great fear that someone might call him a traitor to the fatherland. Indeed, that would be a totally new experience for him! We can comfort Mr. Kimpel; we will defend him energetically against any such accusations. He is really not in opposition to German imperialism. For us Spartakists the accusation of traitor to the fatherland, coming out of the mouths of chauvinists, is an honor. Yes, the proletariat has no fatherland, and we have none. The main enemy is at home!"

Elsewhere too, the anti-American rhetoric of the "left" serves as an alibi for the appetites of their own imperialist rulers. Nowhere is this clearer than in Japan, where in response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Japanese military ships have stepped up their patrols in the seas around Japan and have threatened to conduct onboard inspections of all "unidentified ships"—a dangerous provocation ultimately directed against the Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states. The reformist left, preaching that it is possible for Japan to pursue a "peaceful" foreign policy, denounces the reactionary Japan-U.S. "security" treaty while presenting Japan as a helpless pawn of American power. The Communist Party, for example, howls in its electoral propaganda that "Japan is completely under the thumb of America," while the "New Left" Kakumaru group has written that the U.S. "is pressing its military claims on the Japanese government one after another" ("Appeal for 39th International Antiwar Assembly in Japan"). Such appeals are congruent with the aims of the openly revanchist wing of the Japanese bourgeoisie, which chafes at the military alliance with the U.S. and calls for a stronger military to be wielded independently to pursue Japan's own imperialist goals. As the Spartacist Group/Japan said in our statement, "It is Japanese imperialism...that is the main oppressor of workers in Japan and throughout Asia."

Spartakist

Spartakist placards at September 22 Berlin antiwar rally read: "Against Repression at Home, Against Imperialist 'Retaliation'!" "No Vote to SPD/PDS/Green Imperialist Warmongers!"

In Australia, where the ruling Tories and the "opposition" Labor Party (ALP) vied with each other in hellicose rhetoric following the destruction of the World Trade Center, the "left" responded with impotent pacifist appeals. An undated statement of the Socialist Alliance—an electoral fash-up of the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), International Socialist Organization (ISO) and others—frankly promotes the notion that imperialism is merely a bad "policy" which can be transformed into its opposite by the intervention of well-meaning people: "The most fitting memorial to those who died or suffered in New York and Washington would be the complete reversal of Washington's policies of exploitation of the Third World, and their replacement by policies that promote peace, democracy, co-operation and sustainable and egalitarian economic development."

At a September 20 meeting of the same cast of characters, now organized as a new "antiwar" coalition, a comrade of the Spartacist League of Australia intervened to denounce the indefensible attack on the World Trade Center and expose the ALP's attacks on refugees and immigrants. She noted that the ISO had supported the Taliban against the Soviet Union, and the DSP hailed Gorbachev's withdrawal from Afghanistan, while more recently the DSP had marched for Australian imperialist intervention in East Timor.

"Third World" Rulers: Stooges for Imperialism, Enemies of Their Own People

In the "Third World," the mass perception and responses to "attacks on America" are very different. But there is no difference in the eagerness of the capitalist governments to use the so-called "war on terrorism" to go after perceived sectors of discontent and opposition at home. In Mexico, for months the "national security" forces have been on a campaign against people from Near Eastern countries, as well as Basques from Spain. On September 11 the Mexican state seized dozens of Iraqis in Tijuana. Now the government of Vicente Fox is seeking to use the WTC atrocity to ratchet up its attacks on indigenous people and rebellious peasants like the Zapatistas, as well as its vindictive witchhunting of activist students at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM), already targeted by the government and the media as "subversives" and "terrorists" after last year's long, militant strike in defense of public education.

It is not surprising that many ordinary people in countries where mass poverty prevails as a result of the economic and military depredations of U.S. imperialism over the years may feel satisfaction even as they worry about the impending mass-murdering "retaliation" from the American rulers. But for supposed "leftists" to pander to such sentiments or paint the slaughter of thousands of innocent civilians as an act of "anti-imperialism" is not merely deplorable; it is a gift to the venal and brutal rulers of their own countries, for whom nationalism—the lie that all Americans or all Mexicans have the same fundamental interests—is key to keeping the oppressed masses in line.

As our comrades of Spartacist South Africa wrote in their declaration introducing the SL/U.S. 12 September statement:

> "Pockets of South Africans wrongly view the bombings in America as 'just deserts' in a 'one super-power world' dominated by U.S. warplanes and dollars. This Third World nationalist perspective writes off the American working class as hopelessly bribed by the riches of their own bourgeoisie.... In contrast to variants of nationalism, we Trotskyist internationalists draw a *class line:* against the capitalist rulers at home, and in solidarity with our class brothers and sisters abroad in the fight for world socialist revolution."

And the Grupo Espartaquista de México wrote:

> "The utmost in bloodthirsty stupidity is the nationalist Mexican group Macheteante. While 'feeling sorry' for the innocent victims of the attack, in an Internet posting of 11 September they say that 'the Middle Eastern "terrorists" mercilessly attacked the *gringo* imperialists' and that 'the *gringo* economy and its military system have received a very good blow.' This is absurdly false. In fact, the American imperialists are using this attack to rally the population to prop up their rule and in support for war. The identification Macheteante makes of the imperialist rulers with the American workers and population in general echoes not only the lies of the imperialists themselves, but also of a nationalist wing of the Mexican bourgeoisie that seeks to fuel nationalism as a means of keeping the working class under its control."

Anti-Anarchist Witchhunt Paved the Warpath

In Europe as in the U.S., the draconian legislation curtailing civil liberties and attacking immigrants is in fact an attack on the working class as a whole and on the proletariat's capacity to organize and defend itself against the capitalists. It must be recalled that before the hijackings and attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, the imperialist powers had already shifted into high gear to enact new repressive legislation in the aftermath of the Genoa G8 mobilization in July. And it must also be recalled that the European rulers were assisted in their dirty work by the reformist and centrist "left," which joined the chorus screaming for more repression of the anarchist victims of murderous state repression in Genoa, and in particular for repression of the so-called "Black Bloc." Today, the baiting of anarchist youth as "violent" by the "respectable" organizers of "anti-globalization" protests is even more pernicious as it sets anarchist youth up to be among the first targets of the bourgeoisie's "war on terrorism." The International Communist League, uniquely among those claiming to be Marxists, made a principled defense of the anarchist victims of bourgeois state repression, despite our political differences with their worldview and strategy.

So-called leftists who line up with their own rulers in repressing other leftists and ignore police-state terror against minorities lack the basic gut impulse to oppose capitalist injustice. Far from fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of this racist system of exploitation, these reformists embrace the capitalist state as their own. Our comrades' interventions in a forum on Genoa at the French CP's *L'Humanité* fête literally split apart the room on this basic question of "which side are you on?" Young anarchists were outraged that in the one and a half hours of drivel from

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Repression...

(continued from page 1)

reaction. When the Afghan government instead appealed for financial aid, the PDC launched an international fund drive to aid Afghanistan's beleaguered women, workers and leftists. Today we call on the working class to fight in opposition to the war moves of U.S. imperialism, which only strengthen a state that has perpetrated untold terror and war and a ruling class loading its arsenal of state repression with ammunition aimed directly at *you*.

The huge war mobilization supposedly aimed at taking out a "terror network" based in one of the most backward countries on earth is both dangerous and absurd. As one bourgeois pundit cynically put it: "You hear people saying we should bomb Afghanistan back to the Stone Age. You have to realize it's not that far from the Stone Age as it is." The number one "suspect" in this deranged "war against terrorism," Osama bin Laden, is himself the bought-and-paid-for creature of U.S. imperialism. Pentagon deputy director Paul Wolfowitz raves about "ending states" that harbor terrorists, saber-rattling for an all-out assault on Iraq. Much of Iraq has already been reduced to rubble by the endless, almost daily, bombing raids in the ten years since the end of the Gulf War, while over one and a half million people have been killed by the starvation blockade. *U.S. hands off Afghanistan! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack—Down with the starvation blockade!*

Sam Costanza

As politicians, press whip up chauvinist hysteria, people of Near Eastern descent and other dark-skinned immigrants fear for their lives.

Patriotic Hoopla—Profits for Bosses, Terror for Immigrants, Blacks

While the "foreign enemy" of the U.S. imperialist buildup is as vague as it is seemingly ubiquitous, the domestic targets are *clear*. Ruling under a declared state of "national emergency," the Bush administration with bipartisan support is pushing through a wholesale assault on civil liberties. More than 350 people have already been rounded up as "suspected Islamic terrorists," and many more immigrants of all nationalities are threatened with instant deportation or "preventive detention." While Bush intones about the need for "religious tolerance" (mainly because the countries with most of the world's oil wealth are overwhelmingly populated by Muslims), on the streets pogromist mobs surround and attack mosques and Muslim community centers. At least four people of Near Eastern or South Asian origin have been murdered.

"Flying while Arab" may be the new expression for harassment, intimidation and terror at the hands of the state, but the racial profiling which is now the order of the day will overwhelmingly target black people. Two years ago, New York City erupted in sustained and massive protest following the killing of black African immigrant Amadou Diallo, who was cut down in a hail of 41 bullets by a band of cops. Now, in an article titled "Diallo, Terrorism and Safety vs. Liberty" (*New York Times*, 13 September), columnist Clyde Haberman opines: "In the name of law and order, how much license do we give the police to stop and question citizens whose sole 'crime' is to have been standing on the street or, as in the Diallo case, in the vestibules of their apartment buildings?... It is quite possible that America will have to decide, and fairly soon, how much license it wants to give law enforcement." That question is already being decided by the powers that be, who are ratcheting up state repression while the media boosts the murderous and viciously racist NYPD as "heroes."

The purpose of the patriotic hoopla being whipped up by the bourgeoisie is to convince the working class that it must sacrifice its wages, living and working conditions, jobs and rights for the "defense of the nation." Before the hijacked airliners were ever commandeered to destroy the World Trade Center, the economy was already on a nosedive into recession. In some ways, the attack was its own "gift from god" for the American bourgeoisie, which is using it to bolster its profits and imperialist interests.

The population was encouraged to invest in the stock market as a demonstration of patriotism. But as Paul Krugman noted in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (23 September): "Anyone who patriotically purchased stocks got caught up in a market plunge that wiped out more than $1 trillion in wealth, while short-selling hedge fund managers who didn't let sentimentality get in the way of business did very well, thank you." And we're not talking about Osama bin Laden selling short, but the American bourgeoisie, whose only "patriotic" commitment is to its bottom line.

Airline companies got bailed out to the tune of $15 billion (with Delta Airlines realizing four times the amount it had lost). Over 100,000 airline workers are being handed pink slips. Evidently thinking it unseemly, the Bush administration has temporarily shelved its proposal to cut capital gains taxes for the rich as a way to "jump-start" the economy. But they have milked some $40 billion from Social Security to get Wall Street up and running—and the warships and bombers moving. In New York City, transit workers and other public employees were outraged to learn that, in addition, some $800 million of their pension funds were being dumped into the collapsing stock market "to help shore up the economy" (*Daily News*, 21 September).

Reuters

May 1999: Serbian city of Nis devastated by U.S. terror bombing.

As V.I. Lenin, whose Bolshevik Party led the working class of the former tsarist empire to power in the first and only successful workers revolution in history, wrote in explaining the revolutionary program and strategy of Marxism:

> "People have always been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organise those forces for the struggle."
>
> —"The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" (March, 1913)

Hundreds of workers from New York City and beyond volunteered their labor, skills and lives in the monumental effort to rescue anyone they could from the burning ruins of the World Trade Center. In this one could see not only the spirit of self-sacrifice but the collective social power and organization of the working class. The parasitic rulers who live off the exploitation of this labor did not and could not have displayed such sacrifice and skill. For them the central purpose was simply to clear away enough rubble to reopen the stock exchange, using patriotism to rouse working people to rebuild the citadel of American imperialist exploitation. At the same time, star-spangled jingoism is used to divide and weaken the proletariat, directing anger against Arab and Muslim immigrants.

In the U.S., the raw exploitation of those who labor has always been furthered through playing on racial and ethnic divisions. If the social power of the proletariat is to be organized to create a new world—a society in which the tremendous wealth of this country is deployed for the benefit of those who created it—it must be mobilized in defense of immigrant rights, for the cause of black freedom and to champion the rights of all the oppressed against this *entire* capitalist system. But that is a question of leadership.

The day after the World Trade Center attack, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney intoned: "America is a democratic and open society built upon universal values of freedom and human dignity. No act of terror will undermine those values. No sacrifice is too great for Americans to defend those values." And so the union bureaucrats play their designated role as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist rulers, policing the unions to ensure the flow of profits to the bosses. To maintain the ties through which they shackle the working people to their exploiters, the trade-union tops have long boosted the Democratic Party as the "friend of labor" alternative to the Republicans. But the reality that the Democrats and Republicans are simply the twin faces of the *one property party* in this country was put baldly by Democratic Senate leader Tom Daschle. In a statement eerily reminiscent of that of Kaiser Wilhelm on the eve of World War I—"I no longer know parties, I know only Germans"—Daschle declared, "There is no difference in our aim. We are resolved to work together, not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans."

The only road forward for the proletariat is the road of *class war* against the capitalist class. In the course of class struggle, it is our purpose to train, educate and steel the cadres of the multiracial workers party that, in the words of Leon Trotsky, can lead "a great revolutionary mass movement...that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression, and racial persecution."

Tightening the Screws of Repression

Among the cynical calculations of the American bourgeoisie is to use the attack on the World Trade Center to bury the "Vietnam syndrome"—the popular opposition to American soldiers dying in foreign military adventures—which grew out of the massive defeat of U.S. imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. While raving about the "sanctity of American life," the government is looking to see some American troops bloodied in combat. "Winning this war," declared an editorial in the *New York Times* (16 September), "will require discipline, stamina and sacrifice." It continued:

> "America may have to give up the post-Vietnam illusion that it is possible to fight wars with few casualties. Our success in the Persian Gulf and even our limited achievements in the Balkans created the illusion that American military technology is sophisticated enough to be used in combat without putting soldiers in harm's way. But what we have actually been enjoying is an extended string of luck. Last week, the message came through loud and clear that luck can run out."

To regiment the population behind the defense of imperialist interests, the rulers are tightening the screws of state repression. Attorney General John Ashcroft, an open defender of the Confederate slavocracy and Civil War "Southern patriots like Lee, Jackson and Davis," is aiming to push a package of sweeping assaults on civil liberties through a pliant Congress in the coming days.

The proposed new laws would extend practices currently widely used in foreign intelligence surveillance—largely carried out in secrecy and without court warrants—to domestic "terrorism" cases and *all* criminal investigations. The government's ability to conduct secret searches would be vastly expanded. Restrictions on wiretapping and Internet monitoring would be virtually eliminated, and the government wants access to all private computer encryption keys. Evoking the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps, Ashcroft has sought the power to hold non-citizens (including permanent residents) deemed a possible "danger to national security" in indefinite detention.

Last week, the New York State legislature rushed through a law making membership and even financial support to any organization deemed "terrorist" a felony. Under Ashcroft's proposal, non-citizens could be deported for providing financial support for the lawful activities of a "terrorist" organization—including retroactively! For example, a permanent resident of the U.S. who gave money to the African National Congress—which currently heads the South African capitalist government—when it was fighting apartheid in the 1980s could be rounded up and deported.

As German Communist playwright Bertolt Brecht once quipped: "Would it not be easier in that case for the government to dissolve the people and elect another?" The proposed legislation aimed at the civil rights of the population is the

expression of the fear and loathing the U.S. government has for "the people." The Constitution of this country was originally meant to apply to white male Protestant freeholders—that was what was behind the definition of a "citizen." As that definition was expanded to include broader layers of the population, the rights of the citizen were correspondingly diminished. The extension of the right to bear arms, for example, has led to its increasing erosion through gun control measures. Against the liberal proponents of gun control, we would point out that had some of the passengers or crew on those airliners been armed, there might not have been any (successful) hijackings.

Don't hold your breath waiting for the pusillanimous liberals of the American Civil Liberties Union, who only seem to get animated over defending the fascist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, to come to your defense. In a 20 September press release, the ACLU declared: "We pledge to work with our national leaders in their fight to bring those responsible for this tragedy to justice. And we believe that our nation can, as it has during other times of national emergency, reconcile the requirements of security with the demands of liberty."

The only rights to which the bourgeoisie is unalterably committed are those which enforce its class rule—the right to hold private property, to own the means of production, to employ wage labor. For the working people and oppressed, even those democratic rights nominally guaranteed under the Constitution can only be secured through social struggle and are eminently reversible under capitalism.

Immigrant Rights, Black Rights Go Hand in Hand

As always in this deeply racist society, attacks on civil liberties strike hardest against black people. Thirty-eight Black Panther Party activists were murdered and hundreds more imprisoned under the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation—which was originally set up during the 1950s anti-Communist witchhunt. Now, the new "czar" of the "Office of Homeland Security," which brings in the CIA, the military and other agencies nominally banned from operating domestically, is Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. Among the credentials qualifying him for this post is his ardent support for the death penalty. Ridge has signed two death warrants for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther who was framed up and railroaded to death row for his political beliefs.

The frenzy of anti-Arab and anti-immigrant chauvinism is a deadly danger to all racial minorities, especially the black population whose forcible concentration at the bottom of this society is rooted in the very foundations of the American capitalist system. Speaking about the racist mob that laid siege to a mosque outside Chicago, black radio commentator Cliff Kelley warned, "When those white youths were protesting against Arab Americans in Bridgeview, they were not just aiming their attacks against Arabs. They were also carrying Confederate flags. They're against us, too. This is becoming a race war and Bush is helping to push it" (*Chicago Defender*, 18 September).

But it's not just Bush. For years, black Democratic politicos and pseudo-nationalist "community leaders" have played into the capitalists' schemes to pit one sector of the oppressed against another, fomenting chauvinism against Arab, Latino and Korean immigrants in a competition for scarce jobs and government programs. Jesse Jackson, who often waxes rhetorical about the multiethnic American "rainbow," lauded the "anti-terrorist" roundups that help fuel the chauvinist hysteria, praising the Feds for "being able to penetrate the intelligence network" and prevent "further bombings to this date" (*Chicago Defender*, 17 September). Jackson's self-defined role is to serve as a "soft cop" for racist U.S. imperialism; thus he now urges Bush to "use intelligence, not war." It's precisely in the name of "intelligence" that the government is gearing up a vast machinery of repression against immigrants, blacks and all its perceived opponents.

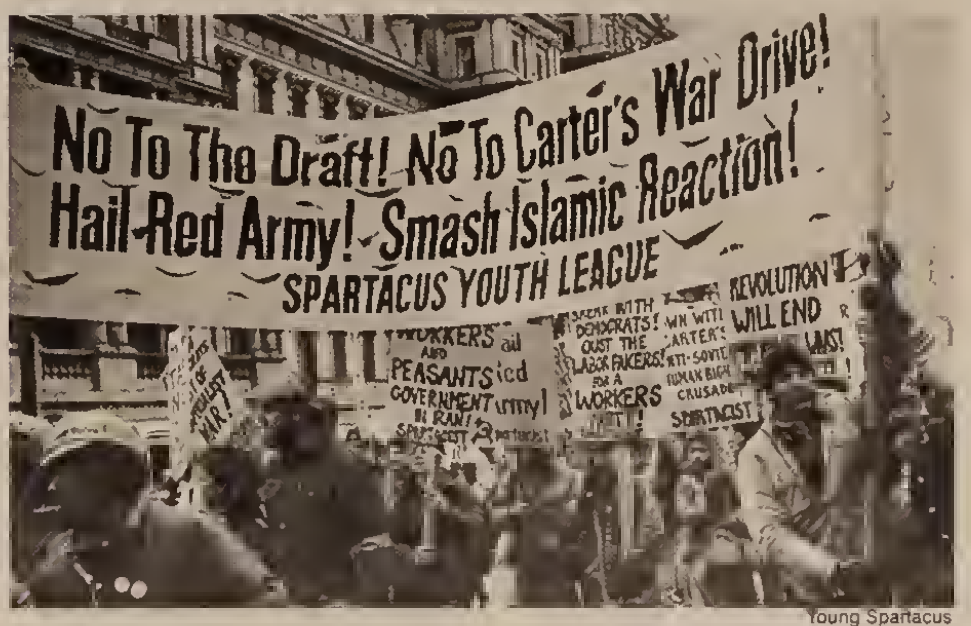
To her credit, black Oakland Congresswoman Barbara Lee, a protégé of former liberal Congressman Ron Dellums, registered the sole vote against the resolution giving Bush a blank check for war. For his part, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, calling America "the greatest nation on this earth," rushed to "agree with President Bush that there must be an appropriate response to this wicked attack, but anger and wounded pride should not and must not determine what that appropriate response should be" (*Chicago Defender*, 19 September). Two days earlier, the *Defender* ran the headline, "Victory Abroad and Victory at Home," evoking the "Double V for Victory" line pushed by the NAACP during World War II to enlist black people in the interimperialist slaughter. But victory abroad meant the U.S. boot on the neocolonial peoples and the maintenance of Jim Crow terror at home.

While the petty-bourgeois black misleaders rally 'round the flag, many of those at the bottom don't buy into the patriotic mobilization, knowing that they will be among its targets. But they are far from powerless. Black workers are a strategic component of the U.S. proletariat. Nor are immigrants, who have been increasingly prominent in union struggles, simply defenseless victims. But to wield the power that labor has as the producers of the wealth of society requires, above all, a break with the Democratic Party and the forging of a revolutionary workers party that fights for all the oppressed. The road to black freedom lies in the overthrow of racist American capitalism through socialist revolution. ***For class-struggle defense of immigrant rights—No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Black liberation through socialist revolution!***

Economic Recession, Imperialist Rivalry

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union was an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, leading to intensified rivalry—and the heightened danger of war—among the imperialist powers. In the wake of the World Trade Center attack, the European Union (EU) leaders immediately pledged their full support to the U.S., for the first time invoking Article Five of NATO's Atlantic Charter calling for collective military action against any act of aggression on a member state. The European imperialists have their own reasons for promoting an "anti-terrorist" hysteria, both to fuel their own military buildups and to impose even tighter border controls and broader repression against immigrants and asylum-seekers (see "ICL Sections Say: Down With Imperialism—For Class Struggle at Home!", page 6). But with the notable exception of Blair's Britain, which is again acting as Washington's salesman in Europe, EU leaders, especially French and German, soon made clear that they were not about to hand Washington a blank check for military action.

The current international crisis directly intersects a long-standing source of conflict between American and European capitalists: the economics of world oil. The world oil cartel is dominated by giant American companies like Exxon-Mobil. Although the Netherlands and Britain (Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum) are also major players, this is not the case for Germany and France, the core EU powers. Hence every dollar increase in the world market price of oil not only enriches an important sector of corporate America but also increases the energy costs of French and German capitalists. This is what lay behind the clash between the EU and U.S. over the defunct Kyoto "global warming" agreement, whose (nominal) caps on energy use would have affected the U.S. most directly.



Young Spartacus

As Democrat Carter seized on Red Army intervention in Afghanistan to launch renewed Cold War offensive, Trotskyists fought to defend gains of Russian Revolution.

The wars against Iraq in 1991 and Serbia in 1999 resulted in a permanent U.S. or U.S.-led NATO military presence in the Persian Gulf/Near East and the Balkans. Now, Washington aims to extend its military reach particularly into the former Soviet Central Asian republics of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, where U.S. energy companies have already invested billions of dollars to tap fabulous oil and natural gas reserves. Not surprisingly, Washington's plans have provoked sharp fears in Russia which, while in no position to challenge the U.S. right now, still has a huge nuclear arsenal and its own regional imperial ambitions. Existing conflicts among the major capitalist powers will only deepen as the world recession deepens. The drumbeat for national chauvinism by all the imperialist bourgeoisies is aimed at preparing their "own" working people to accept drastic cuts in living standards and to serve as cannon fodder in the resulting wars.

Seeking to secure the support of Muslim countries—including supposed "terrorist states" like Syria and Iran—for its "coalition against terrorism," Washington has finally moved to put its Israeli junior partners on a short leash. The Zionist butchers seized on the World Trade Center attack to escalate their bloody raids into towns nominally controlled by Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority, killing 28 people in one week (on top of the more than 600 already murdered by Israeli troops and their fascistic "settler" auxiliaries in the past year). Under intense pressure from the U.S., Sharon finally agreed to a "cease-fire," while still refusing to follow through. Meanwhile, the ever-pliant Arafat has ordered his security forces not to shoot back "even when under fire from Israeli forces" (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 20 September). We say: ***Defend the Palestinian people! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!***

Biter Bitten

"The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us."

—John Foster Dulles, 1950 (U.S. Secretary of State, 1953-59)

To buy the compliance of Pakistan, the Taliban's chief patron, the U.S. pushed through a $2.5 billion IMF loan this week and dropped sanctions imposed after a nuclear weapons test three years ago. Similar sanctions against India were also dropped. With Pakistan erupting in fundamentalist mobilizations, a *New York Times* (15 September) editorial worried, "Any American victories in Afghanistan would quickly turn into a catastrophic defeat if the war there turned Pakistan, with its 142 million people and nuclear weapons, into an Islamic fundamentalist state." The American bourgeoisie thinks it can rule the roost in any part of the world with a big stick and a bit of carrot. But far from imposing a stable "New World Order," from the Near East to the Balkans to South Asia, U.S. intervention serves only to stoke national antagonisms and regional wars.

Whatever countries Washington chooses to target in the coming months, its strategic goal remains the smashing of those remaining countries where capitalism was overthrown, the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies that undermine the defense of those states and the collectivized economy on which they are based must be ousted through proletarian political revolutions.

Unlike Cuba, China has offered its support to the U.S. "war against terrorism," urging only that Washington not act unilaterally but under the auspices of the UN. The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is intent on encouraging imperialist investment as it forges ahead with pro-capitalist "market reforms." Meanwhile, Beijing has its own version of bin Laden's Islamic fundamentalists to deal with, as well as the CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" rabble under the "god-king" Dalai Lama. While the Bush administration currently seeks to enlist Beijing's diplomatic support, it is moving full steam ahead with plans for a "national missile defense"—with a green light last week from Congressional Democrats. The chief aim, ultimately, of this "Star Wars II" project is to facilitate a nuclear first strike against China.

Reformists Plead for "Peaceful" Imperialism

Writing as the imperialist powers geared up for World War II, communist leader Leon Trotsky stated in "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934):

> "The exposure of the thoroughly reactionary, putrefied and robber nature of modern capitalism, the destruction of democracy, reformism and pacifism, the urgent and burning need of the proletariat to find a safe path away from imminent disaster put the international revolution on the agenda with renewed force....
>
> "Not to bind itself to the national state in time of war, to follow not the war map but the map of the class struggle, is possible only for that party that has already declared irreconcilable war on the national state in time of peace.... A real break with the ideology and policy of 'national defense' is possible only from the standpoint of the *international proletarian revolution*."

Wedded to the illusion that the capitalist nation-state can be reformed to

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Repression...

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serve the interests of workers and the oppressed, the reformist left adapts to the bourgeoisies of their respective countries. In West Europe, this takes the predominant form of anti-Americanism and support for the social democrats who today administer many of the imperialist states. In the U.S., groups like the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) capitulate to the prevailing climate of "national unity," throwing themselves into vigils aimed at appealing to the government to adopt "peaceful" means to combat "terrorism."

On September 20, thousands of students turned out for rallies at nearly 150 campuses across the country, many of them looking for answers to the government's war hysteria. In the past few years, large numbers of youth have taken to the streets in protests against "globalization" and the ravages inflicted by American "multinational" corporations on poor people in the "Third World," especially slave-labor sweatshop conditions. Viewing the working class as just one more oppressed and victimized sector of the population, these youth see no road other than that of trying to pressure the American government—whether through lobbying or "street fighting"—to adopt "kinder, gentler" policies at home and globally. Our comrades have intervened at such protests to win radicalized youth to the Marxist understanding that the threat of war is a direct product of a system based on capitalist/imperialist exploitation, and that the proletariat is the one class in society with the social power and historic interest to bring that *system* down and organize a just, socialist society.

For their part, the reformists pander to the liberal illusions prevalent among such youth. Their message is essentially: "War won't stop terrorism, give peace a chance." In New York City, the ISO has formed "People for Peace," whose "Mission Statement" appeals for "solidarity as a nation" and calls for "bringing the people responsible for the attacks to legal justice without using violence as a form of punishment." WWP's International Action Center is the driving force behind a coalition that calls on "people of conscience" to rally at the White House on September 29 to say that "war is not the answer."

The ISO is a quintessential weathervane of liberal "public opinion," defined by social-democratic anti-Communism from its inception as a tendency during the first Cold War. In the 1980s, the ISO—and virtually every other reformist group—avidly embraced the "human rights" anti-Sovietism of the imperialist rulers, cheering on the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. In 1999, the ISO and other fake-socialist groups embraced the cause of "poor little Kosovo," the banner under which the U.S. led NATO in a war that laid waste to Serbia.

At bottom, groups like the ISO and WWP accept the liberal notion that imperialism is just a policy, and that the capitalists can be pressured to pursue other, more "humane" and "peaceful" policies. Progressive Labor Party (PL) rightly declares: "During imperialist war, communists must lead workers against their ruling class" (*Challenge*, 3 October). But PL capitulates to the imperialist rulers in its own way. PL equates small or semi-colonial capitalist countries—like Serbia or Iraq—with imperialist powers like the U.S. Thus PL spits on the Leninist obligation to defend against imperialist attack those countries exploited by the handful of capitalist countries that control the world economy.

War is the continuation of politics by other means. In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), Lenin stressed that imperialist capitalism is marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the preeminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced capitalist countries to control markets and spheres of influence. In opposition to the theory of a peaceful "ultra-imperialism" advanced by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin wrote:

> "The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the *strength* of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the *even* development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism....
>
> "Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky, 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperialist powers, are *inevitably* nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars."

Imperialist war is but the concentrated expression of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless numbers of people around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial "accidents." The threat to obliterate "rogue states" is of a piece with the use of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund to impose misery and starvation on the workers of Southeast Asia, Mexico and elsewhere in order to keep interest payments flowing into the coffers of Chase Manhattan and Citicorp.

Socialism or Barbarism

Barely a decade ago, America's rulers proclaimed victory in the Cold War and promised the population a "peace dividend." That dividend took the form of one military adventure after another, including the first major conflagration on European soil since the end of World War II, the U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia in 1999. Its domestic complement was a mushrooming of the prison population—with over one million black men, women and youth currently behind bars—and a widening chasm between rich and poor. Corporate America has gorged itself on profits extracted through non-union, minimum-wage labor, multi-tier wage contracts, speedup, massive overtime and the wholesale dismantling of social welfare programs. Now you can kiss your pension goodbye as they loot the Social Security "lockbox" to pay for whatever insane military adventure Bush undertakes while the Dow Jones index goes through the floor.

The current war buildup presages full-scale wars in the future, ultimately encompassing all the imperialist powers and posing the spectre of a nuclear conflagration. The men who rule this country are not rational, because the capitalist system they preside over is irrational. ***Only world socialist revolution can save mankind from a barbaric outcome.*** As we say in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

> "American 'democracy' has been purchased through brutal exploitation of the colonial and semicolonial masses around the world, generally through imposition of murderous anti-labor dictatorial regimes. America is ruled by the dictatorship of a single class, the bourgeoisie, alternately administered by the Democrats and Republicans, two wings of the same property party. The façade of democracy is designed simply to obscure the fact that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence—consisting at its core of the police, army, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist property and profits through the suppression of the working class and the oppressed and fending off foreign challenges. The proletariat cannot lay hold of this state machinery and use it for its own purposes, but must smash the bourgeois state and establish a workers state, laying the basis for the abolition of classes in an international communist world. ***Our task, in the bastion of world imperialism, is to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, sectian of a reforged Fourth International, which will lead the praletariat in the overthrow of the American capitalist order, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class ond the establishment of o planned socialist economy.***"■

ICL Sections...

(continued from page 7)

the podium, the name Carlo Giuliani was barely mentioned, while the police terror in Genoa was whitewashed.

An anarchist group, "Officina 99," which is calling for an anti-NATO protest in Naples on September 27, has published a statement on the World Trade Center attack which is imbued with a revolutionary internationalist spirit we Marxists find commendable. They note that among the dead were workers, "our potential allies, those we talk to when we speak of a 'different possible world'." They condemn the attack for its "indiscriminate character" and go on to note that the attacks against immigrants are the product of the "fall of the Berlin Wall" and the rise of a unipolar world.

But even the best subjective impulses and a clear-sighted view of reality are not sufficient to bring down a capitalist system which again threatens world war, this time with nuclear weapons. A fundamental difference with the best of the anarchists—whose revulsion at the fake left's fawning loyalty to social democracy and parliamentarism we share, and with whom we are increasingly frequently in a bloc against the reformist apologists for state repression—is that anarchists have no clue how to bring down the system of exploitation. They reject the centrality of the proletariat for revolutionary change, and especially the need for the working people to create their own class rule, their own state power. Indeed, one of the Italian anarchist statements on the attacks in the United States noted that they opposed the attack as part of their "internationalist opposition to the state." The *bourgeois* state is an institution of class oppression of the proletariat by the capitalist class. But the dictatorship of the proletariat—which will suppress the inevitable resistance of the bourgeoisie to the rule of the revolutionary working class—is the necessary first step toward the withering away of the state through the creation of a classless communist society.

As the war plans of the imperialist rulers should make clear to everyone, the capitalist class is ruthless; it is never going to cede power without a fight, and will use the same terror against its own working people at home as it employs to plunder the "Third World" and to wage its interimperialist world wars. The crucial bridge to get from the misery of the capitalist present to the promise of a socialist future is the struggle for a *workers state*. It is necessary to bring the workers to power in their own state, a dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend their gains, to fight the capitalist enemy, and to fight for the international extension of their struggle.

Mobilized at the point of production (and uniquely integrated in today's increasingly segregated racist societies) and creating the wealth of society, the working class uniquely has the social power and compulsion of clear objective interest to liberate mankind from oppression. Having no stake in maintaining the bourgeois order, its power rests in its productive role, its numbers and organization. No amount of demonstrating outside G8 or NATO meetings, pressuring the imperialists to put on a more "human face," can really challenge the system. Only proletarian socialist revolution can bring down the irrational profit-driven capitalist system based on private property and institute a planned, collectivized economy based on production for human needs. This perspective requires international revolutionary struggle to destroy imperialism and unite the workers of the world in a planned socialist economy.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and the attendant declarations of the world's imperialist rulers that "communism is dead" have sparked a revival of anarchist ideas. As Trotsky said, in reactionary periods "senile thought seems to have become infantile." It's our aim to win the best, most self-sacrificing and subjectively revolutionary fighters from the present generation of youth to an understanding of the principles of scientific socialism so that the errors of the past, which have thus far prevented the overthrow of the decrepit imperialist order worldwide, will not be repeated. The ICL struggles to bring the working people to power worldwide in new October Revolutions. Now more than ever, a revolutionary world party is needed to put an end to the system of exploitation, racism and war—join us!■

NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended. If you are interested in meeting or picking up literature you can do so between 7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday on the third floor of the Student Events Center at New York University, 5 Washington Place. Please contact us at nysl_syc@yahoo.com for further information.

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Mumia...

(continued from page 5)

only time Beverly was being deceptive was when he *denied* being the one who shot Faulkner. Lie detector tests are certainly not foolproof; indeed, they are routinely used by police and government agencies for their frame-ups and mistakenly are admissible in many courts.

Williams argues that his book was written to make Jamal's case "more interesting and attractive to a mainstream audience." But as the PCRA papers counter:

> "It was written to make attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams more attractive to a main stream audience. It was written with an eye to their futures after the Petitioner's case was finished. It was written to portray attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams as wise and responsible lawyers fighting an heroic struggle against insuperable odds in an unfair and flawed criminal justice system. It was written both to preserve and to enhance attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams' reputations."

At the same time, the book enhances the authority, reputation and "democratic" credentials of the capitalist state, even at the cost of Jamal's life.

As the old fighting song of Harlan County coal miners says, "There are no neutrals there." Williams' appeals to "be sensitive to how the intensity of interest in Mumia's case" must hurt Maureen Faulkner, who heads the campaign for his death; his intonations that "it would be wrong to dismiss the evidence against Mumia with a glib reference to racism and police corruption" (p. 356); his bald equation of Jamal's defenders with the cops and courts who want to kill him are not the expression of some kind of even-handed "justice." Rather they are a statement that Jamal is guilty or at least should be considered so until "proven innocent." One of the more obscene examples of this is a photo caption in the book that could have come straight out of an F.O.P. diatribe: "Was killing on [Mumia's] mind as he raced towards his brother, Billy Cook, who was in a scuffle with Officer Faulkner?"

Appealing to the "mainstream" has also been the clarion call of various liberals, reformists and black nationalists who for years made the call for a "new trial" for Jamal the central demand of their demonstrations. Their aim was to avoid offending those who see Jamal's case simply as a stain on capitalist "law and order" which must be remedied through a new trial. In a statement to the May 12 "Mobilizations for Mumia" held in Philadelphia and San Francisco this year, Jamal wrote from his death row cell: "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go." This was demonstrated in the fact that central organizers and endorsers of these protests were unable to even choke out the new evidence in the case because it is such an indictment of the very "justice" system in which they have sown illusions for years.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia
1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia

Report of: [redacted] b7C Office: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Date: OCTOBER 24, 1969

Field Office File #: 157-1917 Bureau File #:

Title: WESLEY COOK

Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis: WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 9/1/91. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

- P -

b7C
DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 11/21/97
aa/363,302-001

DETAILS: I BACKGROUND

A. BIRTH

On October 10, 1981, WESLEY CO... WES, WEST, and MUMIA X, claimed that he ... delphia, Pa., on April 24, 1954.

Nine hundred pages of FBI files show Jamal was targeted by deadly COINTELPRO operation from age of 15, when he was a leader of Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

no credit

Right: Jamal in hospital after being shot and beaten by cops, December 1981. Failing to kill him in the streets, the "justice" system railroaded Jamal to death row.

Even now, when most of these organizations are publishing Beverly's confession and the other affidavits, their appeals are premised on maintaining illusions in capitalist "democracy." Socialist Action leader Jeff Mackler co-signed a statement for an August 18 Jamal rally in San Francisco that argued: "We must fight to make the price of Mumia's legal lynching too high to pay in regard to a fundamental loss of confidence in the so-called criminal justice system." An even more chemically pure example of promoting the "democratic" credentials of this blood-drenched "justice" system is a letter by Guerry Hodderson of the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee to Judge Yohn, stating: "I do not believe you have anything to lose and much to gain by holding an evidentiary hearing. At the very least you will regain an appearance of fairness in a case that has come to symbolize the racist, anti-radical abuses of America's court system."

For Class-Struggle Defense!

From the time the PDC took up Jamal's case in 1987, we have sought to ensure that every legal avenue was pursued to free him while fighting against illusions in the capitalist state. In this, we stand in the tradition of the early Communist Party's International Labor Defense (ILD). In his 1927 article "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?"—written during the worldwide campaign of labor protest on behalf of those anarchist workers—later pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon, then leader of the ILD, laid out the counterposition between liberal appeals to capitalist politicians and judges and the strategy of class-struggle defense:

> "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale....
>
> "The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle."

The PDC has publicized Jamal's case, raised critically important funds for his legal battles and fought particularly to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement in his defense, including through labor-centered, united-front protests demanding Mumia's freedom and abolition of the racist death penalty. Through these and other means, we have brought his case to trade unions representing millions of workers around the world, from the U.S. to South Africa.

We have stressed that Jamal's case throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty. A form of institutionalized state terror directly descended in the U.S. from the system of black chattel slavery, the death penalty is the ultimate sanction employed by this repressive system to intimidate—or eliminate—any who would challenge racist American capitalism. While George W. Bush presided over more executions in Texas than any other governor in recent memory, his Democratic predecessor in the White House, Bill Clinton, pushed through a vast expansion of the federal death penalty and enacted measures to speed up executions by gutting the right to federal *habeas corpus* appeals. We are unequivocal opponents of the death penalty—we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives or dies.

The long hidden and suppressed evidence of Mumia's innocence is the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insufficient to secure Jamal's freedom. What we need is not just more truth but more social power. It is elementary that if labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on Jamal's behalf, it must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that have worked for years to frame up and kill this innocent man. To that end, it is necessary to expose and combat not only those like Weinglass and Williams who openly betray Jamal's cause but also the reformists who would subordinate his fight for freedom to appeals to liberal Democratic politicians and the capitalist courts. Above all, it is the trade-union bureaucracy that is an obstacle to labor flexing its muscle in struggle on behalf of all the oppressed; labor must break the chains forged by the union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class.

Our non-sectarian, class-struggle defense work, in accordance with the Marxist political views of the Spartacist League, is based on the perspective of winning the working class to the understanding that this state exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. It is rooted in the struggle to make the multiracial proletariat conscious of its historic class interests in the fight against the entire capitalist system, particularly the understanding that in this country the fight for black freedom is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself. *Mobilize labor/black power to fight for Mumia's freedom! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

the rich to the poor.

The latest issue of *Keep Left!* (August 2001) calls for pressuring the union leadership to, in turn, pressure the Mbeki government: "We can help to keep the pressure up by leafleting in favour of the strike and organizing more unionised workers in the Anti-Privatisation Forum." Telling here is Keep Left's emphasis on unionised workers, ignoring the millions of non-unionised toilers, especially agricultural labourers and the inhabitants of the former bantustans (largely women) who make up the most impoverished and oppressed section of South Africa's black population. Keep Left is too far to the right to even raise a call for an opposition political party in print.

The Taaffeites have always held up as their model for a workers party *not* the Russian Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky but the British Labour Party, which currently administers the British imperialist state in the interests of the City of London financiers. The DSM leaders see themselves as potential left advisors to the bureaucratic tops of a South African version of the British Labour Party. That is what they mean when they "call upon Cosatu to start the process of forming a mass workers party on a socialist programme" (*Izwe Labasebenzi*, September 2001).

The question of forming a workers party, centrally based on the COSATU unions, in opposition to the ANC is not at all new. It has been raised periodically by leftists and even some top union officials since the transition from the white-supremacist regime to the ANC government in the early 1990s. We have always emphasised that the decisive question is the nature of such a workers party—reformist or revolutionary.

We have raised the call for a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa in a way clearly and sharply *counterposed* to a reformist (i.e., pro-capitalist) party such as the British Labour Party or the Brazilian Workers Party. A revolutionary workers party would not simply defend the particular interests of the working class, especially its unionised sector, but would fight to eradicate *all forms* of social oppression—the lack of modern medical care for the millions infected with AIDS, the mass homelessness in the black townships, the hideous conditions suffered by the millions of Africans still trapped in the former bantustans, the degradation of women in rural villages where tribal traditions remain strong. The increasing hostility of the working class to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, dramatically indicated by the August general strike, demonstrates both the possibility and urgency of building such a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa. ■

Spartacist South Africa

Newspaper of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Two-Day General Strike in August

Class Struggle in South Africa

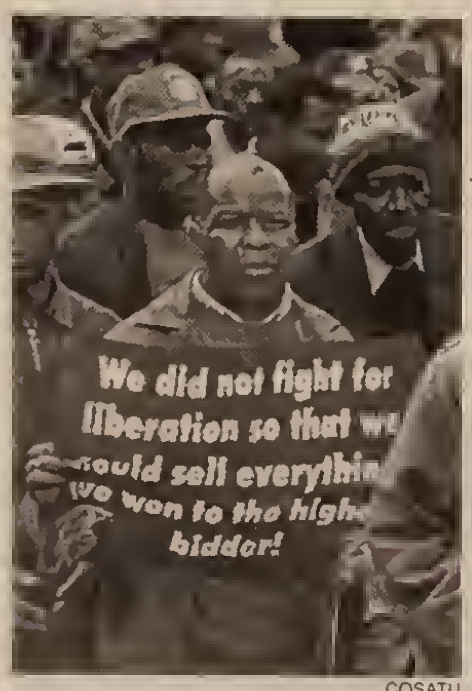
JOHANNESBURG, September 10—On August 29-30, South Africa was shaken by a two-day general strike. The "stayaway" strike, which included huge protests in most cities, was one of the largest labour actions since the white-supremacist regime was replaced by the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC) in 1994. Organised by the two-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the immediate focus of the action was to protest the plans of the government of ANC president Thabo Mbeki to privatise the state-owned railways and the electricity, telecommunications and waterworks companies. "We did not fight for liberation so that we could sell everything we won to the highest bidder," read a placard carried at the Jo'burg labour rally.

Reuters

Mass labor rally in Johannesburg, August 29. Two-day strike protesting privatization plans was fueled by mounting anger against neo-apartheid ANC rule.

Underlying this massive mobilisation are years of mounting working-class anger and frustration at the openly pro-business, anti-labour and union-busting policies of the ANC-led "Tripartite Alliance" government, in which the South African Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU are both junior partners. When the minister for public service and administration, SACPer Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, showed up at the August 30 rally in Pretoria, she was booed down and driven off the speaker's platform. Fraser-Moleketi is especially hated by the workers for her past role as the government's hard cop against public employee strikes.

COSATU officials claimed that five million people stayed off the job. Predictably, spokesmen for the ANC government and its masters on the Jo'burg stock exchange downplayed the impact of the strike. But the strike seems to have been effective in the key economic sectors. It was reported that the gold mines in the Free State province were brought to a standstill. Particularly hard hit was the auto sector, which has barely recovered from a three-week strike over wages that ended just prior to the stayaway. At DaimlerChrysler, reportedly more than 70 per cent of the workforce stayed away. Ford SA and Nissan did not operate their assembly lines. Meanwhile, a potential strike by 500,000 public sector employees looms large as the latest round of wage talks have hit a dead end.



COSATU

Protester in COSATU general strike. ANC nationalists front for white capitalist exploiters.

It is also quite important that other pro-ANC mass organisations—the "civics" based in the black townships like Soweto and the student organisations—supported the COSATU action against the Mbeki government. Likewise significant was that the rival National Council of Trade Unions—representing 500,000 workers—which is led by a bloc between the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Pan Africanist Congress and AZAPO (successor to Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement) also supported the COSATU stayaway strike.

The political significance of the two-day stayaway was punctuated by COSATU's own role as a component of the governing Tripartite Alliance. Under the intense pressure of their working-class base, the union bureaucrats were forced to take some action—even if only a protest—against the government. Moreover, in the period leading up to the stayaway, COSATU leaders reverted to the leftist rhetoric of years gone by. In mid-August, COSATU president Zwelinzima Vavi told a labour rally in Pretoria:

> "The struggle involves the working class and its struggle against a capitalist class and its cohorts. When this happens, militants who fought next to you against apartheid, will now take up the struggle against you while protecting new class benefits.... Some blacks are business leaders, millionaires, director-generals."

Mbeki was so personally enraged at this that he went after COSATU himself rather than leave the job to one of his henchmen. He issued a vitriolic statement against the union leaders:

> "One of the lies they tell is that our government has betrayed policies agreed by the broad democratic movement with regard to the issue of the restructuring of state assets. Thus they argue that, because of this, we have abandoned the pursuit of the objective of a better life for all."

Mbeki went on to denounce the COSATU leadership for trying to "use workers as cannon fodder to launch an offensive aimed at defeating their own liberation movement!" (*ANC Today*, 25 August).

By the time of the strike, the COSATU bureaucrats, almost all of them in the SACP, were in a grovelling damage-control mode, offering an olive branch to Mbeki & Co. Addressing a rally of 10,000 in Jo'burg, union officials *minimised* their differences with the government. Their line was not to actually stop the privatisations but rather that they should be included in the negotiations to sell off state assets. They were using the stayaway strike and rallies to let their worker base blow off steam. But on the ground, our comrades selling *Spartacist South Africa* could feel the widespread anger among the workers and others as to what privatisation has in store for them—union-busting, slashing benefits, rate increases in basic services like electricity.

The COSATU stayaway was scheduled in part to embarrass the Mbeki government during the United Nations-sponsored "anti-racist" conference in Durban. Hence the August 30 labor rally in Durban had a quite different character than elsewhere in South Africa. Activists in the Landless People's Movement took to the streets, joined by Palestinian militants, black activists from Brazil, "untouchables" from India, Aboriginal activists from Australia and many more.

By contrast, the official government "anti-racist" rally a few days later was a total bust. The union tops did not mobilise their ranks. The government was reduced to busing in schoolchildren to pad the crowd and the marchers occupied only the sidewalks to make the march look bigger.

Break with the ANC! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The general strike exposed and aggravated the tensions within the South African Communist Party between its base in the labour movement and its pro-capitalist tops ensconced in leading positions in the ANC government. Jeff Radebe, the SACP minister centrally involved in the privatisation drive, remarked that the party was "caught between a hammer and a sickle." On the one side, the official SACP statement endorsing the strike called it "a conscious offensive against capitalism itself and for the building of a people's economy." On the other side, SACP ministers Fraser-Moleketi and Radebe were the first and most aggressive spokesmen for the Mbeki regime *against* the strike. As revolutionary Marxists, we seek to break the black working-class base of the SACP from its reformist misleadership.

The same sentiment that caused workers to drive Fraser-Moleketi from the Pretoria rally has led tens of thousands of workers to drop out of the SACP in the past few years. These workers now look solely to COSATU rather than the SACP to defend themselves against the mounting attacks of the Mbeki government. But the working class cannot defend and further its interests solely through trade-union struggle and other forms of social protest. It is necessary to sweep away the neo-apartheid capitalist order administered by the ANC government—which is the political agent of South Africa's white capitalist class and its senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London—and to replace it with a revolutionary workers government centred on the black toilers in which there will be full democratic rights for coloureds (mixed race), Indians and those whites who accept the will of the black majority. To achieve such a government, we seek to build a Leninist vanguard party that champions the cause of all of the exploited and oppressed.

To the left of the SACP are a mélange of groups which falsely claim to be Trotskyist or are conventionally identified with Trotskyism. Among these are the Keep Left group which is affiliated internationally with the British Socialist Workers Party formed by the late Tony Cliff. Another such social-democratic outfit is the Democratic Socialist Movement (DSM), part of the international current led by Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party, also in Britain. Until quite recently, the South African Cliffites and Taaffeites *openly supported the ANC government* of Mandela and his anointed successor Mbeki, for example, urging workers to vote for it in national and regional elections. The Taaffeites, in fact, were for years buried *inside* the ANC. And, for its part, Keep Left has for the past few years been part of the SACP.

In response to the increasing hostility of the working class to the Mbeki regime, these fake-left groups are now seeking to pressure the COSATU bureaucrats to form a "genuine opposition" to the ANC. Their main vehicle to implement this pressure tactic is a lash-up called the Anti-Privatisation Forum. The Forum does not even pretend to be anti-capitalist nor does it call for socialism. Rather it espouses the usual reformist pablum of redistributing the wealth from

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 766

12 October 2001

War-Crazed Imperialists Stalk the World

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers—

Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

Messler/U.S. Navy

Imperialist terror bombers: U.S. fighter jet takes off from aircraft carrier in Arabian Sea to attack Afghanistan.

OCTOBER 9—As cruise missiles and bombs began raining down on Kahul, Kandahar and other parts of Afghanistan on Sunday, U.S. and British forces launched what George W. Bush vowed to be a "sustained and relentless" military assault. Some 50,000 imperialist troops, upwards of 400 bombers and fighter jets and dozens of warships are now in the region surrounding Afghanistan. The absurd lies coming from the White House and the capitalist media notwithstanding, this massive array of military might is clearly not intended simply for taking out several hundred "Islamic terrorists" in a country that is already little more than a vast, empty expanse of rubble.

The pretext for the imperialist bombardment of Afghanistan is retaliation for the indiscriminate terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. But far more to the point is that this takes place in the context of a world capitalist economy that was already rapidly going into a tailspin. Whoever carried out the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, it was in some ways a "gift from god" for the American capitalist class. As profits drop and competition for markets stiffens, the American imperialist bourgeoisie—like its rivals abroad—is intent on ratcheting up the rate of exploitation of the working class at home. The domestic purpose of the "war against terrorism" is to regiment the population as the capitalist rulers seek to pay for the cost of recession and military buildup out of the hides of the working people and minorities.

Internationally, U.S. imperialism is intent on projecting its military power particularly into Central Asia. With its huge, untapped oil and natural gas reserves, Central Asia is becoming a cockpit of rivalries. A thousand U.S. troops have been moved into the former Soviet republic of Uzhekistan, a preeursor of what the U.S. intends to be a permanent military presence, and they are not there just to go after Osama bin Laden. U.S. companies have invested billions of dollars in oil and gas projects in the region and plan to invest billions more. Kazakhstan just opened a new $2.6 billion oil pipeline financed largely by Chevron and Exxon Mobil. Another American oil giant, Unocal, has had plans for a natural gas pipeline through Afghanistan "if conditions in Afghanistan allowed" (*Financial Times*, 3 October). As in the case of the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, which the American rulers claimed was about saving "poor little Kuwait," what is going on today is not only a bloody assertion by U.S. imperialism of its overwhelming military clout but a drive particularly to maintain its control over the world oil spigot.

It is the obligation of the proletariat internationally, especially workers and minorities in the U.S., to defend Afghanistan in the face of the imperialist attack. The reactionary, woman-hating Taliban cutthroats who are today targeted by U.S. imperialism were, along with bin Laden and his fellow *mujahedin*, originally bankrolled by Washington as part of its counterrevolutionary "holy war" against the Soviet Union—where there was no capitalism, unemployment and homelessness—in the 1980s. But the reactionary nature of the Taliban regime does not in any way diminish the duty of revolutionaries to stand in military defense of small countries like Afghanistan against the most deadly imperialist power on the face of the planet.

When Mussolini's Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Leon Trotsky stressed the need to "support Ethiopia, despite the slavery that still prevails there and despite the barbaric political regime...because the defeat of Italy would signify the beginning of the collapse of the obsolescent capitalist society" ("The Fourth International and the Soviet Union," July 1936). Opposition by the U.S. proletariat to the imperialist depredations of its exploiters can, in Trotsky's words, be pursued "only through the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, that is, by widening, deepening, and sharpening those revolutionary methods which constitute the content of class struggle in 'peacetime'" ("Learn to Think," May 1938). *For class struggle against capitalist rulers at home! Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!*

A New "Great Game" of Imperialist Intrigues

In the latter part of the 19th century, as capitalism entered the epoch of its decline, Afghanistan was the stage for the "Great Game" of intrigues and rivalries between British imperialism and the Russian tsarist autocracy. A focus of these intrigues was the decrepit Ottoman Empire under Turkish rule, which was supported by Britain as a bulwark against tsarist expansion to the south. By the time World War I broke out in 1914, shifting imperialist interests had brought Britain and France together in an alliance with Russia, pitted centrally against German imperialism. At the start of the war, the French and British had no clear plans with regard to the Ottoman Empire. But as soon as Germany got the Turks to declare war on its side, Britain and France developed an appetite for the Near East, much of which was then part of the Ottoman Empire.

One can expect something comparable to develop now in the Central Asian region around Afghanistan. Until recently, aside from using the Afghan *mujahedin* as foot soldiers in their counterrevolutionary crusade against the Soviet Union, the American and West European imperialists had somewhat platonic designs on that region. The U.S. basically lost interest in Afghanistan once the Red Army pulled out in 1989. But when oil and natural gas were discovered in Central Asia and the Caspian Sea in the mid-1990s, in the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, the U.S. sought to extend its influence largely through investment. A now-capitalist Russia has remained the dominant military power in the Central Asian republics, with as many as 25,000 Russian troops stationed in Tajikistan. The current massive imperialist military presence in the region both reflects and stimulates new appetites among the U.S. and the West European imperialist powers to get their hands on whatever they can, including control over the strategic oil and natural gas pipelines that will now be in the offing.

The destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92—marking the final undoing of the Bolshevik-led October Revolution of 1917—ushered in a far more dangerous world, one whose political outlines increasingly resemble those in the years before World War I. As the glue holding together the U.S.-led anti-Soviet consensus disappeared, the conflicting interests among the imperialist powers have come sharply to the fore. The competition for markets, spheres of influence and control over supplies of oil and other natural

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Megawati: Tool of IMF, Indonesian Military

Indonesia in Turmoil

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At Paris Demonstration for "Women's Rights" in Afghanistan

Fake Leftists, Feminists Appeal to Imperialists Against Taliban

As U.S. imperialism prepared for military action against Afghanistan, supposedly in "retaliation" for the September 11 attacks, fake-leftist and feminist groups in Paris joined with the French government in waving the banner of "women's rights" as a cover for backing U.S. efforts to oust the reactionary Taliban rulers of Afghanistan. On September 29, 5,000 demonstrators marched at the Place de la République under the main slogan, "For Women's Rights, for Peace and Democracy in Afghanistan." The 20 September call for the rally, initiated by the organization Support to Afghan Women, was signed by all the government parties (Socialist Party, Communist Party, Greens) along with a panoply of feminist groups and leftist organizations.

The central thrust of the demonstration was to portray imperialism, particularly French imperialism, as a friend of women's rights and as a force for bringing "democracy" to Afghanistan. The 20 September demonstration call began, "For years, Afghan women, denied their most elementary rights, have been absolute victims of the obscurantist and totalitarian power of the fundamentalist Taliban militias, with the indifference and often the complicity of the great Western powers." The rally's sole speaker, Shoukria Haidar, leader of Support to Afghan Women, urged participants to sign a petition asking the U.S. to put an end to the Taliban and to the Pakistan regime which supports it. Flanking the sound truck were five gigantic color pictures of Ahmed Shah Massoud, the recently assassinated leader of the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the International Communist League, refusing to join in this march in support of imperialist war moves, set up a literature table and held a speakout. Over the megaphone, our comrades denounced the demonstration's veiled calls for imperialist intervention under the pretext of "helping Afghan women." We condemned the French government's ongoing "Vigipirate" campaign—which has been stepped up since September 11—of racist state terror against minority youth, particularly portraying youth of North African descent as "dangerous fundamentalists," about which the bulk of the French left has been scandalously silent. We called for defense of the besieged Palestinian people under the jackboot of U.S.-backed Zionist terror in Israel and denounced the crimes of the French rulers in the Near East, Africa and elsewhere, saluting the military defeat of French imperialism and its torture machine in Algeria and calling for the destruction of imperialism through the fight for socialist revolution at home.

Many demonstrators listened attentively as LTF speakers recalled the intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan in 1979, which for the first time allowed Afghan women to free themselves from the tyranny of the veil and the bride price, to get an education and to participate in social and economic life. It was the spectre of women's liberation, even more than the land reform and other modernizing measures of the Russian-supported Afghan PDPA regime, which enraged the bloodsucking Islamic mullahs, along with the feudal landlords, tribal chiefs and moneylenders, and touched off the "holy war." When the USSR intervened militarily, we Trotskyists took a side with the Red Army and the forces of social progress and women's emancipation. When the USSR, with the suicidal illusion of placating imperialism, pulled out of Afghanistan in 1989, we denounced this betrayal. The *mujahedin* took power in 1992, wreaking bloody vengeance and throwing women back into "their place" of illiteracy and seclusion. It is essential today that this lesson in recent history be understood, against the obfuscations of the imperialist rulers who want to portray Osama bin Laden as not their creation, and against the attempts at collective amnesia by the fake left in France and internationally. In fealty to their own capitalist ruling classes, organizations ranging from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which falsely claims to be Trotskyist, to the "state capitalist" followers of Tony Cliff lined up against the USSR in Afghanistan. The Cliffites embraced the *mujahedin*, while the LCR's international lash-up, the United Secretariat, condemned the 1979 Red Army intervention and a year later openly demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops. These social democrats in "socialist" clothing

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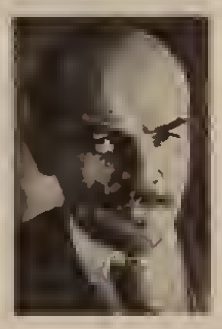
Greg/Indymedia

Clovis/Indymedia

Paris, September 29: Feminists, fake leftists hail assassinated leader of U.S.-backed woman-hating Northern Alliance.

Class Struggle and Imperialist War

TROTSKY



LENIN

The target of the current war buildup is clearly not simply "Islamic terrorists" in benighted Afghanistan who were previously Washington's allies in the war against Communism. Rather, U.S. imperialism seeks to vastly extend its global military reach while stepping up attacks on workers and the oppressed at home. As Leon Trotsky, in a resolution of a 1936 conference for the Fourth International, stressed in polemicizing against the centrist "London Bureau" in the years before World War II—amid pleas to the "democratic" imperialists to act against fascist Italy's invasion of Ethiopia—only workers revolution can end the threat of new imperialist wars. To this end, we seek to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in opposition to U.S. military adventures abroad and in defense of small, backward countries like Afghanistan against imperialist attack.

The "struggle against war" cannot be conducted as something separate and apart from the class struggle itself, from the intransigent struggle of the proletariat against imperialist capitalism, that is, against that social order which inexorably gives rise to imperialist war and oppression and which is inconceivable without these twin scourges. Any attempt to conduct a struggle "against war" by means of "special methods" separate or "above" the class struggle itself is at best a cruel illusion and as a rule a malicious deception that facilitates the work of the imperialist warmongers....

The struggle against war, properly understood and executed, presupposes the uncompromising hostility of the proletariat and its organizations, always and everywhere, toward its own and every other imperialist bourgeoisie. Yet among the announced adherents of the London Bureau congress are to be found such notorious supporters of the League of Nations (i.e., imperialist) "sanctions" as the Italian Socialist Party, which is presumably to organize a common struggle against war with opponents of these "sanctions," such as the British ILP claims to be. A prerequisite for the proletarian struggle against war is not unity between pro-"sanctionists" and anti-"sanctionists" but the ruthless separation of them.

The struggle against war and its social source, capitalism, presupposes direct, active, unequivocal support to the oppressed colonial peoples in their struggles and wars against imperialism. A "neutral" position is tantamount to support of imperialism.

—Leon Trotsky, "Resolution on the Antiwar Congress of the London Bureau" (July 1936), in *Documents of the Fourth International: The Formative Years, 1933-1940* (Pathfinder, 1973)

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No. 766 **12 October 2001**

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Defend Immigrants Against Racist Witchhunt!
Unchain Labor/Black Power! For a Workers Party!

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UC Berkeley
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LOS ANGELES
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
3300 Wilshire Blvd.
For more information: (213) 380-8239

"National Unity" Jingoism: Bosses Profit, Workers Pay
Repression, Recession and War

Thursday, October 11, 6:30 p.m.
BOSTON
BU–College of Arts and Sciences
685-725 Commonwealth Ave., Rm. 326
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CIA Backed Islamic "Holy War" Against Afghan Women

Trotskyists Said: No to the Veil! Hail Red Army!

As U.S. launched Cold War II, Trotskyists fought for military defense of Soviet Union.

The following are excerpts from the article "Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank" published in Spartacist *[English-language edition] No. 29, Summer 1980.*

Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of détente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state. It has stripped away all diplomatic cover for Washington's alliance with Maoist/Stalinist China. And it has confronted the left inescapably with "the Russian question": the nature of the state originating in the Bolshevik Revolution and its conflict with world capitalism.

For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open is the understatement of the year. U.S. "national security" czar Zbigniew Brzezinski actually traveled to the Khyber Pass and rifle in hand incited the insurgents: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side." The gut-level response of every radical leftist should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army.

Yet much of the left, with the Maoists leading the pack, has joined the imperialist crusade against "Soviet expansionism." In fact, the official pro-Peking group in the U.S., the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) attacked the Carter Doctrine *from the right* as too soft on the Russians. Likewise, the "Third Camp" social-democrats, like the British Cliff group, which could maintain a certain left posture in the days of détente, stand once more revealed as State Department socialists. Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who deny that the Soviet Union is a proletarian state power (albeit bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves, some more, some less willingly, on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism.

It is not surprising that the Maoists and social democrats should rally to imperialist anti-Sovietism, although some may bridle at making common cause with the crazed anti-communist Brzezinski and his Afghan cutthroats. But for Trotskyists, support to the Soviet army in Afghanistan should be an elementary political reflex. Trotsky's last great factional struggle, against the "Third Camp" Shachtman/Burnham opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1940,

Reuters

Women's milltia fighters in Kabul in late 1980s. Soviet intervention opened road to women's liberation.

was provoked by the imperialist campaign against the Soviet invasion of "little, democratic Finland." Drawing the hardest line against social-democratic anti-communism, Trotsky declared: "The safeguarding of the socialist revolution comes before formal democratic principles,"...

With its massive intervention in late December, the Soviet armed forces became the dominant power in Afghanistan, whose present fate will be decided in Moscow, not Kabul. Of course, the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin did not send 100,000 troops into Afghanistan to effect a social revolution, but simply to make secure an unstable, strategically-placed client state. No doubt Brezhnev & Co. would prefer a friendly bourgeois state like Finland. But Afghanistan is not Finland. There is no way that country can sustain anything remotely like a stable bourgeois democracy. In any case, the rightist insurgents and their imperialist backers are intransigent against any coalition government the Russians would accept. It is possible the Kremlin could do a deal with the imperialists to withdraw, for example, in return for NATO's reversing its decision to deploy hundreds of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. That would be a real counterrevolutionary crime against the Afghan peoples.

More likely is the Soviet army's prolonged occupation of Afghanistan and with it the possibility of its transformation along the lines of Soviet Central Asia or Mongolia. Social revolutionary measures (e.g., land to the tiller) would be necessary to erode and win over the poor peasant supporters of the reactionary insurgency. Only those leftists poisoned by bourgeois-nationalist ideology could deny that such a social revolution, although imposed from without and bureaucratically deformed, would have an enormously liberating effect for the Afghan masses. Even the *New York Times* admits that Soviet Central Asians regard their country's military intervention in Afghanistan as support for the liberation of their backward, oppressed neighbors. (See "Soviet Central Asians Back Afghan Intervention," *Workers Vanguard* No. 254, 18 April.)

The difference between Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan is to be measured not in decades but in centuries. While Afghanistan is over 90 percent illiterate, neighboring Soviet Uzbekistan probably has a higher literacy rate than Jimmy Carter's Georgia. The average life expectancy in Uzbekistan is 70 compared to 40 in Afghanistan. A major reason for this is that in Uzbekistan there is one doctor for every 380 people and in Afghanistan one doctor for every 20,000! *All* social and economic comparisons show the same thing.

Marx and Engels, following the French utopian socialist Charles Fourier, maintained that "in any given society the degree of women's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation." The status of women in Soviet Central Asia is not only higher than in *any* Islamic bourgeois country (let alone Afghanistan), but in some areas (e.g., representation in the government) compares favorably even with the advanced bourgeois democracies. For example, 18 percent of all judges and 45 percent of all legislative members from the village level up in Uzbekistan are women.

To be sure, the workers and peasants of Soviet Central Asia suffer the same inequalities and bureaucratic oppression as their class brothers and sisters in Great Russia. There is some pressure for Russification in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Khirgizia, etc. and, of course, the Moscow Stalinist regime denies all nationalities the democratic right of self-determination, i.e., the right to secede and form a separate state. Should Afghanistan be transformed into a Soviet-satellite deformed workers state, it is possible a future revolutionary crisis could find the Afghan workers and peasants battling against a Soviet army under command of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy. And in general proletarian political revolution within the Soviet bloc will be interwoven with the struggle for the right of national self-determination and other democratic rights and freedoms. But to raise the banner of "national self-determination" for Afghanistan today is to provide a democratic cover for imperialist-backed social counterrevolution of the most brutal, barbaric kind....

For unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! ■

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Megawati: Tool of IMF, Indonesian Military

Indonesia in Turmoil

For Workers Revolution!

We reprint below a slightly abridged article from *Australasian Spartacist* No. 176 (Spring 2001), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia, published in late August. On September 19, Indonesian president Megawati Sukarnoputri met with U.S. president George W. Bush in the White House. Having risen to power with Washington's backing, Megawati rushed to express her support for the imperialists' "anti-terrorism" war drive in the wake of the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. However, any involvement by Jakarta in Washington's drive against Afghan Islamic forces would threaten to set off a powder keg in Indonesia, home to the world's largest Muslim population.

Ruling over a desperate population

Australasian SPARTACIST

made more desperate by a four-year-long economic crisis, the Megawati regime rests on the support not only of the blood-drenched military but of increasingly assertive Islamic political forces, including her vice president. In recent weeks, there have been repeated Islamist mobilizations to protest U.S. war threats against Afghanistan. Groups like the Islamic Youth Movement Brigade and the Holy War Front are openly recruiting volunteers in Jakarta and elsewhere—including among veterans of the army's murderous East Timor "militia" auxiliaries—for an anti-American *jihad*. In 1965-66, such Islamic gangs—with the direct assistance of the American CIA—joined with the military in carrying out the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Communists, ethnic Chinese and others.

* * *

On 23 July, hard-line Javanese chauvinist Megawati Sukarnoputri was installed as Indonesia's president following the ouster of her rival Abdurrahman Wahid. For 21 months the Wahid regime carried out brutal capitalist austerity dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Indonesian bourgeoisie. But Indonesia is a boiling social cauldron, and Wahid did not deliver the stability demanded by the Indonesian capitalists and their imperialist overlords to ensure the smooth flow of profits. In particular, Wahid failed to suppress the separatist insurgencies in resource-rich Aceh and West Papua, major sources of imperialist plunder.

As calls for Wahid's removal inside and outside Indonesia grew louder, various imperialist powers signalled their willingness to treat with vice-president Megawati. In early July, police refused Wahid's order to arrest the national and Jakarta chiefs of police. When he tried to declare a state of emergency and dissolve parliament, the military refused to back him. Instead, on the evening of 22 July, thousands of heavily armed soldiers and tanks surrounded the presidential palace where Wahid was holed up. The "People's Consultative Assembly" impeached him, Megawati was sworn in and, days later, under threat of arrest, he left for the U.S. for "medical treatment."

Over three years ago, the brutal 32-year military dictatorship of Suharto's New Order was brought to an end by massive student-centred demonstrations. In response to skyrocketing unemployment and inflation—the result of the devastating economic crisis that hit Asia in 1997—turbulent plebeian protests swept the country. When the government, in accord with brutal IMF dictates, slashed subsidies on fuel and other necessities, sending prices soaring by over 70 percent, the Indonesian powder keg exploded. Student protesters, often joined by workers, faced down murderous military repression while starving slum masses targeted mansions and businesses of Suharto and his cronies.

It is only the proletariat, standing at the head of the toiling masses, which has the social power and historic interest to break the yoke of imperialist servitude through establishing its own class rule. During the 1998 upheavals the International Communist League insisted on the urgent need for the working class to emerge as an independent revolutionary factor, along with the forging of an internationalist vanguard party committed to leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power. Instead, the enormous anger of the plebeian masses was directed into supporting a supposedly more "democratic" section of the bourgeoisie under the banner of "*reformasi*," the reform of the capitalist state apparatus.

Scrambling to impose stability, in May 1998 the imperialists and sections of the Indonesian bourgeoisie installed Suharto's deputy B. J. Habibie, a fanatically anti-Chinese racist, as president. To contain the explosive social discontent in parliamentarist channels, a year later stage-managed elections were held. While Megawati, the daughter of Sukarno, Suharto's predecessor, got the most votes, after much horse-trading Wahid, former head of Nahdatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest Islamic organisation, was made president.

Among those who sought to ensure that the courageous struggles against Suharto and Habibie stayed within the bounds of capitalism were the left nationalist People's Democratic Party (PRD). From its inception the PRD's perspective has centred on a class-collaborationist strategy of chaining the Indonesian proletariat and toiling masses to its class enemy. Early on they sought alliances with Megawati and even urged members to distribute her pictures and writings, openly backing her call for an alliance with so-called "moderate" Islamic forces in the United Development Party (PPP).

But once Wahid was in power, the PRD heavily promoted him as a "lesser evil," pushing illusions in his rambling "promises" of greater political liberality while painting him as a "moderate," secular-minded Muslim leader. Backing first Megawati, then Wahid, these petty-bourgeois nationalists would take the proletarian and oppressed masses down the same deadly road of class-collaboration that produced the bloody anti-Communist massacres of 1965-66 that brought Suharto to power. The PRD must bear some political responsibility for their part in preventing workers and the oppressed from breaking from their capitalist exploiters, as they do for the capitalist misery and repression Megawati's regime will bring.

Megawati: Imperialist Lackey

Megawati, the woman the PRD championed for so many years, is a deeply conservative Indonesian nationalist. A strident proponent of a unitary Indonesian state, she holds in contempt Indonesia's oppressed minorities and nationalities and supported Suharto's 1975 brutal annexation of East Timor.

Backed by the blood-drenched military, Megawati touts her links with them and was pictured last year strutting around in the uniform and red beret of the murdering Kopassus special forces. Propped up by the Golkar party of ex-dictator Suharto, her new cabinet includes two former high-ranking Kopassus officers. One of them, A. M. Hendropriyono, head of the State Intelligence Co-ordinating Body, is infamous for his involvement in a massacre of scores of villagers in Lampung, Sumatra in 1989.

With good reason, the imperialists expect Megawati to do their bidding and harshly crack down on the working class and oppressed. The day after her victory the rupiah shot up, reflecting guarded imperialist approval, and in late July the Australian and U.S. imperialists agreed to re-establish "limited" contact with the Indonesian military.

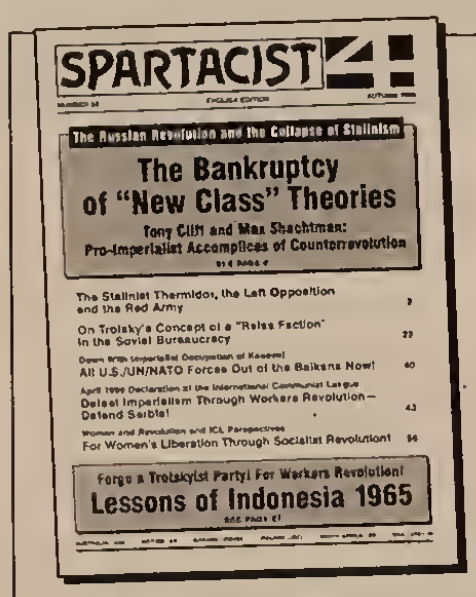
The government is nearly bankrupt with a staggering *80 trillion* rupiah budget deficit (A$13 billion). Indonesia's foreign debt is US$154 billion—102 percent of the country's gross domestic product! Half the budget services this imperialist debt bondage. Promised IMF loans have been repeatedly held up as the IMF vultures demand more cuts to fuel and other subsidies, deepening the already desperate poverty endured by the masses.

Indonesia is a dependent neocolony. It has fabulous natural resources—oil, gas, gold, timber—and in particular the U.S., Australian and Japanese imperialists seek ruthlessly to remove all obstacles to their plunder of this wealth. Straddling the major sea lanes between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea through which Japan's oil and Asia's exports to Europe must move, Indonesia also has enormous strategic importance to the contending imperialist powers. The U.S. and their Australian lackeys, as well as their rival Japan, Indonesia's largest trading partner, want a stable, unified Indonesia. This

Sydney Morning Herald

Reuters

Megawati (left), imperialist lackey, civilian face of Indonesian military dictatorship. Jakarta police attack students protesting fuel price hikes in June.



Spartacist No. 55, Autumn 1999
$1.50 (56 pages)

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program, International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
Bahasa Indonesia $1 (16 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to
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is not only to rake in vast profits but also as part of the imperialists' counter-revolutionary drive against the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. This was underscored in a proposed new defence link between the U.S., Australia, Japan and South Korea recently announced after a meeting of U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell and Australia's foreign minister, Alexander Downer. A U.S./Australia communique reasserted the imperialists' long-standing support to Indonesia's "territorial integrity."

For years the Javanese-chauvinist bourgeoisie has ruled over this prison house of peoples through bloody military repression. At the same time, ruling-class elements have stoked communal violence such as in the Maluku Islands. The very storms they whip up undermine neocolonial stability and the "orderly" pursuit of profit-making. Aiming to prevent separation, the Australian and U.S. governments suggested offering Aceh and West Papua some kind of autonomy deal. Accordingly, on 16 August, while arrogantly declaring that Aceh and West Papua "should remain within the context of preserving the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Repuhlic of Indonesia," Megawati introduced a sham "autonomy" law which the Acehnese separatists, not surprisingly, rejected. Proletarian revolutionaries in Indonesia must struggle against the Javanese chauvinism which poisons the unity of the working class.

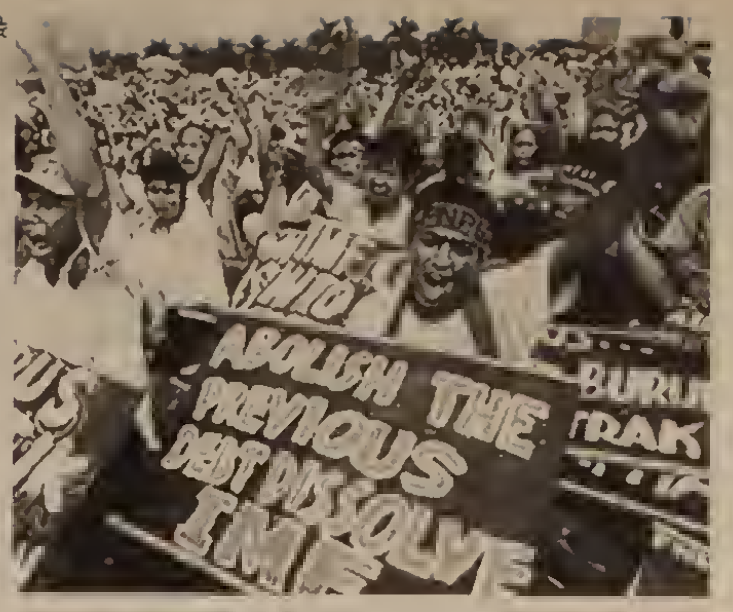
If the Indonesian bourgeoisie is unable to suppress the struggles of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the archipelago, then "foreign intervention," as U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage recently hinted, is a possibility (*Australian Financial Review*, 19 June). Enforcing neocolonial stability was precisely the purpose of the 1999 Australian-led invasion and occupation of East Timor. In addition to acting as "deputy sheriff" for the U.S., Australia's leading role marked its aim to suppress the struggles of the peoples of the region to free themselves from imperialist exploitation. Rallying around the flag, virtually the entire fake left joined marches and demonstrations screaming for the racist Australian imperialist military to occupy East Timor. They hailed the chauvinist Labor Party and trade-union bureaucracy who whipped up anti-Indonesian racism as they mobilised to demand Australian imperialist intervention. It was the Marxist Spartacist League which upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism against our "own" ruling class, demanding: Australian/UN troops get out! Independence now for East Timor!

Last year as communalist bloodshed swept the Malukus and separatist movements in Aceh and West Papua strengthened, the danger of imperialist intervention in Indonesia sharply escalated. Underscoring that it was the occupation of East Timor that opened the door wide for this, we declared:

> "The Australian workers movement has a particular duty to oppose the intervention of our 'own' rulers—anti-woman, anti-Aboriginal, anti-immigrant union-busting bigots at home, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies abroad, from Papua New Guinea to the Solomons to Fiji. Australian imperialists get out of East Timor and stay out! Hands off Indonesia!"
>
> —*Australasian Spartacist*
> No. 172, Spring 2000

Capitalist Crisis Fuels Islamic Reaction

In 1997, industrial workers in Indonesia comprised just 19 percent of the workforce, but contributed almost *half* of the country's gross domestic product. In conditions of severe repression workers waged many militant battles. However, the massive 1997 economic crisis threw millions out of work, plunging at least 100 million people in Indonesia into horrific destitution. By 1999, *half* of children under five were underfed. As the blood-sucking IMF's "rescue package" kicked in, large-scale privatisations were carried out, subsidies for essentials like food, fuel and education were slashed and virtually all restrictions on imperialist investment were removed.



AP

Workers protest IMF austerity, May Day, Jakarta. Proletariat holds key to emancipation of all the oppressed from imperialist subjugation.

As a result of the economic crisis, there has been a growing tide of communalist violence which has served to undercut working-class struggle. Feeding off the destitution and human misery, a number of Islamic religious parties also emerged, such as the National Mandate Party of the vicious anti-Chinese, anti-Christian bigot Amien Rais and Wahid's National Awakening Party.

Wahid, Rais and Megawati have all stoked the flames of communalism and Islamic reaction. Rais has led rallies calling for *jihad* (holy war) against Christians in the Malukus. Wahid repeatedly threatened to mobilise his NU base against those who sought his downfall. Suicide squads were formed at massive prayer rallies as NU leaders debated whether it was proper to kill Wahid's opponents. Megawati sought to discredit Chinese women who had been brutally raped during the pogroms instigated by the army during the communal violence that followed Suharto's fall in 1998. Today her position rests heavily on an Islamic alliance which answers to Rais.

In Indonesia as elsewhere, the rise of religious fundamentalism is a reactionary reflection of the absence of a communist alternative and the bankruptcy of nationalism. Bourgeois nationalist leaders such as Megawati, unable to alleviate mass poverty or advance towards social justice, offer chauvinism and religious obscurantism. For the masses religion becomes not only a consolation but an illusory opposition to an unbearable status quo which is easily put to the service of capitalist reaction. In Indonesia the growth of political Islam, in all its variants, is a deadly threat to the multiethnic proletariat and especially to the deeply oppressed women of the archipelago.

During the 1990s women entered the workforce in large numbers, playing a leading and often heroic role in numerous class battles. Coming into the factories from the villages, many of them found a measure of freedom from the strictures of family and village life. Yet these women are still subject to harsh Islamic dictates, many enshrined in law, including a ban on abortion while arranged marriages remain common. The doctrine of *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the "Five Duties of Women," encompasses measures designed to keep Indonesian women shackled to the patriarchal family. The economic crisis hit women workers with double force as many were thrown out of work and compelled to return to their villages. And the rising tide of Islamic reaction has seen more and more women don the Islamic headscarf (*jilbab*).

The fight for women's emancipation is integral to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. Communists fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like the polygamy system and bride price—legacies of social backwardness today upheld by religious reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. We fight for full equality for women, for free abortion on demand and for the separation of mosque and state.

For Proletarian Independence! For Permanent Revolution!

When the Wahid government ordered a 30 percent increase in fuel prices in June, angry protests and strikes broke out across the archipelago. Police tear-gassed and fired "warning shots" at protesting students while bus drivers and other transport workers struck in cities across the country, facing down threats of massive state repression. Later that month, the Wahid government retreated from its plans to abolish severance pay for retiring and resigning workers in the face of more worker protests. In response, the imperialist investors who had demanded this measure screamed about labour "terror" and denounced "union rights" and "assertive" workers. In July, 9,300 workers at the strategically important Bandung state aircraft factory struck against company corruption and graft and for a three-fold wage increase.

Indonesia is a country where capitalist development was belated. Unlike in Europe, for example, where the emerging national bourgeoisie had to sweep away the accumulated rot of the *ancien régime* in order to come to power, in countries such as Indonesia the domestic capitalists developed under colonial and then imperialist rule, which was based upon and utilised deep social backwardness and diverse forms of oppression that are a heritage of pre-capitalist times. Far from fighting to achieve social modernisation, the weak Indonesian bourgeoisie, tied to and dependent upon imperialism, fears the threat the proletarian masses pose to its private property more than it desires to free itself from the imperialist yoke. The bourgeoisie cannot resolve the burning democratic needs of the masses—such as political democracy, equality for women, separation of religion from the state—much less alleviate the misery and poverty that consigns hundreds of millions to a life of desperate struggle to survive.

The proletariat is capitalism's gravedigger. Brought together in huge modern industries, the workers uniquely possess the class interest to overcome the communal, national, religious and other divisions which are manipulated by the capitalists to "divide and rule." A Trotskyist party in Indonesia today would struggle against the hold of Javanese chauvinism which poisons and obstructs proletarian unity, upholding the right of self-determination for oppressed nations. The proletariat is the social force capable of accomplishing the democratic tasks, but only if it draws behind it the oppressed masses and establishes its own class dictatorship, abolishing the system of capitalist exploitation.

Mobilising around its own interests, the working class must struggle for the establishment of political liberties, for women's rights and for an end to the imperialist subjugation which sucks the lifeblood from the workers and peasants. Its ally in this is not some mythical "democratic" or "anti-imperialist" section of the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat and oppressed throughout Asia and beyond, from Japan to South Korea to Australia. If it is not to be strangled by backwardness and imperialist intervention, a victorious socialist revolution in Indonesia would necessarily have to extend to the major imperialist centres, appealing to the proletariat to throw out their own capitalist exploiters.

This is the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*. The International Communist League fights to build a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia, a tribune of the people, to raise the working class to consciousness of its historic task, built on the granite foundation of *complete independence of the proletariat from all wings of the capitalist exploiters*.

"*Reformasi Total*" Means Class Collaboration and Defeat

As the drive to oust Wahid gathered force, the PRD built pro-Wahid blocs centring on Nahdatul Ulama. Prostrating himself before the leaders of this huge Muslim organisation, PRD leader Budiman Sujatmiko called on NU to help "build a movement to destroy the remnants of the new order as the key platform in accelerating the process of reformasi total" (PRD statement, 23 January).

The PRD is allied with the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), and, like the DSP, ardently supported Australian troops in East Timor. The DSP also backed Megawati in 1998, and this year gave Wahid "their critical support" urging "progressive forces" to "take sides against the anti-democratic and deeply corrupt New Order forces, who are gathered behind the push for vice-president Megawati Sukarnoputri to replace Wahid as president" (*Green Left Weekly*, 20 June).

New York Times

A million Communists, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese were massacred in 1965-66 bloodbath that ushered in the rule of Suharto.

During Wahid's regime there was an escalation of deadly anti-communist Islamic violence of which the PRD itself has repeatedly been the target. Wahid briefly mooted overturning the 1965 ban on Communism, but backtracked in the face of virulent anti-communist protests. The works of novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer, imprisoned by Suharto for eleven years on Buru Island, are being removed from bookstores after threats from an outfit called "United Islamic Youth." In June, a Jakarta conference sponsored by PRD groups was viciously attacked by cops and anti-communist thugs. At the time of Wahid's ouster, 19 PRD supporters were languishing in jails.

With Megawati in the presidential palace, the PRD is pushing yet another coalition with bourgeois forces, this time embracing Megawati's sister Rachmawati and her National Forum party, 75 NGOs (non-governmental organisations), the student wing of NU and..."radical sections" of Megawati's own Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDIP). Backing

continued on page 9

SYCs Say...

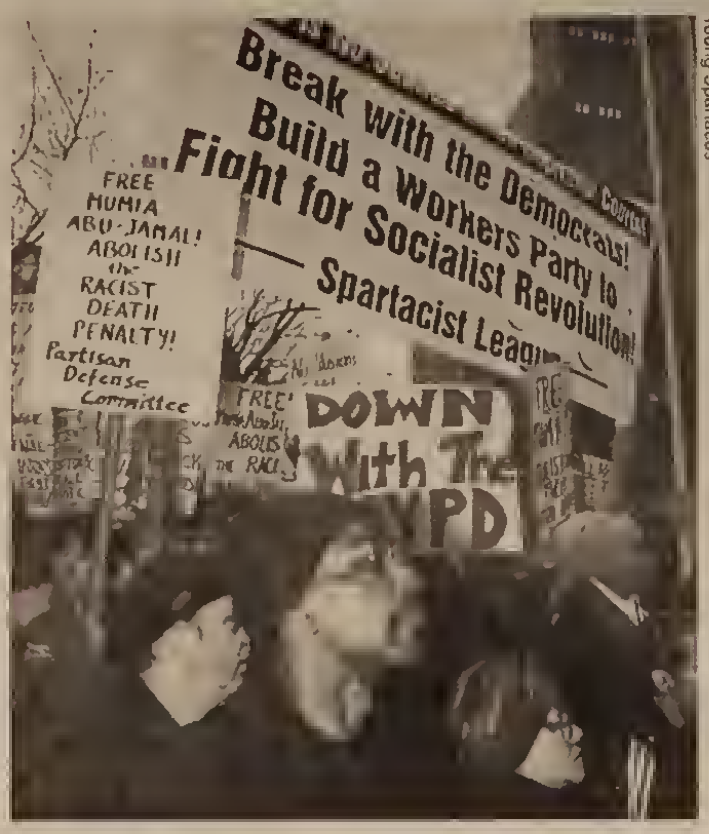
(continued from page 12)

Similarly a decade ago, other "coalitions" including the same cast of characters were set up during the Persian Gulf War. And then too, professed "socialists" like the ISO and Socialist Action eagerly joined with pro-imperialist liberals who demanded that "peaceful" means instead of bombs be used to pursue the U.S. government's aim of bringing down Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein. The "peaceful" means presented as the "alternative" to the bombs were sanctions against Iraq, which were implemented...and which have killed an estimated million and a half Iraqi civilians.

WWP and the ISO implicitly share the rulers' premise that the U.S. imperialists have a right to "retaliation." While the WWP's International ANSWER coalition bleats that "war is not the answer," the ISO dementedly declares: "US Bombs Won't Bring Peace." No shit! At the September 29 San Francisco march, a Spartacist comrade bullhorned:

> "The groups organizing this demo from Workers World to the International Socialist Organization and Socialist Action whine that war is not the answer. They accept the liberal notion that imperialism is just a policy and that capitalists can be pressured to pursue more humane and peaceful policies. This is a lie! Imperialism is a system that can be ended only through socialist revolution. Workers World and the ISO capitulate to the prevailing climate of national unity, appealing to all classes to give peace a chance. We say no to the bosses' national unity. We stand for class war against our oppressors, the capitalist class."

As the ISO and WWP jockey for position in the "new antiwar movement" through their rival coalitions, WWP has been able to score some points against the ISO's more overt social-chauvinism. For example, they ridiculed the ISO's call to settle accounts with Osama bin Laden through a "court of law" by asking which blood-drenched imperialist power the ISO looked to for "justice." This is pretty rich coming from WWP, which for years called for a "new trial" for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, peddling the illusion that Jamal could find justice in the very capitalist courts that condemned him to death for his opposition to the racist terror and violence through which the American imperialists preserve their rule.



February 2000 NYC protest after police killers of Amadou Diallo were let off. "War against terrorism" will mean more victims of racist killer cops.

WWP's differences with the ISO do not flow from any attachment, however remote, to the Marxist perspective of bringing down imperialism through socialist revolution in the "belly of the beast." Rather, it is the expression of their support for "Third World" nationalism, painting petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist forces such as the Palestinian PLO and Serbia's Milosevic as genuine opponents of U.S. imperialism.

And let us not forget the WWP of the second mobilization, the Internationalist Group (IG). These defectors from the International Communist League share the same accommodation to Third World nationalism. In a special supplement to the IG's journal, *The Internationalist*, they assert that the 12 September SL/U.S. Political Bureau statement, "The World Trade Center Attack," did not call "to *defend* the countries (notably Afghanistan and Iraq) which were already targeted by Washington." In the case of Iraq, this is a blatant lie. Our statement made clear that we have "stood for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the Gulf War and in the face of the subsequent terror bombing" as well as our opposition to the UN/U.S. starvation blockade. In the case of Afghanistan, the IG objects because we didn't join them in their call to defend a country that was not yet under military attack. As one of our youth members quipped, the IG's position could be encapsulated in the slogan: "Defend Afghanistan before the war—Third World nationalism is what we're for!"

There is no real contradiction between red-white-and-blue pro-imperialist pacifism and vicarious cheerleading for Third World nationalist forces. The ISO, a political tendency whose origins lie in an embrace of the imperialists' Cold War drive aimed at destroying the former Soviet Union, has also championed many of these same forces. Falsely declaring that the Soviet degenerated workers state was "state capitalist," they lined up with any force arrayed against it, such as Khomeini's reactionary Iranian mullahs and their even more vicious Afghan counterparts. In 1994, Chris Harman, a leader of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was until recently the leading light of the ISO, wrote a pamphlet called *The Prophet and the Proletariat*, a grotesque and puerile apology for Islamic fundamentalism. And the SWP's *Socialist Worker* (20 August 1994) declared: "*Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries*" (emphasis in original). One may expect the ISO to soft-pedal this aspect of their line in order to swim more comfortably in the present anti-Islamic, anti-"terrorist" stream, although we note that ISO members at a recent Chicago rally were handing out green armbands in solidarity with Islam.

Reformists Squirm Over Afghanistan

The civil war in Afghanistan was ignited over the woman question. The modernizing left-nationalist government that took power in 1978 introduced reforms, not least including the lowering of the bride price, which provided a modicum of progress for the desperately oppressed women and drove the reactionary mullahs into rebellion, fomented by the CIA. The Soviet Union entered Afghanistan to bolster the regime and to protect the USSR's southern flank from imperialist penetration. It was one of the few progressive acts of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy. The Red Army was the only force that could have pulled Afghanistan—a desperately poor country without any economic infrastructure, which in 1978 had a quarter of a million mullahs but only 35,000 industrial workers—out of the seventh century and into the modern era by extending the gains of the Russian Revolution there. As one Afghani woman who became a doctor during the Soviet intervention told the London *Observer* (30 September), "Life was good under the Soviets. Every girl could go to high school and university. We could go wherever we wanted and wear what we liked." The International Communist League said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" All those groups which today denounce U.S. support for the *mujahedin* were at the time—when it counted—on the side of U.S. imperialism and the fanatical, woman-hating reactionaries.

Since the September 11 attacks, it has become fashionable on the left to denounce U.S. support for the *mujahedin* during the 1980s war against the Soviet Red Army. In its September 11 statement on the attacks, the ISO writes: "The CIA trained Bin Laden as a commander in its proxy army that fought the USSR after its invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.... Another close collaborator with the CIA in Afghanistan was the Taliban militia." Similarly, the more left-sounding Progressive Labor Party (PLP), in an undated statement on its Website after the September 11 attacks, writes: "Osama Bin Laden, who some are blaming for this terrorism, was, after all, trained by the Central Intelligence Agency to wage a 'holy war' against the Soviet army in Afghanistan. Islamic fundamentalism was built by the U.S. bosses and their allies in oil-rich Saudi Arabia to wage an anti-Soviet crusade in the 1980s."

Too true! But what's missing from this picture? The U.S. organized the *mujahedin* and armed them to the teeth as part of the class war waged by imperialism since 1917 to finally undo the Russian Revolution and reinstitute capitalist exploitation. And the ISO and PLP bought into that reactionary crusade. PLP had turned its back on the defense of the USSR many years earlier, claiming it was just another "imperialist" great power. And the ISO frankly celebrated the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, which abandoned unveiled women and all leftist and secular forces to the bloody revenge of the *mujahedin*, writing: "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). Indeed, it did "give heart" to the counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe within a few years, bringing in its wake mass impoverishment, "ethnic cleansing" and an all-sided rollback of social progress and women's rights.

Another organization that considered the USSR "state capitalist" as the excuse to avoid defending it against U.S. imperialism is the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP). Like the ISO, the LRP seems to be having an attack of amnesia over Afghanistan. A 13 September LRP statement correctly notes bin Laden's "leading role in Afghanistan's mujahedin, the Islamic fundamentalist military force then waging war against the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan," observing that the *mujahedin* "received massive organizational, military and financial backing from the U.S. government." However, at the time the LRP's *Socialist Voice* (Summer 1980) ludicrously claimed that the Soviets "hail Islam and crush women's gains" and argued that "to support the Russian military intervention is to line up with the side of imperialism, stability and counterrevolution."

Anarchism Has No Answer

The U.S. rulers are making it clear that they will brook no opposition, no matter how tame, to "national unity" and the war mobilization. The chancellor of the City University of New York viciously attacked an October 2 teach-in as a "teachers' hate rally," particularly singling out Walter Daum, a supporter of the LRP (*New York Post*, 6 October). Conservative columnists are using the September 11 suicide bombings as a pretext to attack the anti-globalization movement in general and its militant anarchist contingents in particular. For example, an op-

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ed piece in the 22 September *International Herald Tribune* by one Reginald Dale grotesquely compares anarchist protesters with those who carried out the attacks in New York, writing: "Even if their tactics are different in scale and in nature, there is a not entirely coincidental synergy between the actions of the terrorists and the aims of the anti-globalization forces—particularly the most violent and anarchistic among them." The stage for such diatribes was set by the leaders of the "anti-globalization" movement and the reformist left who joined the imperialists' witchhunting chorus targeting the "Black Bloc" anarchists after the Genoa protests.

Many anarchists have stood to the left of the pseudo-Marxists in the wake of the September 11 attacks. An undated statement by the Boston Local of Anarcho-Communists rightly noted:

> "As the most powerful capitalist State (politically, economically, and militarily), the United States has been a prime motivating force behind many devastating terrorist campaigns. From the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the more recent bombing of the Al Shifa Pharmaceutical company in Sudan; from the installation of dictatorships in Latin America, to the financial and military aid of murderous regimes in Israel, Turkey, Colombia, and elsewhere; from the deliberate cluster-bombing of a crowded Yugoslav marketplace to ongoing economic sanctions against Iraq which have culminated in over 500,000 children dead; and now, in a new 'war against terrorism' abroad, we can expect to see a new chapter in the terrorist legacy of the United States. These events are not historical exceptions, rather they are a necessary component of maintaining the economic and political dominance of a powerful capitalist State."

That is all quite true. But the anarchists have no program for ending the political and economic dominance of capitalist class rule. Their rejection of the Leninist vanguard party and the perspective of the

Humbert-Droz Archives

Delegate at 1920 Soviet Baku Congress proposes program for liberation of women of the East.

class rule of the proletariat means they have no way of fighting for the very things the best of them aspire to. At bottom, anarchism is an impotent if more militant expression of the fake left's liberalism and pacifism. A 20 September statement by the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC) declared that for the September 29 demonstration in Washington, D.C., they would create a "Temporary Autonomous Zone" which "will be a hate free zone, war free zone, and a capitalist free zone." Just how manifestly ludicrous this conception is was demonstrated in Washington, D.C., where the CLAC contingent was surrounded by thousands of cops who attacked their supposed "capitalist free zone." On a larger scale, the anarchist talk of "autonomy" peddles the treacherous illusion that one can escape the exploitation, oppression and repression of bourgeois class rule while capitalism remains intact.

In place of building a revolutionary party, anarchists seek to win over the masses through the "propaganda of the deed," where the masses are supposed to emulate the self-sacrifice and at times heroism of anarchist fighters. But as we explained in "Radicals Without a Compass" (*WV* No. 764, 14 September):

> "What especially white middle-class youth have yet to learn is that setting yourself up as an easy target for state repression is hardly inspiring to the oppressed masses who face factory exploitation and police terror on a daily basis. This is part of the reason why the most militant contingents of anarchist youth are overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois and the movement against 'globalization' as a whole has yet to attract much from the barrios and the ghettos. It is the potential for *victory*, not for victimization, that will rally the oppressed masses to a revolutionary movement, and in 1917 it was Lenin's Bolsheviks who did exactly that."

Nothing is leaderless. Anarchists, rejecting the fight for leadership, leave the working class in the grip of their current labor misleaders. The organized violence of the capitalist state demands an organized response. Just as the proletariat must be organized in trade unions to wage defensive economic struggles, so its most advanced sections must be organized in a revolutionary vanguard party to wage the political struggle for power. In turn, a successful workers revolution has every right to defend itself against counterrevolution, and that requires a workers state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But rejecting "all states," anarchists refuse to defend already-won gains, such as the social revolutions that smashed capitalist rule in China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba, however bureaucratically deformed by Stalinist misrule. The right wing of the anarchists are as hostile to communists, and often violently so, as the social democrats, and wield their belief in classless "democracy" in order to enlist alongside the AFL-CIO leadership in the bourgeois crusade against China in particular. But even the more leftist anarchists are incapable, to paraphrase Trotsky, of defending past gains or making new proletarian conquests.

Communists struggle to destroy the imperialist system through socialist revolution by the working class, the only class with the social power and consistent class interest to uproot bourgeois rule and private ownership of the means of production. Only socialist revolution can establish the equality of nations in an international planned economy and put an end once and for all to poverty, racism, sexism and war. As part of winning the working class to the communist program, we fight for the union movement to throw out its chauvinist, pro-imperialist "leaders" and to stand in solidarity with colonial and semicolonial peoples against our "own" bourgeoisie. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win students and young workers to build the revolutionary workers party under whose leadership the working class will bring down this system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder—join us!■

The Bolshevik Tendency and the Pathology of Renegades

On the Pentagon Attack

The International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) responded to the attack on the World Trade Center with a supplement to its journal *1917*, titled, "U.S. Imperialist Rule: An Endless Horror." Notably, if not the least surprisingly, the IBT says not a word in opposition to the red-white-and-blue social-patriotism of the liberals and reformists whose "antiwar" coalitions are defined by bleating appeals to the imperialist rulers that "war is not the answer." On the contrary, they reserve what polemical fire they have to attack the Spartacist League/U.S. as "social-patriotic," citing our refusal to hail the attack on Marine barracks in Lebanon in 1983 as "defensible blows against imperialism." In verbal exchanges, particularly with our younger members at recent protests, the IBT has demanded to know "our position" on the attack on the Pentagon which took place coincident with the destruction of the World Trade Center. Youth comrades in our Canadian section, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, report this went so far as having IBT members pressing them to agree that all those killed in the attack on the Pentagon "deserved to die."

Such vicarious bloodthirstiness is nothing new for this outfit, which was founded by people who quit our organization in the early 1980s when they caught the first whiff of the heightened reaction and repression of the imperialist's anti-Soviet Cold War II. It is a posture that has always been in direct proportion to their own adaptation to the labor tops, social democrats and liberals. Today, the IBT amnesties the "war is not the answer" reformists in the U.S. In Britain they are firmly in the tow of the Labourite "left" of Socialist Alliance, which ran point in the recent elections for Blair's Labour Party—the most stalwart ally of U.S. imperialism in its "war on terrorism." Evidently they seek to cover their tracks in fervid efforts to demonstrate that we have "flinched" on the question of the attack on the Pentagon.

Unlike the World Trade Center, which was simply a complex of buildings housing various businesses employing tens of thousands of working people, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and rather quintessentially represents the military might of U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the working people and oppressed of the world. That recognition does not translate this attack into an "anti-imperialist" act, nor do we think the planeload of innocent passengers which was used as the massive bomb "deserved to die" (or the janitors and secretaries who were employed at the Pentagon).

As Marxists we oppose terrorism as a strategy, even that which derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses. It is counterposed to mobilizing the proletariat in *class struggle* against the imperialist rulers. The fact that innocent civilians are often killed in terror attacks, and that the end result only serves to bring down the jackboot of the capitalist state on the necks of the working class and oppressed, underline the futility, and stupidity, of terrorism as a strategy for the liberation of the masses. Moreover such acts merely serve to provide the bourgeoisie a bloody shirt to wave in order to cement the workers to capitalist class rule.

The Pentagon is a genuine military target, representing the brutal attacks of U.S. imperialism on the world's working class and oppressed. The planeload of random innocent civilians that was hijacked and used as a bomb was not. In any case, the attack on the Pentagon was a sideshow to the attack on the World Trade Center. As the Spartacist League/U.S. Politieal Bureau wrote in its 12 September statement, "The World Trade Center Attack":

> "It is not simply that the target wasn't even an institution representing the brutal and murderous U.S. imperialist rulers. Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is still no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*"

Correspondingly, the U.S. rulers have seized on the destruction of the World Trade Center to try to rally the working class around "united we stand" patriotism. The attack on the Pentagon could hardly serve such a purpose, as is demonstrated in the fact that it barely gets a mention by the capitalist rulers or their media mouthpieces.

When over 240 U.S. Marines were blown to pieces in the bombing of a compound in Lebanon in October 1983, it provoked widespread outrage within the American population against the Reagan administration which had sent these troops to Lebanon. Seeking to intersect and direct this outrage into conscious opposition to the U.S. imperialist rulers for whom the lives of working-class troops are considered expendable, we raised the slogan; "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" The IBT's predecessors in the "External Tendency" denounced us as "social patriotic" and solidarized with whatever forces blew up the Marines as "anti-imperialist." But at the time, no side in the squalid intercommunal conflict in Lebanon was fighting imperialism! And to this day it is by no means clear who undertook this attack.

As we wrote at the time in our article "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984):

> "*We are for the victory of just causes.* Necessarily and above all, the centrality of just causes is the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers. In this savagely class-divided world, dominated by the mass murderers of My Lai, the struggle for the victory of just causes will have a big physical component. We must stand therefore for the maximum assembling of effective force on the just side, hopefully to demoralize and deter the forces of reaction so that the actual casualties are minimized."

Our purpose is to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class—the understanding that the "main enemy" is their "own" capitalist class rulers—in order to build the revolutionary workers party that can realize Lenin's profoundly humanist view of the "socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war." In contrast, the IBT's vicarious bloodthirstiness and conspicuous silence on the social patriotism of the reformist left merely serve the interests of the class enemy, insofar as their insignificant forces are capable of serving any cause.■

Immigrants, Blacks, Labor Targeted

U.S. Government's Domestic Terror Machine

Just after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, Secretary of State Colin Powell sinisterly intoned: "The enemy is in many places. The enemy is not looking to be found. The enemy is hidden. The enemy is, very often, right here within our own country" (*New York Times*, 15 September). The U.S. rulers are now dropping bombs on Afghanistan, declaring their purpose is to drive Osama bin Laden out of his "terrorist hide-out." But this manhunt is hardly limited to the shadowy bin Laden, an Islamic fundamentalist who himself was armed and bankrolled by the CIA. Riding a wave of "national unity" patriotism, the U.S. bourgeoisie is retooling its vast domestic state machinery of violence and repression. They're loading their guns and they're aimed directly at *you*.

Defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld—a man so crazed he even scared Nixon's Dr. Strangelove, Henry Kissinger—declared in the *New York Times* (27 September): "When we 'invade the enemy's territory,' we may well be invading his cyberspace. There may not be as many beachheads stormed as opportunities denied. Forget about 'exit strategies'; we're looking at a sustained engagement that carries no deadlines. We have no fixed rules about how to deploy our troops.... 'Battles' will be fought by customs officers stopping suspicious persons at our borders and diplomats securing cooperation against money laundering."

The most immediate target of this all-purpose "war against terrorism" are immigrants. Hundreds of Arabs, Muslims, Sikhs and others have been hauled off buses, trains and airplanes, or snatched on the streets or in their shops by the FBI and local cops on no other grounds than that they look like they come from the Near East. The FBI is on a fishing expedition against foreign students. At San Francisco State University, the administration rushed to hand over all available records on students of Near Eastern descent and, reportedly, any others with known "connections" to the region.

A new Office of Homeland Security has been set up. With ardent death penalty advocate Tom Ridge at its head, this agency is charged with coordinating a wide range of forces including the FBI, BATF, INS, CIA and military, openly violating the Posse Comitatus Act banning the use of the army in domestic operations. Now, Attorney General John Ashcroft is trying to rush a new "anti-terrorism" law through Congress that will vastly expand the capacities of the government to spy on, intimidate and terrorize the population.

The proposed legislation would define "terrorist" to include anyone charged with destroying public property for purposes that are deemed to be aimed at influencing or changing the government. Carrying sentences of up to life in prison, this provision could be used against anyone from an antiwar protester who throws a stone at a government building to a striking worker who disables a scab vehicle. As the president of the Criminal Justice Policy Foundation noted: "Even kids carrying Boy Scout knives who vandalize traffic signs can be labeled terrorists" (*Village Voice*, 2 October).

Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark got a full blast of what it means to be labeled "terrorists" in capitalist America. The secret police infiltrated their organization, set them up, and in 1969 Chicago cops kicked in their door and machine-gunned them in their beds in the dead of night.

Today, the government's proposed "anti-terrorism" law, alternately known as the "Patriot Act" (House) or "U.S.A. Act" (Senate), includes the following deadly provisions:

- *Any* non-citizen—permanent resident, legal or "illegal" immigrant—who the government deems "may endanger the national security" could be imprisoned and/or deported without charges and with no hearing.
- *Any* non-citizen could be deported for providing financial support for the lawful activities of a "terrorist" organization—including retroactively! For example, a permanent resident of the U.S. who gave money to the African National Congress—which currently heads the South African neo-apartheid government—when it was fighting apartheid in the 1980s could be deported.
- The government would be given free rein to use wiretaps, with restrictions on Internet monitoring virtually eliminated.
- The government would be allowed to seize the property of *anyone* accused of *any* crime.

This measure has yet to be passed. But already the Supreme Court is busy handing down decisions upholding lower court rulings condoning workplace discrimination against Muslims and police "racial profiling" of black people. In the latter decision, the Supreme Court upheld the 1992 roundup of *every single black male* in Oneonta, New York as robbery suspects. This gives a green light for more cop street executions, like the killing of black African immigrant Amadou Diallo, who was cut down in a hail of 41 bullets outside his South Bronx apartment door two years ago. Cruise missiles launched against Afghanistan bore the insignia "NYPD." At home, this deadly police force has set up an "anti-terror" squad with orders to "shoot to kill."

Jane Therese

Trenton, New Jersey cops surround passengers dragged off bus as "terrorist suspects" because they spoke "little English."

Democrats, Republicans: Two Wings of the Property Party

The lunatic right-wingers in the Bush administration, which rode into the White House with no popular mandate, were described as representing the "reinauguration of the Confederacy." Indeed, Attorney General Aschroft is an open sympathizer of the Southern slavocracy. Now they are using the attack on the World Trade Center to revive "national pride." The purpose is to ratchet up exploitation, racial oppression and state repression. Certainly, they face little opposition from the other party of American capitalism, the Democrats. In a statement echoing Kaiser Wilhelm on the eve of World War I—"I no longer know parties, I know only Germans"—Democratic Senate leader Tom Daschle declared, "There is no difference in our aim. We are resolved to work together, not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans." New York liberal Charles Schumer was among the backers of a Senate "Combatting Terrorism" bill.

A precursor of Ashcroft's proposed legislation was the New York State "Anti-Terrorism Act," which was rushed through a special session of the state legislature on September 17. This law extends the death penalty to "terrorist" crimes which, as an article in the *Village Voice* (2 October) quipped, "allows for vengeance, but will likely do little to discourage future suicide missions." But this is no joke. The target is not "suicide bombers," but the mass of the American population, particularly working people and the ghetto and barrio poor.

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, the Clinton administration's 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act broadly extended federal crimes punishable by death while effectively gutting *habeas corpus* rights. A legacy of chattel slavery, the death penalty is the lynch rope made legal. It stands at the pinnacle of state repression in the U.S., the ultimate means for the capitalist rulers to terrorize the population and to silence through death any perceived threat to their system of exploitation and vicious racial oppression.

On the West Coast, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein introduced a new "Maritime Security Act," mandating intensive background checks of the workforce, which have long been sought by the maritime bosses to weed out militants and anyone else they want to get rid of. This recalls the "screening" laws instituted at the time of the Korean War aimed at keeping militants and reds out of the longshore and seamen's unions.

The pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy stands foursquare behind the capitalist rulers. An ad by the AFL-CIO tops in the *New York Times* (9 October) boasts: "Through our unions, we're organizing relief efforts and helping rebuild our country. And we're standing behind our President in the counterattack on terrorism." Transport Workers Union Local 100's "progressive" president Roger Toussaint has allowed the NYC transit bosses to loot pension funds in order to bail out Wall Street while uttering not a peep in protest against management's efforts to further discipline and regiment the union ranks. Transit workers are being checked and their cars searched as they go into work, while management tries to push through closed-circuit TV and other spying measures. All of these measures are aimed at trying to break the back of a union that has the power to bring the financial center of American capitalism to a standstill.

Unleash Labor/Black Power—For a Workers Party!

As we wrote in "The World Trade Center Attack" (*WV* No. 764, 14 September):

> "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle 'one nation indivisible' patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign 'enemy,' as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people."

This is all the more convenient for the bourgeoisie as their economy was already in a nose dive into recession before September 11. Since then, close to 200,000 more workers have lost their jobs while corporations line up like pigs at the trough for billions in government handouts, which will be paid out of the Social Security "lockbox" and by fleecing the working class. The threadbare "safety net" that once existed was shredded by the Clinton administration, which instituted "the end of welfare as we know it."

But the rulers are only too well aware that the current chauvinist consensus behind its "war on terrorism" is extremely fragile. In Minnesota, 22,000 state workers launched their first strike in 20 years on October 1. Denouncing the workers for striking when "we are coping with a possibility of a long and difficult war," Governor (and former Navy Seal) Jesse Ventura deployed National Guard

continued on page 10

New!

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Indonesia...

(continued from page 5)

one or another Javanese-chauvinist bourgeois politician, the PRD *and* their reformist Australian acolytes in the DSP contribute to the strengthening of the repressive, unitary Indonesian state.

The PRD are petty-bourgeois nationalists who rarely mention socialism. As Sujatmiko told an April 2000 Melbourne meeting, "We cannot defeat imperialism and advocate socialism at the same time." This is but a more overtly right-wing version of the "two-stage revolution" originally pushed by the Mensheviks (the pro-capitalist wing of Russian Social Democracy who opposed the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution), then later by the Stalinist betrayers and all manner of petty-bourgeois nationalists. This class-collaborationist trap for the proletariat has always meant tying the masses to the capitalist class enemy. As the tragedy of 1965 proved, the first stage means murder of the communists; there never is a second stage.

In one of the most savage massacres in modern history, over a million Communists, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese were slaughtered in 1965-66. The leadership of the pro-Beijing Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)—the largest Communist party in the capitalist world—preached "joint unity" with then-president Sukarno and his Indonesian Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms."

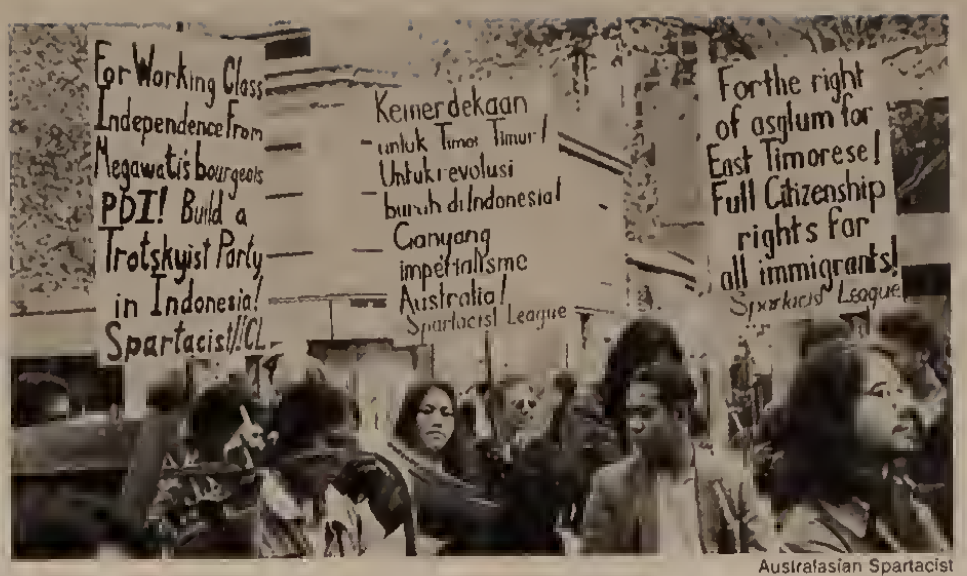
Politically disarmed by this program of "two-stage revolution," the working class was unable to defend itself when the Indonesian generals, backed by imperialism, struck to behead the PKI after the counterrevolutionary October 1965 coup led by Suharto. The 1965-66 bloodbath—a holy war against Communism—was the work of an alliance between the army and Islamic fanatics directly aided by the American CIA and Australia's ASIS [Australian Secret Intelligence Service].

Neither Megawati nor Rais have criticised, much less repudiated, the horrific massacres of 1965-66. Indeed, Rais has declared that Indonesia must guard against reviving communist teachings. Between 1962 and 1965, Megawati's new vice-president Hamzah Haz, leader of the PPP, was head of the Yogyakarta Muslim student movement and prominent in NU. It was NU's youth who played a leading role in the bloodbath of 1965.

Opponents of the Struggle for Proletarian Power

The central lesson of 1965 is that the proletariat and bourgeoisie have no common class interests. For the proletarian party to proceed otherwise is suicidal and a betrayal. Trotsky's program of permanent revolution is the alternative to placing confidence in fantasies resting upon the backward, imperialist-dependent bourgeoisie as a vehicle for liberation. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League uniquely stand on this program. Fake leftists in both Indonesia and Australia either openly oppose the program of permanent revolution or claim to "defend" it while gutting its revolutionary content. The DSP, for example, published a lengthy pamphlet in 1999 on Trotsky's "errors" on permanent revolution and the Indonesian PRD echoes these views.

So too does the Indonesian Democratic Socialist Association (PDS). In November 2000, the PDS split from the PRD based on the latter's support to Wahid and making the struggle for women's liberation and work in the labour movement a "non-priority." But the PDS shares the PRD's nationalist outlook, advocating a program that begins and ends with "*reformasi total*." PDS leader Muhammad Ma'ruf may praise Trotsky's "brave opposition to Stalin," but he does "not agree with the basic idea of Trotsky—the theory of permanent revolution—which is a dividing line between those who belong to the Trotskyist tendency and those belonging to others" (*Socialist Review*, May 2001).



Australasian Spartacist

Melbourne, 1997: Spartacists warn against illusions in Megawati. Sign in Indonesian reads: "Independence for East Timor! For Workers Revolution In Indonesia! Down With Australian Imperialism!"

Permanent revolution is indeed a dividing line. Against the Stalinist bureaucracy's anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism in one country"—which meant the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and the appeasement of imperialism internationally—Leon Trotsky, the Left Opposition and later the Fourth International fought for the continuity of the revolutionary internationalist program of Bolshevism. Permanent revolution was the core of the program on which the 1928 Left Opposition was formed following the crushing defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, a direct result of Stalin's policy of subordinating the working class to the Chinese bourgeoisie.

ISO, WP: Permanent Laborism

With the PRD so obviously jumping from one bourgeois faction to another, the International Socialist Organisation's (ISO) Tom O'Lincoln takes the opportunity to posture against the "stages theory of revolution," declaring,

> "In practice, there is never complete democracy under capitalism, so we never get to the socialist stage....
>
> "Our own approach, based on the theory of permanent revolution, attempts to develop struggles that may initially be limited to democracy and take them in a socialist direction, without any sharp division between stages."
>
> —*Socialist Review*, May 2001

This has nothing to do with the program of permanent revolution, but is literally a regurgitation of the two-stage program: first, struggles "limited to democracy," then a "socialist direction."

In Indonesia and elsewhere the ISO and its co-thinkers do exactly that, and many of the "struggles" they champion are not remotely "democratic." In 1998 this outfit promoted the illusion that Megawati and Rais could create "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 March 1998). Today they sing a different tune, describing Megawati as "more clearly a front for the right," claiming her "PDI-P was always fairly conservative, with ties to sections of the military" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 August).

O'Lincoln's current "analysis" notes Megawati's husband's links to "right-wing religious fanatics." This is rich coming from people who have for years portrayed Islamic fundamentalism as an "anti-imperialist" or "revolutionary" alternative. In 1979 they cheered on the reactionary Khomeiniite "mass movement" in Iran. One of the greatest crimes of this viciously anti-Soviet organisation was their support to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* fanatics in Afghanistan whose victory over the Soviet Red Army has led to the Taliban and its regime of mass terror against women. Consistently anti-communist, in 1998 they grotesquely equated the anti-Suharto student protests with the howling anti-Communist student mobs of 1965-66: "The most impressive action was at the University in Jakarta, where students once played a role in bringing down the previous Sukarno regime." Thus does the ISO put its stamp of approval on the bloodbath of a million Communists, workers and peasants and ethnic Chinese.

While mouthing words about "permanent revolution" for Indonesia, in Australia the ISO is cravenly prostrate before the pro-imperialist ALP. In 1999, while the ALP was demanding [prime minister] Howard send troops to East Timor, the ISO *endorsed* and marched in Melbourne demonstrations demanding Australian imperialism occupy East Timor. Now that the occupation has become so glaringly brutal and rapacious, the ISO wails that the "colonisation process has been quite disgusting.... Yet large sections of the Australian left cheered it on" (*Socialist Review*, May 2001). The ISO was in the thick of those "sections" of the left cheering on the troops. In particular they raved that the union bans against Indonesian businesses, the explicit purpose of which was to pressure the Australian government to send troops to Timor, were "magnificent." To this day they do not call for the Australian occupying troops to get out of East Timor.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) tries to assume a more leftist posture, criticising the PRD for having "aligned itself with Wahid as representing some sort of 'progressive wing' of the ruling class" (*Workers Power* [Australia], August 2001). They also claim, at times, to be for permanent revolution. But WP's real program is class collaboration, spelled out in their international co-thinkers' *The Trotskyist Manifesto* (1989). Here they come out explicitly for the "anti-imperialist united front," the formula which has been used over and over to justify suicidal subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, starting with Stalin's liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920s into the Guomindang, Chiang Kai-shek's party of the nationalist Chinese bourgeoisie (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front'—The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

Like the ISO, WP also ultimately looks to "democratic" imperialism to liberate the masses in the colonial world. In September 1999, WP hailed the chauvinist anti-Indonesia trade-union bans and marched cheek-to-jowl with the DSP, the ISO and the Labor Party in the "Peacekeepers In" mobilisations. To cover their left flank, WP has called, at times, for "Australian and UN troops out now" and even denounced the DSP for being "at the head of the chorus calling for imperialist intervention in East Timor" (*Independence for East Timor: For a working class solution*, undated pamphlet).

Support to "democratic" imperialism is not new for these pseudo-socialists. The ISO, DSP and WP were all cheerleaders for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and they hope to do the same in China now. We Trotskyists, opposing our "own" ruling class and seeking its overthrow through workers socialist revolution, have always *defended* those states where capitalism has been overthrown. Unconditional military defence of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state—and Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution is central to revolutionary struggle. This is urgently posed in China now in the face of renewed imperialist military machinations and economic encroachments promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms." Proletarian revolution in Indonesia would powerfully aid the fight to mobilise the Chinese workers in a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist traitors.

Workers and youth continue to be drawn into struggle by the ineradicable contradictions of capitalism, and the struggles of the Indonesian working class in the face of IMF-imposed starvation and bloody communalism point the way forward. But for the workers to emerge as an independent revolutionary factor requires forging an internationalist vanguard party committed to leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power. By studying the dearly bought lessons of revolutionary Marxism, centrally that the working class and the bourgeoisie have no class interests in common, the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist party will be cohered. Based on such a program, the future Indonesian Bolsheviks will break the chains of dependent capitalism, leading the proletariat to power at the head of all the oppressed. For workers revolution in Indonesia! For international socialist revolution!■

NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended. If you are interested in meeting or picking up literature you can do so between 7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday on the third floor of the Student Events Center at New York University, 5 Washington Place. Please contact us at (212) 267-1025 or nysl_syc@yahoo.com.

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Imperialists...

(continued from page 1)

resources will only further sharpen as the global economic recession deepens. Meanwhile, the semicolonial masses of the "Third World" have been increasingly subjected to economic misery and imperialist repression and exploitation.

Washington's chief rivals, Germany and Japan, are today in no position to militarily challenge U.S. dominance. But short of proletarian revolutions that sweep away the imperialist bourgeoisies, conflicts among them will ultimately lead to yet another interimperialist war, this time fought with nuclear weapons. In our interventions in protests against the imperialist war buildup and the attack on Afghanistan, sections of the International Communist League have stressed the urgent necessity of forging proletarian parties of the Bolshevik type to lead the fight for new October Revolutions around the world.

U.S. Imperialism: Enemy of the World's People

As we wrote last issue in "Repression, Recession and War" (*WV* No. 765, 28 September), the attack on the World Trade Center (and the killing of planeloads of innocent passengers), "however criminal from the vantage point of the working class and oppressed, doesn't hold a candle to what the U.S. imperialists are now preparing to perpetrate against their enemies—internationally and *at home*."

In a powerful condemnation of imperialist hypocrisy titled "The Algebra of Infinite Justice," Indian author Arundhati Roy wrote in the London *Guardian* (29 September):

> "In 1996, Madeleine Albright, then the US secretary of state, was asked on national television what she felt about the fact that 500,000 Iraqi children had died as a result of US economic sanctions. She replied that it was 'a very hard choice', but that, all things considered, 'we think the price is worth it'. Albright never lost her job for saying this. She continued to travel the world representing the views and aspirations of the US government. More pertinently, the sanctions against Iraq remain in place. Children continue to die....
>
> "The September 11 attacks were a monstrous calling card from a world gone horribly wrong. The message may have been written by Bin Laden (who knows?) and delivered by his couriers, but it could well have been signed by the ghosts of the victims of America's old wars. The millions killed in Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia, the 17,500 killed when Israel—backed by the US—invaded Lebanon in 1982, the 200,000 Iraqis killed in Operation Desert Storm, the thousands of Palestinians who have died fighting Israel's occupation of the West Bank. And the millions who died, in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Haiti, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Panama, at the hands of all the terrorists, dictators and genocidists whom the American government supported, trained, bankrolled and supplied with arms."

Along with the deadly economic sanctions against Iraq, the U.S. imperialists continue their terror bombing of the Iraqi people on a regular basis. During the 1991 Gulf War and in the case of every subsequent imperialist attack, the ICL has called forthrightly for military defense of Iraq, while stressing that it is the task of the Iraqi proletariat to sweep away the bourgeois-nationalist regime of Saddam Hussein. Washington is currently tempering its war threats against Iraq for fear of antagonizing its Arab coalition partners, but it's no secret that the gang in the White House is itching for a full-scale onslaught against Iraq. *U.S. hands off Iraq—Down with the starvation blockade!*

Commenting on Washington's military options in Afghanistan, Roy observed that "dropping more bombs on Afghanistan will only shuffle the rubble." The arrogant U.S. imperialists, having proclaimed a "one-superpower world," think they can ride roughshod over anyone who gets in their way. But whatever the next military step the U.S. takes in Afghanistan, from the standpoint of America's rulers, in the words of one administration adviser, "all options stink." No one in the Pentagon is even talking of a full-scale invasion or occupation of this barren country. A commando raid by Special Operations units like the Green Berets or British SAS would face hostile terrain, limited means of supply or evacuation and fanatical guerrilla fighters who "will make a lethal foe for Western forces," as one SAS veteran who had been attached to the *mujahedin* in the 1980s warned (London *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September). He recounted an example of what the *mujahedin* did to one captured Soviet soldier: "The torso had been mutilated. The limbs stomped into a mash of ruby red flesh and splintered bone. The head had been kicked off and used as a football."

Washington's current best option appears to be using the murderous, ragtag Northern Alliance forces to topple the Taliban. This, too, has its problems. The Northern Alliance consists of largely Tajiks (headed by Ahmed Shah Massoud until his assassination last month) and Uzbeks. To win support among tribal leaders of the dominant Pashtuns, the Taliban's base, the U.S. has goaded the 86-year-old former king, ousted in 1973, out of his palatial retirement in Rome to serve as a symbol of "national unity." But Afghanistan is not a nation, it is a region of several nationalities and of little coherent economy. There is little likelihood of stability in Afghanistan in any case; rather, the stage is being set for a rehash of the interethnic slaughter among the victorious *mujahedin* that ended in the overwhelmingly Pashtun Taliban faction's rise to power in 1996.

Beating the ideological drums for the imperialist war against the Taliban is an array of liberals and feminists—and some fake socialists—who echo invocations of "women's rights" in Afghanistan by anti-abortion bigots like Bush; 20 years ago, these same types abandoned Afghan women to the *mujahedin* cutthroats in order to tail imperialist anti-Sovietism. Journalist Jonathan Steele, who regularly reported from Afghanistan, remarked in the London *Guardian* (6 October): "During the Soviet period, I was in the small and unfashionable minority which came to the view that the Moscow-supported governments of Babrak Karmal and Najihullah were lesser evils compared to the ravages which the CIA- and MI6-backed mojahedin were likely to cause if they ever took power."

Promoting the cynical hoax that the Northern Alliance are Islamic "moderates," the *New York Times* (3 October) ran the glowing headline, "Education Offers Women in Northern Afghanistan a Ray of Hope." They're talking about a total of *eight* women who were allowed to attend university for the first time this year! More candidly, British journalist Robert Fisk wrote in the London *Independent* (3 October):

> "US officials—who know full well the whole bloody, rapacious track record of the killers in the 'Alliance'—are suggesting in good faith that these are the men who will help us bring democracy to Afghanistan and drive the Taliban and the terrorists out of the country. In fact, we're ready to hire one gang of terrorists—our terrorists—to rid ourselves of another gang of terrorists."

Fisk concludes that "what Afghanistan needs is an international force...to re-establish some kind of order," noting this could be under the auspices of the United Nations. *The UN is a front for imperialist terror—from Korea in 1950-53 to Iraq in 1991!*

The only international force that could have brought social progress and order to Afghanistan was the Red Army. We Spartacists raised the call: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! The Soviet Central Asian troops who fought in Afghanistan saw there the face of the benighted past their grandparents had known before the October Revolution. Were it not for the Stalinist bureaucracy's criminal withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1988-89, there would be no Taliban—or Northern Alliance—today. Scarcely a decade after capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union, a world-historic defeat ushered in by the Kremlin's treacherous pullout from Afghanistan, there is a leveling in the opposite direction, as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan increasingly succumb to the misery and backwardness that defines Afghanistan.

When they seized Kabul in 1992, the forces that today make up the Northern Alliance imposed strict *sharia* (Islamic law): books deemed anti-religious were burned in the streets; women were ordered to wear "veils" covering their entire body; those caught wearing perfume were deemed guilty of adultery, a "crime" punishable by being stoned to death. In a country as deeply backward as Afghanistan, which has no proletariat, social progress can only come from *without*. That was what the Soviet intervention posed. Today, the liberation of the hideously impoverished and oppressed peoples of Afghanistan hinges on successful proletarian revolutions in Pakistan, India, Iran and other neighboring countries where there are powerful proletarian concentrations.

Islamic Reaction and Imperialist Decay

In his column in the *Nation* (8 October), Christopher Hitchens opined that those who attacked the World Trade Center "represent fascism with an Islamic face." Hitchens is not only an apologist for U.S. imperialist terror, as he was at the time of the 1999 war against Serbia, but ignorant to boot. The Islamic fundamentalists want to return to the caliphate of Muhammad, encompassing the Muslim peoples of all nations. Fascism, on the other hand, is an extreme expression of national chauvinism—and the irrationality of the capitalist nation-state—that abhors all supranational institutions, including religious ones. The rise of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism as a mass movement is a reactionary response to both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest dead end of bourgeois nationalism in the semicolonial countries from North Africa to Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, whose government includes real fascists, railed a couple of weeks ago about "the superiority of our civilization," which is ordained to "conquer" the Islamic world, and urged Europe to "reconstitute itself on the basis of its Christian roots"—i.e., back to the Crusades, when the unwashed, illiterate knights of Christendom declared war on the great Arab civilizations of that era. In its epoch of decline and decay, capitalism has long since declared war on the Enlightenment rationalism that served as the ideology for the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century. Following the defeat of the democratic revolutions of 1848 in Europe, when the proletariat appeared on the stage of history for the first time, the bourgeoisies went into a bloc with obscurantism. The American bourgeoisie did the same as it turned against the radical-democratic measures that followed the historic victory over the slavocracy in the Civil War, the Sec-

Domestic Terror...

(continued from page 8)

troops—who are on semi-permanent mobilization nationwide—for strike-breaking duty. In Orange County, California, striking sanitation workers were strong-armed back to work last week under threats of firing and scabherding.

A rally on the first day of the Minnesota strike began with the pledge of allegiance and the singing of "God Bless America," while workers chanted: "Who does the work? We do. Are we patriotic? Yes." But these initial patriotic sentiments will very quickly collide with National Guard strikebreaking in the bosses' "national interest."

If labor is to win some battles, it is necessary to understand that the interests of the capitalist class and the interests of the working people whose labor they exploit are irreconcilably counterposed. In the United States, where the forcible concentration of the majority of the black population at the bottom is a foundation stone of capitalist exploitation, the rulers have long played the race card to obscure the class divide between labor and capital. Pitting white against black, they also seek to pit all against the desperate immigrant. If labor is to free itself from the chains of capitalist exploitation, it must champion the cause of black freedom and actively take up the fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. This is not a question of defending helpless victims of racist oppression and degradation but of bringing to the fore those who will be central leaders of the revolutionary fight for the emancipation of the working class and all of humanity. Black workers—who comprise the most heavily unionized sector of the proletariat in this country—and immigrant workers, who often bring with them the class-struggle traditions of their homelands, can infuse the American labor movement with the vigor and leadership cadre to wage some militant class battles and win.

As they throw their military might around the world, the U.S. imperialists use the spectre of "terrorism" to legitimate their own terror tactics, their own consummately violent state and their own war against millions of proletarians, blacks, other minorities and the poor at home. The capitalist state—the cops, courts and armed forces—is the instrument for maintaining through force and violence the political and economic domination of the exploiting class over those they exploit and oppress. The workers need their own party to lead the revolutionary struggle to expropriate the bourgeoisie and establish *their* class rule—the first step toward the creation of a classless, stateless communist world where the tremendous wealth and resources of society are deployed to serve the needs of all, not to fill the coffers of the few. ■

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

It addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. We fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

$2 (56 pages)

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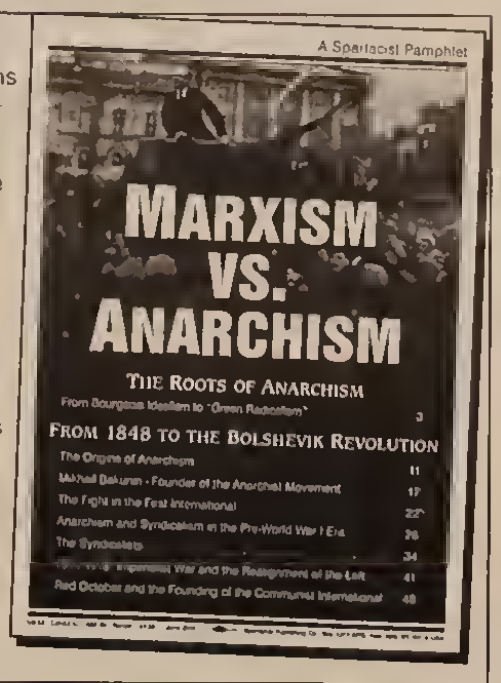


ond American Revolution.

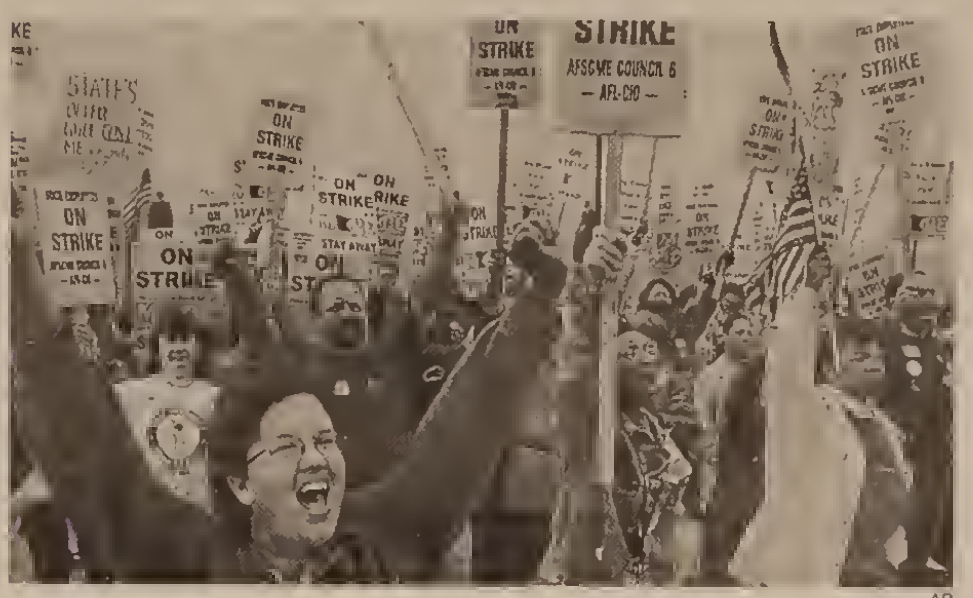
In their overriding fear of proletarian revolution—and in their crusade to overturn the first victorious workers revolution in history, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution of 1917—the capitalists have made common cause with all manner of deeply religious forces over the years. These have included not only the right-wing Christian bigots who constitute the activist core of the Republican Party (who ought to acknowledge bin Laden's Al Qaeda as a "faith-based initiative") and Catholic reactionaries like Opus Dei but also those who would kill themselves and others for Allah. As for the latter, American Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles famously declared in 1950: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us."

Regional Conflicts, Imperialist Rivalries

The cynical rebukes by other Western imperialist leaders of Berlusconi's racist diatribe reflected their concern over maintaining the already shaky support of Arab and other Muslim regimes for the "war against global terrorism," not least because they include the Gulf and Near Eastern states that sit atop most of the world's oil reserves.

Pakistan, erstwhile patron of the Taliban and the base for U.S.-financed operations by the anti-Soviet *mujahedin*, is riven with all manner of fault lines. The U.S. agreed not to use Pakistani bases as a launch pad for the current military action in Afghanistan for fear of triggering an Islamic fundamentalist insurgency that could sweep away the Musharraf military regime. Moreover, a number of the ethnic groups in Afghanistan extend into Pakistan, notably the Pashtuns on whom the Taliban is based. Meanwhile, Pakistan's historic enemy, India, complained that the U.S. omitted from its "terrorist" index the Pakistani-sponsored Jaesh-e-Muhammad group, which last week took responsibility for a suicide bombing that killed 40 people in Kashmir. Conflicting claims over this predominantly Muslim province occupied by the Hindu-chauvinist Indian bourgeois regime have triggered three wars between Pakistan and India, which both now have nuclear weapons.

As Washington strives to keep the Arab regimes of the Near East on board, Zionist Israel is learning that it is very much a *junior* partner of U.S. imperialism. To Israel's chagrin, Hamas (a woman-hating, anti-Semitic outfit initially nurtured by the Zionists as a counterweight to secular Palestinian nationalists) is also not on the U.S. hit list of Islamic fundamentalist organizations. Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld conspicuously omitted Jerusalem from his Near East itinerary as he hobnobbed with the emir of Oman and the oil-rich Saudi ruling clan. And when Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon evoked the Munich 1938 "appeasement" of Hitler and warned Bush to "not try to appease the Arabs at our expense," White House spokesman Ari Fleischer bluntly denounced Sharon's outburst as "unacceptable." As the Zionists step up their own murder of Palestinians, Yasir Arafat sought to prove his value to Washington by ordering his cops to gun down Palestinians protesting the bombing of Afghanistan.



AP

Minnesota government workers at strike rally outside Capitol building in St. Paul, October 1.

Armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism, in their anti-Arab frenzy the Zionist madmen are capable of triggering a holocaust in the region. From South Asia to the Near East, the burning task is the forging of internationalist parties to lead the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed, in sweeping away all the murderous nationalist regimes. *Defend the Palestinians! All Israeli troops, settlers out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

As we noted in our last article, "The American bourgeoisie thinks it can rule the roost in any part of the world with a big stick and a bit of carrot. But far from imposing a stable 'New World Order,' from the Near East to the Balkans to South Asia, U.S. intervention serves only to stoke national antagonisms and regional wars." Far greater yet is the danger posed by the escalation of rivalries between the U.S. and the other imperialist powers.

Those countries are signing on to Washington's "global coalition" only to further their own, divergent regional and military ambitions. Japan, under ultra-chauvinist prime minister Junichiro Koizumi, has offered support aircraft for any military action against Afghanistan and is legislating new powers allowing the "Self Defense Force" to engage in combat action abroad for the first time since the end of World War II. A key focus of the imperialist rivalries between the U.S. and Japan in the Pacific Far East is who will come out on top if the Chinese deformed workers state is reconquered for capitalist exploitation. While the Beijing Stalinists have saluted the U.S.-led war drive against "global terrorism," China is the prize ultimately sought by the various imperialist powers. For unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal counter-revolution! For proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy!

Germany, which seized on the U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia two years ago for its first combat role since 1945, is now the chief occupying force in Macedonia and has likewise offered combat units to join in the war against the Taliban. But, as the *New York Times* (7 October) reported, Washington has made clear its intention "to make it as much as possible an all-American campaign." As in the case of the 1991 Gulf War and the 1999 Balkans War, the U.S. is out to assert to its imperialist rivals that its massive military arsenal makes it top dog.

The imperialist bourgeoisies are in agreement only when it comes to tightening the screws of repression against working people, immigrants and other minorities in their own countries. With unemployment already running as high as 10 percent in West Europe, the capitalists are seeking to push through drastic cuts in social programs and living standards in order to maintain their profit levels in the face of the world recession, while imposing even tighter border controls around racist "Fortress Europe." In the U.S., where welfare and other social programs have already been axed over the past several years of "prosperity," jobless claims reached a nine-year high last month even before the hundreds of thousands of layoffs announced after September 11. The draconian repressive measures being pushed now by both the Democrats and Republicans, which target immigrants in the first instance, will lead to a massive increase in state terror against black people and are ultimately aimed at suppressing any outbreak of struggle by the multiracial proletariat.

The "national unity" preached by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy means that the bosses profit while the workers pay. Thoughtful working people and youth already see clearly that they are being asked to "sacrifice" in the interests of Bush and Wall Street, but what is lacking is a revolutionary leadership with a program to bring down capitalism. The only road forward for the proletariat is the road of class struggle against the capitalist system, which in its epoch of decay holds out nothing but immiseration, repression and imperialist war. Today it is all the more necessary to build a proletarian vanguard party to render the proletariat conscious of its historic task as the gravedigger of the capitalist system. As we fight to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, the ICL reasserts what Trotsky wrote in the 1940 *Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution*:

> "The great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat. The question of tempos and time intervals is of enormous importance; but it alters neither the general historical perspective nor the direction of our policy. The conclusion is a simple one: it is necessary to carry on the work of educating and organizing the proletarian vanguard with tenfold energy. Precisely in this lies the task of the Fourth International."■

Paris...

(continued from page 2)

have the blood of Afghan women on their hands!

The central organized presence behind the September 29 Paris demonstration "for Afghan women" was the LCR, which provided the marshals and furnished the loudest sound system to lead the chanting of the main slogan, "Neither Taliban nor bombs!" A contingent of about 250 supporters of the LCR and its youth group marched. The leaflet issued by the LCR in its own name does not claim to oppose imperialist military action in principle, but criticizes the targeting of the civilian population. In a barely veiled call for imperialist intervention, the leaflet complains that the Taliban "has so far benefited from the active support of Pakistan and the criminal neutrality of the Western powers, particularly France."

The LCR has also signed an "Appeal to Public Opinion" which states: "It is as part of international law and the United Nations charter that everything must be done in order to identify, arrest and judge the authors of the attack [of September 11].... The undersigned organizations appeal for the citizens to mobilize, without waiting any longer, against any attempt at an escalation of the war, and for the French and European governments to act in this direction." The LCR along with numerous other opportunists are thus seeking to unite with what they like to call "broader" forces (this means capitalist politicians and other pro-imperialist elements who are willing to posture about "democracy" and even "women's rights" when it suits them) in a supposed "antiwar" movement which begs for "cleaner" methods (no indiscriminate bombings, please) even as it endorses the war aims of the U.S. imperialists, such as ousting the Taliban and installing the Northern Alliance.

The LCR youth group (JCR-RED) carried the slogan, "Neither Taliban nor Bombs, Freedom for the Afghan People." Thus they equate the motley Taliban with the nuclear-armed U.S./NATO imperialists, the biggest terrorists on the planet, without whose massive support to the "holy war" against "godless Communism" the Taliban would never have come into existence. In their leaflet for the September 29 demonstration, the JCR-RED makes a bloc with any and all anti-Taliban forces, presumably including the Northern Alliance and the former king of Afghanistan. They denounce the prospect of U.S. air strikes as counterproductive: "Their intervention will not go in the direction of defending democracy and supporting those who struggle against the Taliban regime; on the contrary, it runs the risk of reinforcing national sentiment favorable to the power in place which is supposedly resisting the U.S." Suddenly discovering the plight of the women, they cry, "They have locked up the women at home, without the right to move around, with no right to health care, the women are walled in—this is the Taliban!" Yes indeed, it is the Taliban; it is also the Northern Alliance and every other faction of the bloodthirsty *mujahedin* who fought the Soviets in order to stop Afghan girls from learning how to read.

The anarchist CNT, which issued a call for the September 29 demonstration, marched in a contingent of about 100. Their intervention illustrated the fact that despite the anarchists' sometime pretensions of standing to the left of the "pro-government left," their fundamental politics differ little from the parliamentarist reformists. The CNT banner declared, "Neither Imperialism nor Fundamentalism, but Social War," which like the official slogans of the demonstration puts the imperialists and the Taliban on the same plane. Sharply denouncing American imperialism, the CNT leaflet portrays French imperialism as capitulating to the U.S., writing about "the Americans and the states who have obediently followed them for decades" while saying nothing against the SP-led Jospin government which administers imperialist France today.

The fake-Trotskyist group Lutte Ouvrière (LO), for its part, stopped short of endorsing the demonstration but participated with a small contingent. With no banners, and seemingly without raising any chants to try to separate themselves from the dominant politics of the event, LO's presence in the march shows that to LO their own headline, "No to Imperialist Intervention," is anything but a question of principle. While LO sometimes postures to the left of the LCR, which openly supports the Jospin government, LO has managed not to say a word in its press about defending minority youth against Vigipirate state repression in the weeks since the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. LO's typical economism, ignoring all social oppression apart from the exploitation of labor by capital, is particularly convenient in the present political climate, when restive North African-derived youth facing mass unemployment, racism and police brutality are more than ever susceptible to being painted as dangerous "terrorists" in the bourgeois media.

Comrades of the LTF did not mind being attacked for "dividing the movement" on September 29; we have no intention of joining a "movement" which champions Massoud as the "leader of the Afghan resistance against the Taliban militias" and which puts forward Western imperialism as the savior of "democracy" and "women's rights" in Afghanistan.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacus Youth Clubs Say:

Only Workers Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

The September 11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York was a godsend for the U.S. ruling class and its barely elected president. They have gleefully seized on the death of thousands of civilians to rally the populace 'round the flag for military "retaliation" against anyone they designate as "supporters of terrorism" and to push their bipartisan crusade of repression, racism, anti-immigrant frenzy and attacks on the working class. In response, reformist organizations on the left, seizing on the legitimate fear of war among the population, have organized vigils and rallies pleading with the imperialist rulers for "peace."

On October 7, as U.S. air strikes against Afghanistan were launched, protests were held across the country, including in New York City where 8,000 people came out to a protest dominated by preachers and liberal pacifists. These politics were completely in line with the demonstrations that were held in major American cities on September 29. In San Francisco, 12,000 people came out to a demonstration organized under the call "War & Racism Are Not the Answer!" by

Young Spartacus

October 7: As bombs began falling on Afghanistan, Spartacist contingent at NYC protest fought for perspective of class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers.

Young Spartacus

International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War & End Racism), the latest coalition formed by the Workers World Party (WWP). Participants included not only many youth who worry that they could be sent off to fight and die in America's latest foreign conflict, but also whole families of Japanese Americans who remember well that 120,000 people of Japanese descent, most of them American citizens, were uprooted from their homes and locked up in concentration camps during World War II.

But the organizers of these demonstrations have no "answer" to offer to those who do not want to see Afghanistan bombed by the U.S. government or who oppose the now officially sanctioned "racial profiling" that targets Muslims, immigrants and all minorities, particularly the black population. Appealing to the U.S. government to pursue its aims without "violence," they preach the idea that this capitalist state can be made to serve the people of the world—the working people and oppressed masses who have been impoverished and brutalized by the most deadly terrorists of all, the U.S. imperialists.

In the weeks since September 11, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have intervened in meetings, teach-ins, demonstrations and speakouts, seeking to win youth and workers to the understanding that the only way to end imperialist war is by organizing class war to smash capitalist class rule. As Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, wrote in 1932:

> "To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it....
>
> "The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force *in general*. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)

At the San Francisco demonstration, the SL/SYC organized a revolutionary contingent that marched under the banner: "Imperialism Means War Abroad, Repression at Home—For Workers Revolution!" The task of revolutionaries is to fight for the defeat of U.S. imperialism, to oppose the bourgeoisie's "national unity" campaign, to wage class struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie at home, to organize and build a workers party to fight for a workers revolution that sweeps away the entire system of capitalist imperialism.

As the bourgeoisie demands "national unity," the American reformist left throws itself into "coalition"-building, which always means building a base for capitalist forces willing to profess support for peace, racial harmony or other good things. In this country, that has always meant the Democratic Party: from supposedly "peace-loving" politicians during the Vietnam War to black Democrats like Jesse Jackson or Al Sharpton. Similarly, Ralph Nader's "third party" candidacy, which many youth saw as an alternative to both ruling parties, was simply an attempt to refurbish the tarnished liberal credentials of the Democrats. At this juncture, the "new antiwar movement" will find that "antiwar" Democrats will he few and far between as they all wave the flag for Bush's war moves and the accompanying domestic repression with scarcely a demur. But this does not change the perspective of groups like WWP and the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which want to build an "antiwar movement" ready and waiting for any class enemy of the working people who may apply. This means building a "movement" to channel discontent back into the system of exploitation, racism and war by spreading illusions that evils and "excesses" of capitalism can be curbed by mass pressure. It means a "movement" that subscribes to the war aims of the imperialists and seeks to convince the rulers that these aims can be more effectively pursued by other means.

A very clear example is the "San Francisco Town Hall Committee to Stop War and Hate," which includes leading spokesmen of the ISO, Socialist Action and Socialist Alternative. Their leaflet for a "Stop the War Teach-In" says that "war is not an effective strategy" (!) because "terrorists do not present large targets that can be hit militarily to inhibit their ability to carry out future attacks." By this logic, they would support military attacks by the imperialists on such "large targets" as Iraq or Serbia, for example. While they might not have gone so far as to overtly support the imperialist bombing of Serbia, these groups echoed the imperialists' cynical cries over "poor little Kosovo," and to a man refused to defend Serbia against the U.S.-led NATO attack, which destroyed the entire infrastructure of that country.

The "Town Hall" leaflet further calls on the U.S. to "work with the international community to identify & locate all responsible & bring them before a court of law." What "international community" do they have in mind? NATO, perhaps? Or maybe the UN, that den of imperialist thieves, their lackeys and victims? And whose "court of law" do they look to? (Maybe they could ask Mumia Abu-Jamal what can be expected from the courts of the bourgeois injustice system.) Thus the ISO-backed "peace" group grants the U.S. imperialists a license for their "war against terrorism," parroting Bush's own claims that the purpose of Washington's war moves is to "bring Osama bin Laden to justice"! And, as the imperialists began raining down bombs on Kabul, ISO honcho Ahmad Shawki, speaking at a Chicago protest demonstration, could only complain that Bush was acting "unilaterally" without providing evidence of bin Laden's guilt.

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Fake Lefts Pray for Peace

Brian Marsh | Young Spartacus

Workers World's "antiwar" coalition at September 29 San Francisco rally (left), ISO at October 7 NYC protest.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 767

26 October 2001

Down With Anti-Immigrant Dragnet!

Crazed Imperialists on the Warpath

For Class Struggle Against Capitalist Rulers at Home!

Defend Afghanistan!

AFP

Reuters

Fuel depot in Kabul ablaze after being hit by U.S. air strike. Hundreds of Afghan civilians have been killed by imperialist terror bombing.

OCTOBER 23—For over two weeks, "Operation Enduring Freedom," as it is cynically called by the U.S. imperialists and their British partners, has brought even more devastation to Afghanistan, a country so ravaged by war that U.S. officials were earlier complaining of a *lack* of targets. Hundreds of civilians have been killed by the bombing, including 120 who were trying to rescue others from a Jalalabad mosque hit by U.S. missiles. "Humanitarian" airdrops of peanut butter are accompanied by bombs smashing into United Nations and Red Cross aid facilities. Meanwhile, they're creating a refugee crisis potentially greater than anything seen in Kosovo two years ago, when American TV broadcast endless footage of desperate Albanians (largely fleeing the U.S. bombing) as propaganda for the U.S. war of terror against Serbia.

This vicious war has *nothing* to do with "freedom" for Afghans chafing under theocratic Taliban tyranny or with "justice" for the killing of thousands of innocent people in the World Trade Center. The world's mightiest imperialist power, having taken hits on its own territory in the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, is lashing out to assert its unchallenged supremacy. In the first instance, its target is backward, rubble-strewn Afghanistan, but Iraq could well be next. The U.S. has begun ground incursions into Afghanistan, using Special Operations commando units, while the deranged "Wolfowitz cabal" in the Pentagon is already hatching plans for the next "phase" of the war, an invasion of Iraq. Moreover, as American imperialism establishes a permanent military presence in Central Asia, with a thousand troops already stationed in Uzbekistan, this will stimulate new appetites by the U.S. (as well as the West European powers) to grab or steal what they can in this oil-rich region. An already dangerous world is becoming even more dangerous and unstable.

Washington's claims that it is not waging a war against Islam have been a public relations disaster, as mass demonstrations led by Islamic fundamentalists erupt against pro-American regimes in Pakistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Jordan and elsewhere. Even that most repressive of Arab regimes, the oil-rich Saudi monarchy, is in trouble—and if it were to fall at the hands of anti-Western Islamists, that would spell really big trouble for the American oil giants. Fearful that the whole Near East could be thrown into turmoil, even the U.S.'s staunchest ally, Blair's Britain, has balked at White House plans for a full-scale onslaught against Iraq, with one senior British official calling it "daft."

In Israel, the nuclear-armed Zionist madmen are threatening to "eliminate" American "coalition" partner Yasir Arafat and his Palestinian Authority, as the Israelis wreak vengeance for the assassination of fascistic cabinet minister Rehavam Zeevi by commandos of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), whose leader was killed by the Israelis in August. In targeting the secular-nationalist PFLP, the Zionist rulers act as though they would rather have only the reactionary, anti-Semitic fundamentalists of Hamas to represent the Palestinians. However, the PFLP's taking out one or another particularly heinous Israeli government official in no way alleviates the suffering of the Palestinian people.

Anti-Arab butcher Ariel Sharon has sent Israeli tanks and troops to reoccupy large swaths of the West Bank and Gaza, killing nearly 30 Palestinians in less than five days, and tightened the starvation blockade around the Occupied Territories. This is merely one step removed from the genocidal "final solution" espoused by Zeevi, who demanded the forcible expulsion of all Palestinians from Israel and the Occupied Territories. Scrambling to placate Washington, Arafat has outlawed the PFLP and ordered 30 of its militants arrested, having already unleashed his cops to kill anti-U.S. protesters. Hands off the PFLP! Defend the Palestinians against Zionist terror! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!

AP

Protesters outside U.S. embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia defy police water cannon. Imperialist attack on Afghanistan has provoked turmoil in predominantly Islamic countries.

The American imperialist rulers declare that they are waging a "war against terrorism." It is a war against the weak, because it is the weak who have no other way to fight back than from ambush. This is the case not simply in the neocolonial world today. In the American War of Independence, the American rebels, too, resorted to guerrilla ambushes, including snipers firing against the British regulars.

Today, the weak of the neocolonial countries cannot openly declare war against the nuclear-armed American behemoth, so they resort to terrorism as a means of struggle. The depredations of imperialism—enforced by corrupt, despotic regimes that serve as local lackeys for the imperialists—rule out any semblance of a livable life for the dispossessed of the Near East and the rest of the semicolonial world. Desperately and indescribably poor, forced to labor for wages of a dollar a day or less from the time they are children, illiterate, ragged, maimed, millions around the world feel like they have nothing left to lose and many are prepared to strap their bodies with explosives and get the "enemy," real or perceived. In a July 1989 article in the leftist journal *Searchlight South Africa*, Paul Trewhela compellingly captured the conditions leading to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism as a political movement:

> "It is a form of self-expression of the wretched of the earth, a major part of the world's downtrodden, in which a contradictory mass of material and social impulses are confusedly bound together in a self-negating, self-destructive form.

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AIDS and the Ghetto Poor

New York City
14 June 2001

To the Editor:

After spending 15 years as a nurse working with AIDS patients, it has become clear to me that while the *direct* cause of the disease is the HIV virus, the reasons for the *scale* of this epidemic are largely social and political (see "AIDS Ravages Black America," *WV* No. 759, 25 May).

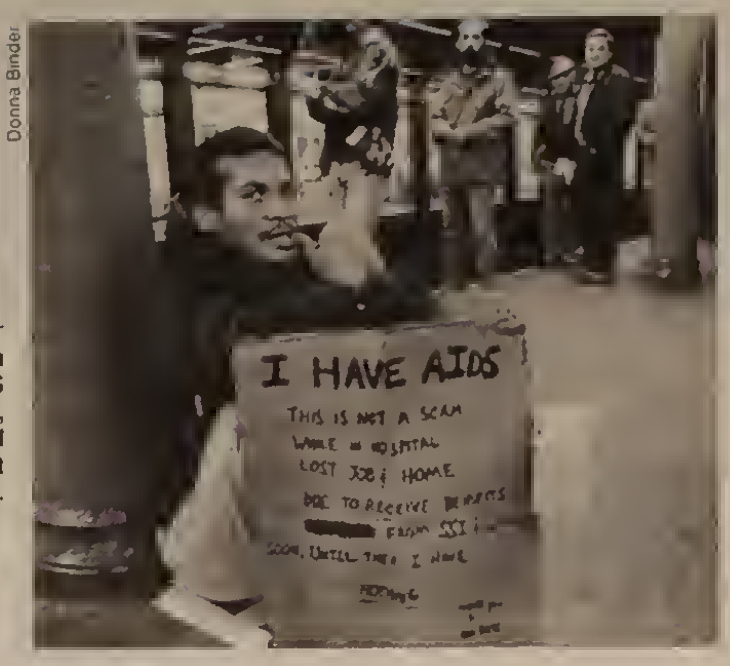
A huge number of black families in the U.S. have at least one member who has either died of AIDS or is living with HIV. When you're working in a hospital you almost never see a white woman patient with HIV, and when you do it's related to an obvious risk factor—drug use or a male partner who used drugs.

Black and Hispanic women now bear the brunt of the AIDS epidemic. Among the nonwhite poor, HIV transmission is now predominantly heterosexual and the virus has escaped from the narrow pool of IV drug-users into the general population.

Women may be biologically more susceptible to sexually transmitted HIV than men. But more importantly, many women—especially prostitutes—have little control over condom use by their male partners or sometimes even over when and if they have sex.

I've taught classes about safer sex to poor women. Many women tell me that they can't get their partners to use condoms. Many are afraid to ask. Many are beaten by their partners on a regular basis. It's a nightmare to see a 14-year-old girl with HIV who was raped and then tested positive for the virus. When you don't have a roof over your head, you don't worry about condoms. Many homeless women are forced to trade sex for shelter. They're the lucky ones—the unlucky ones frequently get forced into prostitution, and the rate of HIV among street hookers runs 90 percent in some areas.

I worked for several year with homeless people with HIV and in a homeless shelter. So many homeless people are happy to find they have HIV, because it often gets them priority for subsidized housing, drug rehab programs, disability payments, mental health and social work services, free health care. If you have HIV you go to the head of the line for the social services that should be freely available to all who need them but now are being rapidly cut back or eliminated. Plenty of patients have told me that being diagnosed with HIV saved their lives.



Donna Binder

Inner-city poor have been ravaged by AIDS epidemic, bigotry and government cutbacks.

I've done a lot of work teaching the homeless or recently homeless how to take their complicated regimens of anti-retroviral medications regularly, on schedule and effectively. When you don't know where your next meal is coming from and your life is totally disorganized, it's difficult to take multiple pills three times a day. Everyone with HIV should have free access to quality health care and anti-retroviral drugs. But medical care is not enough. There has to be housing, regular meals, a stable income.

Trying to convince a person who's living in a state of hand-to-mouth economic insecurity that they should do something difficult and unpleasant to avoid getting sick a year from now takes work. Prophylaxis or prevention is not a concept the desperate easily comprehend.

Street drugs are a hideous public-health problem, the scourge of the black and Hispanic poor. In New York City, estimates are that 90 percent of the IV drug-users are HIV-positive. I've worked with a lot of addicts, and I've seldom seen one that was HIV-negative. A few that only sniffed heroin or cocaine. *One* that injected who was negative. I asked him why: he was a diabetic, had been taught to inject his insulin using sterile techniques by a nurse and he always had a supply of clean needles. His doctor prescribed them and Medicaid paid for them.

If the people who run this society wanted to stop HIV, they could flood the market not just with free condoms but with free, clean needles and needle-disposal boxes. I've tried teaching addicts to use sterile, clean injection techniques and not share needles. You get tired of treating abscesses from infected injection sites, and bacterial endocarditis is horrible. It's not just HIV that kills addicts. Many of them die of other causes before AIDS has a chance to kill them.

So a group of addicts explained why my instructions about safer injection methods wouldn't work: after one or two shots of heroin you're too out of it to know what you're doing. You start off

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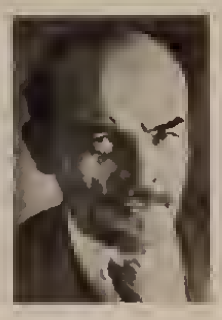
TROTSKY



LENIN

Marxism vs. Bourgeois Pacifism

The reformist and pacifist organizers of protests against the bombing of Afghanistan push the illusion that the imperialist system can be pressured into being "peaceful." Writing as the storm clouds of World War I were gathering in 1911, Rosa Luxemburg, then a leader of the revolutionary-internationalist wing of the German Social Democracy, outlined the Marxist understanding that imperialist militarism and wars of depredation and plunder are an inherent feature of the capitalist profit system. The following translation appeared under the title "The Road to Peace" in Young Socialist *(October 1958), organ of what became the youth group of the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party.*

First and foremost, our task is to make clear to the masses of people the nature of militarism and to bring out, sharply and clearly, the difference in principle between the standpoint of social-democracy and that of the bourgeois peace enthusiasts.

In what does this difference consist? Certainly not merely in the fact that bourgeois apostles of peace rely on the influence of fine words, while we do not depend on words alone. Our very point of departure is diametrically opposed: the friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present social order, whereas we who base ourselves on the materialist conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can be abolished only with the destruction of the capitalist state. From this follows the essential difference in our tactics in spreading the idea of peace....

The nations of today, if they are really serious and honest in their wish to call a halt to competitive armaments, would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of a capitalist state demands....

Only those who believe in the mitigation and blunting of class antagonism and in the reduction of the economic anarchy of capitalism can believe that these international conflicts will permit of slackening, mitigation and elimination.

For the international antagonisms of the capitalist state are but complements of class antagonisms and world-political anarchy, but the reverse side of the anarchic system of capitalist production. Both grow together and must be overcome together. "A little order and peace" is, therefore, just as impossible, just as much a petty-bourgeois utopia, with regard to world politics as it is with regard to the capitalist world market, with regard to the limitation of armaments as it is with regard to the restriction of crises.

—Rosa Luxemburg, "Peace Utopias" (May 1911)

WORKERS VANGUARD
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The closing date for news in this issue is 23 October.

No. 767 — 26 October 2001

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
October 30: **The Russian Revolution**
UC Berkeley, 155 Kroeber Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
November 1: **The Revolution Betrayed**
Boston University
Back Court Lounge, GSU Cafeteria
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6 p.m.
November 1: **The Fight for Black Liberation: Key to the American Socialist Revolution**
University of Illinois at Chicago
Behavioral Sciences Bldg., Room 215
1007 West Harrison Street
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

LOS ANGELES
Alternate Thursdays, 12 noon
November 1: **For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers—Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!**
Pasadena City College, Room tba

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.
November 3: **The Economics of Capitalism**
3806 Beverly Blvd., Suite 215
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

MADISON
Saturday, 2 p.m.
October 27: **The Victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Fight for a Workers Party**
University of Wisconsin, Memorial Union
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
October 30: **For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 302
Information and readings email:
nysl_syc@yahoo.com

TORONTO
Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.
October 31: **The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power**
York University Student Ctr., Rm. 311C
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
October 31: **Defend Afghanistan Against U.S./Canadian Imperialist Attack!**
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Visit the ICL Web Site!
www.icl-fi.org

Young Spartacus

Chicago SYC Says: "NATO War Criminals Off Campus!"

On October 17, two NATO military officials came to the University of Illinois at Chicago campus to whip up support for imperialist war. This was especially outrageous on a campus whose substantial minority population is a special target of the current hysteria pushed by America's racist rulers. The Spartacus Youth Club organized a protest against the U.S./NATO war criminals and in defense of Afghanistan against U.S. imperialist attack. Our spirited protest chanted slogans like "Imperialist troops, we say no! This whole damn system's got to go!" and "Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" Speakers explained that we defend weak, oppressed nations, even ones led by reactionaries like the Taliban, against U.S. imperialism which is truly the biggest terrorist in the world.

Young Spartacus

October 17: SYC protests U.S./NATO war criminals at University of Illinois at Chicago.

Immediately after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, the Democrats and Republicans launched their "war against terrorism" and drive for "national unity." Their purpose is to regiment the population as the capitalist rulers unleash their killing machine abroad and seek to pay for the cost of recession and military buildup out of the hides of working people and minorities. We sought to cut through the flag-waving patriotism, chanting "National unity is a lie! Bosses profit, workers die!" and raising a revolutionary program of class war against U.S. imperialism.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) pointedly refused to join our principled antiwar protest. Instead, the day before the event, as NATO continued to provide military support for the American and British bombs raining on Afghanistan, ISOers passed out unsigned leaflets inviting students to attend the NATO event and engage in a polite discussion: "Come hear senior military leaders speak about the function of NATO and the current war with Afghanistan!... Make your voices heard during Q&A session!" Like militant coal miners used to say, which side are you on? The ISO is used to keeping the same company as NATO, especially in NATO's offensives against the USSR, including supporting the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in Afghanistan in the 1980s and effusively backing Wall Street's anti-Communist Solidarność "union" in Poland, paving the way for capitalist restoration there.

At the NATO event, they handed out flyers signed by the ISO-led "UIC No War" coalition to the audience, asking them to raise questions like "Since the fall of the Soviet Union nuclear weapons have become unnecessary for mutual deterrence against attacks. Why does NATO maintain a stockpile of nuclear weapons anyway?" and "What is the acceptable civilian body count in Afghanistan?" So the ISO agrees with NATO that American nuclear weapons were necessary so long as the Soviet Union existed! And one wonders what would be an "acceptable civilian body count" for the ISO. The ISO looks to persuade the murderous U.S. capitalist state to implement the pacifist call of "no war." Fat chance! Rather than trying to convince these mass murderers of better policy options, we seek to overturn the system which needs mass murderers to carry out its dirty work.

Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate mankind from oppression. We of the Spartacus Youth Club seek to win students that want more than panhandling for peace to the fight for a workers party. Such a party is necessary to lead a socialist revolution against capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter. As we chanted on Wednesday, "Pressure politics won't stop war! Socialist revolution is what we're for!"■

SYC Speakout at Bronx Community College

The New York SYC's October 10 speakout at Bronx Community College demonstrated that its largely black and Latino student population is not buying the bourgeoisie's tenacious and blatant attempts to sell this war. We sold nearly 50 pieces of literature there, reflecting that our revolutionary perspective and program has a resonance with the students. Many students we ran into were concerned about the possibility of eventually being drafted, knowing well that the military drafts primarily blacks, Latinos and the working class. Many thought ridiculous the idea that the terrorist attacks happened because the U.S. supposedly is "a haven of democracy and freedom." Some agreed that the U.S. ruling class is the biggest terrorist in the world, citing specifically the bombing of Iraq. Others agreed that the increasing anti-Arab racism is the same racism meted out to blacks and Latinos on a daily basis—quipping that racial profiling was now "legal." Some students called this country the most racist in the world. They recalled the so-called "war on drugs" and knew exactly what putting more cops on the streets of New York City means.

Amid chants of "Democrats, Republicans—Parties of war! A workers party is what we're for!" our comrades emphasized our defense of Afghanistan against imperialist attack. The racist American rulers—Democrats and Republicans alike—have no interest in liberating Afghanistan, but have every interest in consolidating their hold on the region. As one of our comrades noted, "Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which we hailed, gave that country a shot at emerging from religious and social backwardness, not least in the fight for women's rights." We noted that the U.S. capitalists, who seek to line up the working class behind a program of "national unity" in the "war against terrorism" even as they ratchet up repression at home, funded and braintrusted the feuding, mullah-ridden factions that dominate Afghanistan today. Our chant, "Defend Afghanistan! For class struggle at home!" emphasized our point that the fight against capitalist war and oppression must be a *class* fight and that only the working class has the social power to overturn capitalism.■

Spartacist Forum

Only Workers Revolution Can End Imperialist War

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers—Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

Saturday, November 3, 5 p.m.

CHICAGO

University of Illinois at Chicago
Taft Hall, Room 219
(behind Circle Center—750 S. Halsted)

For more information: (312) 563-0441

CCNY Professors Witchhunted for "Un-American" Statements

The SL/SYC issued the following letter of protest on the witchhunting of professors who made comments critical of the U.S. government at an October 2 teach-in at the City College of New York (CCNY), a public college that is part of the City University of New York (CUNY) system. The letter was issued on October 10 and sent to CUNY chancellor Matthew Goldstein, the CUNY Board of Trustees, and Gregory Williams, the president of CCNY. While no formal disciplinary action has been taken against the professors or the professors union thus far, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported one trustee's statement that the professors "have the invitation to take a hike."

A number of students from other schools in the CUNY system have voiced their opposition to the witchhunting of the CCNY professors, including at an October 12 press conference. The professors singled out have continued to receive threatening messages, including death threats; reportedly these have particularly been directed at a female Muslim anthropology professor, M.A. Samad-Matias. Our statement below mentions threats made against professor Walter Daum, a supporter of the League for the Revolutionary Party; at a subsequent teach-in at CCNY on October 16, professor Daum said that he had received a letter signed by the Ku Klux Klan stating "The Klan is coming to get you." The attacks on the civil liberties of leftists and minorities by the administration have obviously served to embolden the forces of race-terror who represent a mortal threat not just to people like Walter Daum, but also to the heavily black and minority student body at CCNY and anyone opposed to racist oppression and capitalist injustice.

* * *

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protest the attempts by the CUNY administration to witchhunt the Professional Staff Congress of the City University of New York (PSC-CUNY) and those professors who

continued on page 9

Young Spartacus

NYC, October 7: Spartacist contingent at protest the day bombing of Afghanistan began stressed defense of immigrants, opposition to bosses' "national unity."

Opportunism and War

The Internationalist Group: Centrist Pathology

> "Great conflicts sweep away all that is halfway and artificial and, on the other hand, give strength to all that is viable. War leaves room only for two tendencies in the ranks of the working class movement: social patriotism, which does not stop at any betrayal, and revolutionary internationalism, which is bold and capable of going to the end. It is precisely for this reason that centrists, fearful of impending events, are waging a rabid struggle against the Fourth International."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "Sectarianism, Centrism, and the Fourth International" (22 October 1935)

In the immediate aftermath of September 11, every section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) published the statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau titled "Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist 'Retaliation'—The World Trade Center Attack" (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 764, 14 September) with an introduction taking up the crimes of their "own" bourgeois ruling classes, seeking to galvanize the workers movement to defend the besieged Arab and Asian minorities and to punch through reactionary "national fronts" pushed in their respective countries. In the next issue of *WV* (No. 765, 28 September), newspaper of the ICL section operating within the "belly of the beast" of murderous U.S. imperialism, we wrote: "'National Unity' Jingoism: Bosses Profit, Workers Pay—Repression, Recession and War" and prominently called for, among other things, "U.S. Hands Off Afghanistan, Iraq!" When Washington commenced its war against Afghanistan, we headlined: "War-Crazed Imperialists Stalk the World: For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers—Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!" (*WV* No. 766, 12 October).

The reformist "left" in the U.S. is meanwhile engaged in crass, faith-based appeals to U.S. imperialism along the lines of the call raised by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) for "No Blank Check for War" (as opposed to a specified check for war?) or of the ISO-influenced "San Francisco Town Hall Committee to Stop War and Hate," which called on the U.S. rulers to "work with the international community to identify & locate all those responsible & bring them before a court of law." Reformists such as the Workers World Party (WWP) have their tactical differences with, and varying appetites from, the ISO. But they are equally looking to build an "antiwar movement" that is hospitable to a wing of capitalist (read: Democratic Party) politicians "critical" of the Bush White House's rampage at home and abroad, when and if such a wing should emerge. Thus the classless, "pacifist" bleat by WWP's ANSWER coalition that "war is not the answer" (see "Spartacus Youth Clubs Say: Only Workers Revolution Can End Imperialist War!" *WV* No. 766, 12 October).

Between the overt social-patriotism of the fake left and our revolutionary, proletarian, internationalist program stands the Internationalist Group (IG), a small outfit composed of defectors from the revolutionary Trotskyism of the ICL. Despite some orthodox-sounding criticisms of the reformists on paper, the IG has lent its services, such as they are, to playing the role of a left-sounding "loyal opposition" to the reformist-led "antiwar movement"—a service fulfilled not least of all by attacking the ICL. A special issue of the IG's *Internationalist* (27 September) contains its 14 September statement titled "After Indiscriminate World Trade Center Attack—U.S. Whips Up Imperialist War Frenzy, Drives Toward Police State" and its 27 September article, "Capitalism = War, Racism, Economic Crisis—For Workers Revolution!" The latter charges us with opportunism akin to that of the renegade German ex-Marxist Karl Kautsky, who provided a left prop for the chauvinist Social Democrats during World War I.

Charging us with being "defeatist" and "abstentionist" and the like has been the stock in trade for the IG. At the time of its defection from the ICL in 1996, we were supposedly "passive propagandists" because we opposed a bogus "regroupment" perspective pushed by Jan Norden—until then a leading member of the ICL and now IG supremo—toward the Communist Platform of the German Party of Democratic Socialism, the very forces that had sold out the East German deformed workers state. Denying the retrogression of consciousness that accompanied the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the IG prettifies the existing consciousness of the working masses in order to embrace alien class forces.

While the objects of its political coquetry vary from place to place, the IG's specialty has been aggrandizement of a "hardline" wing of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Cuba and China, as well as genuflection before petty-bourgeois nationalists (and worse) in the colonial and semicolonial world. Shortly after departing the ICL, the IG consummated a fusion with a Brazilian organization with whom we had broken relations because they proved to be garden variety trade-union opportunists. The IG's Brazilian comrades ran an ex-cop for president of a cop-infested public employees union, and then wielded lawsuits to drag the union through the bourgeois courts in order to hold on to their positions in the union (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," *WV* No. 669, 30 May 1997). Elsewhere, such as in Puerto Rico and Mexico, they rushed out to flatter petty-bourgeois nationalist forces.

Playing the Counterfeit Card of Anti-Americanism

In its 27 September statement, the IG writes of the Spartacist League: "Thus the SL put out a statement dated September 12 with the innocuous title, 'The World Trade Center Attack.' While a superhead called to 'Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist Retaliation,' the beginning of the statement focuses on denouncing the terrorists, as does most of the end of the statement. Nowhere does the SL statement call to *defend* the countries (notably Afghanistan and Iraq) which were already targeted by Washington in the first hours after the WTC/Pentagon attack."

As for the IG's fulminations that we have failed in our internationalist duty to defend Afghanistan and Iraq: a glance at the headlines of our newspaper repudiates such absurd slander. It is all the more ridiculous for those who know something about the record of our international tendency, including our forthright statement in the ICL's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program": "In wars of imperialist depredation against colonial, semicolonial or dependent nations, the duty of the proletariat in every country is to aid the oppressed nations against the imperialists, while maintaining complete political independence from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist forces" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998). Indeed, as soon as the U.S. imperialists started raining down bombs on Afghanistan, we raised the call to "Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" not only on our front page but also on our banners and signs at demonstrations and in our interventions at "antiwar" meetings.

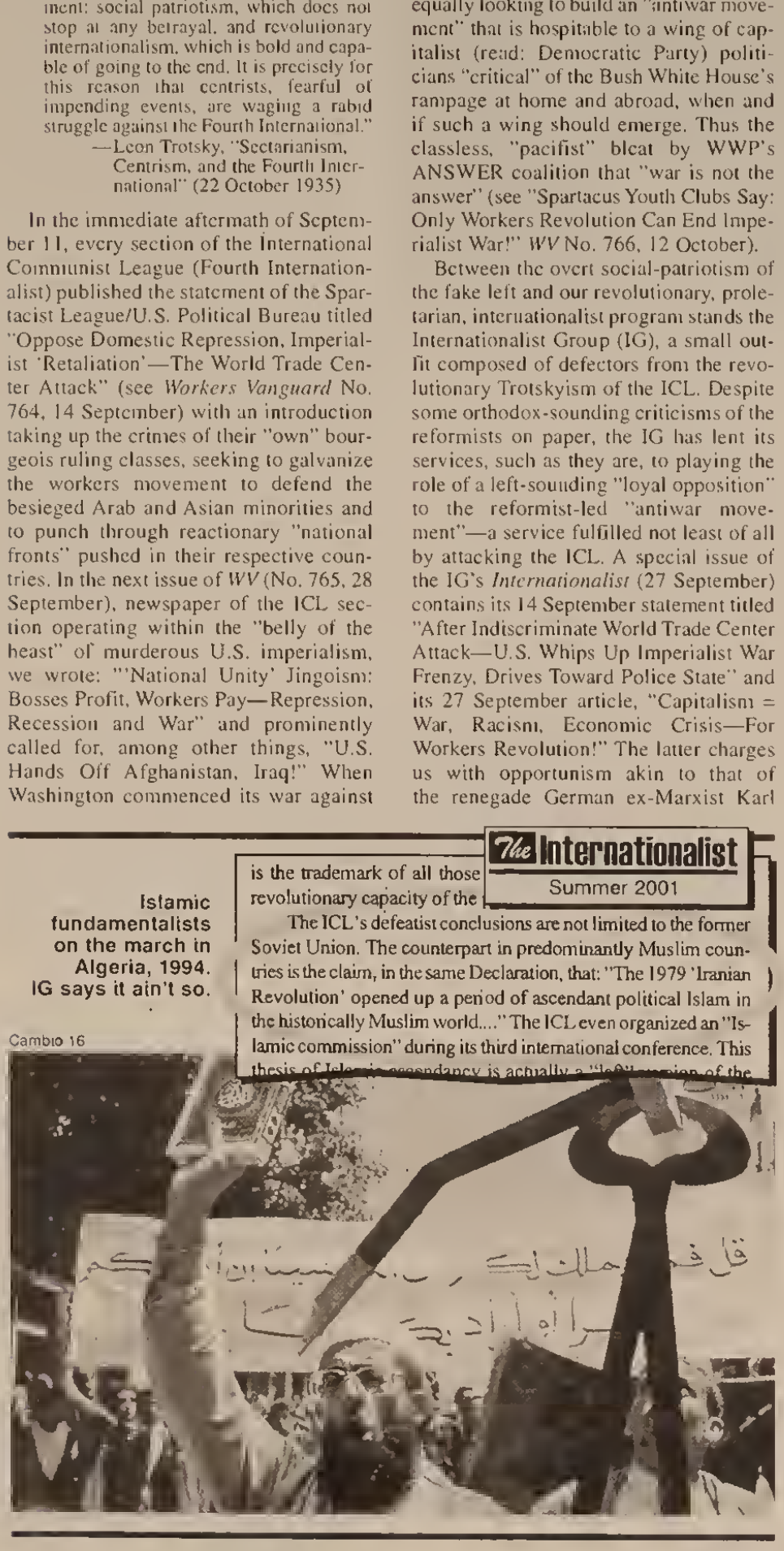
We noted in our 12 September statement on the World Trade Center attack: "Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors*!" Indeed, the hideous massacre of thousands of working people who perished in the attack on the World Trade Center was an enormous tragedy. Around the world, millions of people watched in gut-wrenching horror as live television showed people jumping to their deaths from the burning twin towers moments before they collapsed. This attack was a gift to the American rulers, who seek to manipulate widespread and justifiable outrage in the interests of forging "national unity" and pushing U.S. imperialist war aims.

Why then does the IG berate us for our straightforward denunciation of an act that was a crime from the standpoint of the working masses? In fact, the IG talks out of both sides of its mouth, reflecting the effort to capitulate simultaneously to different audiences. In the third paragraph of their 14 September statement, the IG themselves stated that they "categorically oppose the indiscriminate terror used by the hijackers, who in grotesquely taking the lives of several thousand ordinary working people thereby equate them with the American government that oppresses workers and minorities in the U.S. along with peoples around the world." But by the time of their next statement, the IG is denouncing us for telling the Marxist truth. Typical of centrists, their occasional use of orthodox formulations is meant only for the unwary. Certainly the IG doesn't believe its own rhetoric. As we have stressed in our propaganda, American imperialism must be shattered from within, by mobilizing the proletariat against the capitalist order. Anyone seeking to win the American proletariat to this perspective would have to face reality squarely and acknowledge the wave of chauvinism and jingoism that the ruling class is manipulating.

But the IG's purpose is otherwise; it is playing to a different audience, one of "Third World" nationalists for whom the "only good American is a dead American." One can search their two statements in vain for anything of substance dealing with how the fake left in Europe and Latin America manipulates the counterfeit currency of anti-Americanism to reconcile itself to its own bourgeoisie, or any sober assessment of the increasing role of political Islam in large parts of the world.

One will find at most a bare, passing reference in the IG material to the escalation of interimperialist rivalries in the wake of the destruction of the USSR, which is the context for the machinations in Afghanistan and Central Asia by the U.S. and other imperialists. In such countries as France and Germany, where the IG (dubiously) claims to have supporters, reformist and centrist forces have accepted the war aims of U.S. imperialism, such as driving out the Taliban, while making much ado about not following U.S. diktats and arguing instead for more powers for their own capitalist rulers, or for a war directly administered by the giant condom for U.S. imperialism, the United Nations. In Berlin, the Nazis have tried to outflank the social-chauvinist "leftists" by denouncing the war in Afghanistan because it is in the interests of American—not German—imperialism. Burning an American flag in Berlin—or for that matter in Peshawar—does not make one a proletarian revolutionary.

In the economically backward world, where mass poverty prevails as a result of the economic and military depredations of U.S. imperialism over the years, it is hardly surprising that many people would feel satisfaction over the attack on the World Trade Center. In such countries, nationalists and sometimes even "leftists" play to their audience by seeking to paint the slaughter of thousands of innocent people as an act of "anti-imperialism." This is a gift to the venal and brutal rulers of their own countries for whom nationalism—the lie that all Americans or all Mexicans have the same fundamental interests—is key to keeping the oppressed masses in line. The statement issued by the ICL's Mexican section, the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), sharply polemicized with a local nationalist organization that hailed the attack on the World Trade Center, falsely claiming that it weakened



Islamic fundamentalists on the march in Algeria, 1994. IG says it ain't so.

imperialism. The GEM stressed that in contrast to all variants of nationalism, Trotskyist internationalists draw a class line: against the capitalist rulers at home and in solidarity with the American proletariat in the fight for world socialist revolution.

Nothing better captures the bankruptcy of the IG's fraudulent "international" than the fact that for weeks its Mexican co-thinkers handed out the IG's U.S. statement without a single word against the *Mexican* ruling class. Meanwhile, the right-wing government of Vicente Fox had been using the World Trade Center atrocity to jack up its attacks on Near Eastern immigrants, indigenous peoples and rebellious peasants like the Zapatistas, as well as its witchhunt against activist students at Mexico City's National Autonomous University. But the performance of the Mexican IG here is quite logical coming from a group that denies that the main obstacle in Mexico to revolutionary proletarian consciousness is bourgeois nationalism.

WV Photo

Revolutionary Contingent at October 20 San Francisco antiwar protest.

Afghanistan and Religious Fundamentalism

The woeful performance of the IG's "international" did not fall from the sky. Even before his flight from the ICL, the IG's founder-leader (and former *WV* editor) Norden had a strong tendency toward impressionism and vicarious adventurism, animated by an often fatuous optimism about the capacity of forces very distant from Trotskyism, or from the proletariat for that matter, to "struggle" in some successful measure against the depredations of the imperialist bourgeoisie. At the time of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, presumed that the Gulf War was akin to the Vietnam War two decades earlier. But the Vietnamese workers and peasants were fighting for a social revolution, which gave the military struggle a huge impetus. At that time, the SL called for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow, Hanoi and Beijing. During the Gulf War, uncritical enthusing over Hussein's armies could only serve to embellish bourgeois Arab nationalism.

Over the last two decades, disappointment in bourgeois nationalism has fueled the growth of Islamic fundamentalism. In turn, Norden & Co. have lurched very far in the direction of chasing such alien stand for the liberating goals of the Enlightenment (see our 1998 pamphlet *Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism*). That Norden considers this anything other than a badge of honor is a devastating self-indictment. Those with no perspective of a *proletarian* revolution are left with the ersatz "anti-imperialism" of nationalists of every sort, and even Islamic fundamentalists. This applies not only to the "state capitalist" ISO but to the IG as well.

Today, of course, it is fashionable on the left to point out that the likes of Osama bin Laden were subsidized and groomed by the American government. But what the fake left seeks to avoid at all cost is any discussion of *where they stood* when the Afghan *mujahedin*, and their allies like bin Laden, were being financed by the CIA in an attempt to bring down the Soviet degenerated workers state. Trotskyists then said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" while calling to extend the social gains of the October Revolution to that country. In contrast, anti-communists like the ISO stood with the imperialists and the counterrevolutionary *mujahedin* against the USSR.

When we bring this unpalatable truth to members of the left and workers movement (many of whom are too young to remember the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan), the fake left goes into a frenzy, howling that "that's over the limit" and trying to shout us down. On paper, the IG may well include a paragraph or two claiming to be in agreement with what our tendency fought for in Afghanistan, but that is not what they push on the ground. At a large September 20 teach-in at New York University featuring the ISO, the IG speaker oh-so-politely avoided confronting the fake left's shameful history on the question of Afghanistan.

In raising the call to defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack, the ICL makes clear that this does not involve an iota of political support for the thoroughly reactionary Taliban, or any version of "Third World" nationalism. Not so with the IG, which rushed to call to "defend Afghanistan" even before the bombs started falling. "Genuine communists," writes the IG, "defend semi-colonial countries against imperialist attack as we fight for socialist revolution against their bourgeois and, in the case of Afghanistan, feudalistic leaders" ("The Left and the War Drive," 27 September). To put it mildly, this is totally demented. Socialist revolution is made by an insurgent proletariat that seizes the means of production, expropriates the capitalist class and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. Afghanistan is a devastated and backward country with no industry, no working class and not even much agriculture.

Not least of our reasons for hailing the Soviet military intervention in 1979 was that only the victory of the Red Army and a prolonged military occupation by Soviet forces gave the Afghan peoples the possibility of leaping over centuries into the modern world. The IG's dimwitted formulation obliterates any class distinction between the proletariat and the oppressed peasant masses, as is typical of petty-bourgeois nationalists. One might note that the call for "socialist revolution in Afghanistan" was used in the 1980s by various "third campists" (like Workers Power) who wanted to avoid a clear choice between the Red Army and the CIA-backed *mujahedin*.

Der Spiegel

WV Photo

Red Army in Afghanistan opened road to social liberation. Right: At Bay Area abortion rights protest and around the world, PDC raised funds to aid civilian victims of siege by CIA-backed *mujahedin* following 1989 Kremlin withdrawal.

"Radical" Renegades from Trotskyism

At demonstrations in New York City, IG supporters have ranted about our statement that "to her credit, black Oakland Congresswoman Barbara Lee, a protégé of former liberal Congressman Ron Dellums, registered the sole vote against the resolution giving Bush a blank check for war" (*WV* No. 765, 28 September). They claim that this statement amounts to a political capitulation to the Democratic Party, akin to the role played by the U.S.

continued on page 8

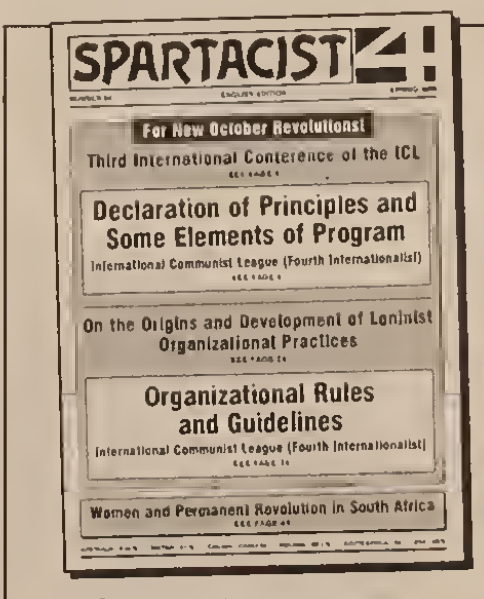
these tendencies began to find expression in the pages of the party press. Following the defection of Norden and a handful of others, we wrote in "A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism" (*WV* No. 648, 5 July 1996):

> "From the question of the survival of Sandinista Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism in the 1980s, to the capacities of the army of Saddam Hussein's Iraq to inflict serious damage against the imperialists during the Persian Gulf War, Norden always stood at the extreme end of a tendency to impressionistically overdraw (and often fantastically so) the military factor. Correspondingly, this meant conjuring up an anticipated flood of anti-imperialist struggle while seriously downplaying the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material economic reality."

In the mouths of opportunists, "military support" is often the cover used to express political confidence in anti-working-class regimes and parties. In contrast, we called to defend Iraq while giving no quarter politically to the Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein, the nationalist butcher of millions of workers, Communist militants and Kurds. Norden took as good coin Hussein's vows to wage "the mother of all battles" against the U.S. because, having despaired of the prospect of defeating U.S. imperialism by workers revolution from within, he was desperate to find some other agency to whom he could subcontract the task. Norden's inflation of Hussein's military capacities class forces. A case in point is the IG's article "Algeria: Kabylia in Revolt—For a Workers and Peasants Government!" (*Internationalist* No. 11, Summer 2001), which denounces the ICL as "defeatist" because of the statement in our international Declaration of Principles that "the 1979 'Iranian Revolution' opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world." In a recent polemic over Algeria ("Algeria Rocked by Mass Protests," *WV* No. 761, 6 July), we noted:

> "The IG obscures the danger of religious reaction the better to capitulate to the 'mass movement' under its existing leadership. Denying the enormous impact capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union had in setting back the consciousness of the proletarial internationally, the IG adapted to that lower level of consciousness, willfully misidentifying the will of the workers to struggle with the *revolutionary consciousness* needed to triumph over the bourgeoisie. In practice, this leads to pretifying and pursuing alien class forces."

Proving the truth of this statement, at a recent public event we held at New York University, Norden scoffed at the Spartacists as "the biggest fighters against Islamic reaction"! That's right! Just like the atheistic Bolsheviks who led the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, we Trotskyists *are* in the vanguard of the struggle against all forms of religious reaction and obscurantism, whether Christian, Jewish, Islamic or anything else. We militantly



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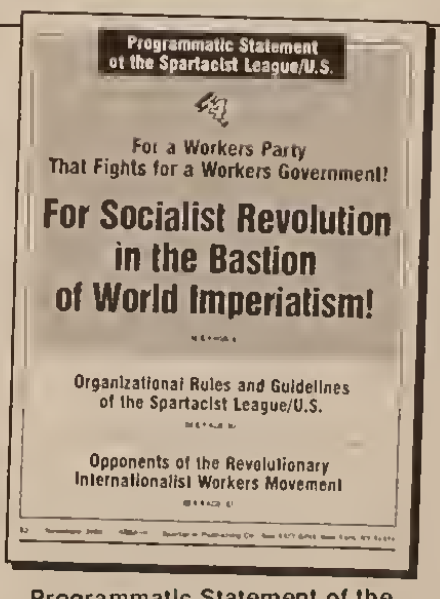

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Warpath...

(continued from page 1)

> It is a form of anger at this world that serves only to strengthen its chains. Indignation at insults, at oppressiveness, at impoverishment is turned, not against the axes of power, but against an incidental target."

Now, the most powerful, nuclear-armed imperialist country on the face of the planet, the U.S., is seeking "retribution" for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, lining up the American population behind "one nation under god" patriotism. If it had just been the Pentagon, the headquarters of the murderous American imperialist military machine, the ruling class would have had more difficulty whipping up such a jingoist frenzy. But the mass killing of thousands of ordinary people of all races, religions and nationalities in the World Trade Center—in an attack which, taking place at 9 a.m. on a workday morning, was purposely designed to kill as many as possible—serves as a bloody shirt in the hands of this imperialist government, which is matchless in its own depraved indifference to human life.

The U.S. rulers have seized on and manipulated the sadness, rage and fear of millions in the U.S. who watched in horror as the twin towers collapsed after being hit by planeloads of innocent people. They play on the grief of the thousands who desperately distributed pictures of relatives and friends who worked in the World Trade Center; on the rage against this entirely criminal mass killing of some 5,000 people, most of whose bodies will never be recovered; on the heroism of the many hundreds of firefighters, construction and other workers who put their own lives on the line in rescue efforts; on the fears of those who wear face masks to keep out the acrid fumes that blow upwind from the mass funeral pyre that was once the World Trade Center.

The American government and its media mouthpieces point the finger at Osama bin Laden and the bloodcurdling cry for war on the "infidels" by his Al Qaeda outfit. Leave aside that there is yet no proof at all of who was responsible for the September 11 attacks. When bin Laden and his ilk were skinning Soviet Red Army soldiers alive, throwing acid in the faces of unveiled women and murdering schoolteachers for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read and write, the Islamic reactionaries were heralded as "freedom fighters" and bankrolled and backed by the American government. The multimillionaire Saudi construction prince bin Laden and his acolytes are hardly the wretched of the earth. Rather, they manipulate the fears and resentment of the Muslim poor in order to build their own power.

And now the U.S. rulers find the opportunity to manipulate the fears and resentments of the working class and oppressed of this country for the purpose of reinforcing their power and class rule. Their war against the weak is not confined to bombing desperately impoverished and backward peoples abroad. It is also a war against the exploited and dispossessed right here at home, as the government wields the all-purpose spectre of "terrorism" to further the exploitation of labor and the vicious racial subjugation of the black population, to round up immigrants and to target any perceived opponents of the bourgeoisie's class rule.

Whoever attacked the World Trade Center, they handed the American bourgeoisie a "gift from god," the opportunity to convince a distrustful population that it has the same interests as the capitalist rulers. The ruling class sees its chance to break the "Vietnam syndrome"—the popular opposition to sending U.S. troops, young working men and women, to die in the military adventures of this country's rulers. At home, the aim of the filthy rich exploiters is to stamp out any opposition to the deepening recession, intensified exploitation and racist oppression.

It is desperately necessary to fight! The road to eliminating the hideous oppression and exploitation which every day create thousands more suicide bombers and which create unemployment, homelessness, poverty and destitution in the U.S. is the road of class struggle. And only this road offers the way forward to proletarian socialist revolution and the elimination of a system based on profits for the few and exploitation and immiseration for the many. ***For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home! Defend Afghanistan against U.S./British attacks! Only socialist revolution can free humanity from capitalist enslavement!***

Economist map

Nicholl/Matrix

Pipeline routes in Central Asia, oil worker in Turkmenistan. Imperialists vie over control of vast oil and natural gas reserves in region.

The War at Home

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, America's rulers have been seeking a new external enemy as a surrogate for "godless Communism," against which they can rally the population and deflect mounting domestic discontent. Now they think they have found that new hogeyman in "terrorism." The "war on terrorism," warned Vice President Richard Cheney, "may never end, at least not in our lifetime." The very right-wing Bush administration, which rode into the White House with no electoral mandate, has seized on the September 11 attacks—and its own current popularity—to crystallize a new set of laws that would mean a qualitative diminution of democratic rights.

These measures seek to eliminate many existing legal restraints on the government's power to spy on the population, imprison political activists or labor militants, and indiscriminately round up and detain non-citizens. The proposed legislation defines "terrorists" to include anyone charged with destroying public property for purposes deemed to be aimed at influencing or changing the government. Though Attorney General John Ashcroft wanted these measures pushed through in a matter of days, the legislation is still pending in Congress because of objections coming from a broad spectrum.

A compromise proposal by Democratic Congressman John Conyers would replace a mandate for indefinite "preventive detention" of non-citizens suspected of "terrorism" with a seven-day limit on detention. The current bill in Congress also imposes a "sunset clause" requiring the law to be reapproved in five years, while some Republicans in particular oppose provisions for stiffer surveillance of bank accounts in the guise of hunting down "terrorist" funds. Nonetheless, there is bipartisan support for a draconian assault on existing civil liberties, and a number of the current provisions were foreshadowed by the "anti-terrorism" measures enacted under the Clinton administration, which gutted *habeas corpus* appeal rights and set up secret courts to detain and deport non-citizens. Commenting on the proposed new regulations in an interview in the *New Statesman* (19 October), Gore Vidal said: "Requesting all those special powers pushes us even further along the path towards Hitler's Enabling Act of 1933.... They're now going to lock up anybody they want to, silence anybody they want to."

Even before any such legislation has been enacted, the government has detained more than 830 people, overwhelmingly of Near Eastern origin. Many remain unaccounted for and effectively "disappeared." A Saudi doctor living in San Antonio, Texas was awakened in the middle of the night by FBI agents and flown in shackles on a government plane to New York City, where he was met by an army of Feds with their guns pointed at him. Held in solitary confinement for nearly two weeks, he was only released after the intervention of a lawyer for the Saudi Aramco oil giant. An Egyptian restaurant owner in Evansville, Indiana was dragged off and held for a week simply because he had taken flying lessons. Over 200 colleges have *voluntarily* turned over the names of foreign students, especially those from Near Eastern countries, to the FBI, the immigration cops and other government agencies.

Even the Feds admit that only ten of the 830 arrested have the vaguest "connection" to anything related to the September 11 attacks. But once they've got you ensnared, they'll try to make sure you confess to *something*. A report in the London *Times* (22 October) is headlined, "FBI Considers Torture as Suspects Stay Silent."

The government is using the fear born of the September 11 attacks to sell the American people the lie that more cops and more restrictions on democratic rights are for their own "protection." The truth of the matter is that the government fears and loathes "the people." The bourgeoisie's purpose is to further ensure that the capitalist state—its cops, courts, prisons and army—tightens its monopoly on the means of violence, which it employs against the population. Thus, an entirely rational union proposal that pilots be allowed to carry a gun in the cockpit was rejected out of hand. But consider this: if the passengers and crew of the hijacked airliners had been packing, things could've turned out a whole lot different.

Instead, people are now being harassed and intimidated by armies of cops who flood the subways and by National Guard troops patrolling the airports, trains and bus stations. F-16s fly regularly over New York City in formation, ready to shoot down any airliner that deviates in the least from its scheduled flight path. The FBI has deployed its entire force of 28,000 with the primary aim of hunting down "terrorists."

The government is cynically using the deaths of two Washington, D.C. postal workers from anthrax inhalation to further fan the "anti-terrorist" hysteria. In fact, their deaths—and the infection of at least two other workers at the same facility as a result of these truly sick, anonymous poison mail parcels—underscore the absolute indifference of the bosses to the lives of working people. When an anthrax-laden letter handled by this facility reached Democratic Senator Tom Daschle's office, the response was swift: his office was evacuated, quarantined and 50 aides tested for anthrax and given the Cipro antibiotic. And after a Congressional aide was exposed, the entire House of Representatives closed up shop for days.

But the workers at the postal facility were callously told to keep working when they asked to be tested for exposure. In Trenton, the postal workers who handled the anthrax letter sent to NBC anchorman Tom Brokaw were likewise told that tests were not deemed "medically necessary." Now at least two workers at that facility are also infected. In Manhattan, postal workers had to threaten a job action to force the bosses to allow them to get time off for such tests. The only way workers can defend their rights—and, in this case, their lives—is by using the power they have to withdraw their labor, to wage a strike to demand effective health and safety provisions.

"National Unity": Bosses Profit, Workers Pay

It is to be expected that all sections of the population, including the working class, would be swept up by jingoist propaganda in the initial stages of a mobilization for war. But it is a measure of the desperation experienced by working people that the all-out drive for "national unity" has already encountered several strikes, notably a two-week walkout by state workers in Minnesota and now a strike at three General Dynamics *tank plants*, with management attacks on health coverage being a major issue in both cases.

While the airlines and other corporations have lined up like pigs at the trough to get government handouts, not a dime of any of these bailouts has gone to the workers. Over 100,000 airline workers have lost their jobs since September 11. At least a third of the heavily immigrant membership of the 300,000-strong HERE hotel workers union is now without a job,

AP

Beit Jala, West Bank: Israeli troops killed nearly 30 Palestinians in Occupied Territories in five days after assassination of fascistic cabinet minister Rehavam Zeevi.

SL Supporter at Charleston Five Defense Rally

"Unity of Bosses and Workers Is a Lie"

We print below the remarks of a Spartacist League spokesman at a support rally for the Charleston Five held at the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 hall in San Francisco on October 10. The five are members of Charleston, South Carolina International Longshore Association (ILA) Local 1422, a beachhead of labor power in the racist "open shop" South. They face up to five years in prison for defending their union picket line against a massive cop assault on the Charleston waterfront in January 2000 (see "Thousands Rally to Defend Charleston Longshoremen," WV No. 761, 6 July).

I'm Kathy with the Spartacist League. We continue to support the Charleston ILA in its struggle against the vicious union-busting by the bosses and their government. We have publicized the case in our newspaper *Workers Vanguard*, and the Partisan Defense Committee has both contributed to and appealed for funds for their defense. It's important that thousands of unionists have supported the Charleston Five, but the only force that the ruling class understands is mass protest and strike action centered on the social power of the multiracial labor movement.

The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, an indefensible criminal act, has had the effect of driving the working class into the arms of its oppressors—the capitalist class. Both ruling parties are fanning the flames of patriotic fervor to line up the population behind their military aims abroad and to further chain the working class to the interests of the bosses at home. The prosecution of the Charleston Five shows that this unity is a lie.

Some parties that claim to be socialist call for bringing the perpetrators of the World Trade Center attack to "justice" in a "court of law." Justice from whom? The racist U.S. courts that framed up Mumia Abu-Jamal? What "court of law"? The United Nations, whose economic blockade has starved to death a million Iraqi children? The labor movement must wage class struggle at home and defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!

The ruling class is using this patriotic fervor to vastly increase the apparatus of state repression against workers, immigrants and the oppressed. They want to beef up the Maritime Security Act, calling for "background checks" of longshore workers. We say, "Government out of the unions!" In Minnesota, striking public workers are confronting the full blast of the bosses' propaganda machine against their right to strike. "National unity" means attacks on jobs, wages and hard-won civil rights, and it means workers are to bear the brunt of the deepening economic crisis.

Now more than ever it is vital for the working class to struggle to be politically independent from both capitalist parties, who together are waging a one-sided war against the working class. Remember: the cop attack against the ILA was organized by Democratic Party mayor Riley's police chief.

WV Photo

Facing charges for defending their union: portraits of Charleston Five on stage at Columbia, SC defense rally, June 9.

For decades, the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO leadership has tied workers to their class enemy through support to the Democrats. Their purely legalistic strategy of voting Democrat and collaborating with the bosses and their government has weakened the ability of the unions to defend themselves.

For that reason, we believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for black freedom, for immigrant rights and for our class brothers and sisters abroad against U.S. imperialism. Such a party will lead the fight to get rid of the capitalist order and create a workers government and a new society without exploitation. This is the only road to end racism and war forever. Those who labor must rule!

* * *

Send donations for defense of the Charleston Five to: Dockworkers Defense Fund, c/o Robert J. Ford, Treasurer, 910 Morrison Drive, Charleston, SC 29403.■

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and most of them are ineligible for *any* social benefits—thanks in large part to the legislation enacted by the Clinton administration axing welfare. That applies as well to the families of the more than 50 workers killed in the World Trade Center's "Windows on the World" restaurant. In the days after September 11, immigration cops staged roundups of "illegal" immigrants working as dishwashers and janitors at the Denver airport, and over 800 undocumented workers were fired in Portland, Oregon. Meanwhile, border crossings from Mexico have been further restricted.

The majority (61 percent) of all workers applying for unemployment insurance are "ineligible" for benefits because they have been buffeted from one transitory McJob to another in an economy in which the only lifetime job available seems to be a seat on the Supreme Court. With the costs of health insurance skyrocketing, even those who get jobless benefits won't be able to provide medical care for themselves or their families. The vaunted budget surplus has already disappeared into the pockets of the wealthy (with even more tax breaks for the rich scheduled), and the coffers of state governments (which had to some extent covered holes left by the Feds in the "safety net") are empty. Meanwhile, employers have begun to use bankruptcy (Bethlehem Steel) or the threat of bankruptcy (United Airlines) for the purpose of extracting wage and benefit concessions from their workers, an alibi that will soon become epidemic.

The pro-capitalist labor tops instantly rallied behind Bush's "war against terrorism," with AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney lecturing workers that "no sacrifice is too great" to defend American "values." The values espoused by Sweeney & Co. are those of America's capitalist rulers. Promoting the Democrats as a "lesser evil" at home, the AFL-CIO tops push "America first" protectionism against workers abroad. Their only complaint against the bipartisan warmongering on Capitol Hill is that the Democrats aren't hard enough against any easing of trade protectionism.

The bourgeoisie's campaign of "national unity" must be punctured by the struggle of working people and the oppressed in defense of their rights and livelihoods against the capitalists' onslaught. Critical to this perspective is the mobilization of labor's social power to defend immigrant rights. In this country, the raw exploitation of labor has always come wrapped in the envelope of racial and ethnic hostilities fomented by the capitalist rulers. Many black workers and poor know well what it means when the racist rulers tell you to keep your mouth shut and take whatever they dish out in the name of "national unity."

At the same time, many black people buy into the capitalist rulers' attempts to pit American-born workers against immigrants. This only feeds the overall racist offensive in which black people, whose oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism, will be hit hardest. Any opposition to "racial profiling" is now condemned as giving aid and comfort to "terrorists." The NYPD cops, the coldblooded killers responsible for gunning down Amadou Diallo and countless other ghetto and barrio residents, are today portrayed as "heroes." And the "anti-terror" squads being set up with orders to "shoot to kill" will mean more Amadou Diallos across the country.

Black and immigrant workers are not just victims of capitalist repression but a vital—and in the case of black workers, strategic—component of the multiracial working class. The fight for black rights is an integral part of the fight for the emancipation of the working class. We seek to forge the workers party that will lead the fight not for more crumbs from the capitalists, but to overthrow the entire profit system through socialist revolution, smashing the capitalist state and creating a workers state where production is geared to society's needs rather than profits for the few.

Imperialism Breeds War

It is just over two decades since the Soviet Union—responding to urgent appeals from the pro-Soviet, left-nationalist People's Democratic Party (PDPA) regime in Afghanistan—sent in troops to prevent a victory by Islamic fundamentalists who took up arms against the government's modernizing measures, particularly in relation to women. The imperialists seized on the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan to launch a renewed Cold War offensive. Uniquely on the left, we Trotskyists hailed the Soviet intervention, which not only posed military defense of the USSR against a CIA-backed Islamic insurgency on its southern flank but opened the possibility of liberation for the peoples of Afghanistan, especially the women enslaved by feudalist reaction.

By the mid-1980s, the Red Army clearly had the *mujahedin* on the run. When the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy pulled out of Afghanistan in 1988-89 in an attempt to placate the imperialists, we denounced the withdrawal as a criminal betrayal not only of Afghan women and leftists but of the Soviet degenerated workers state. Today, the liberation of the impoverished and oppressed peoples of Afghanistan hinges on successful proletarian revolutions in Pakistan, India, Iran and other countries in the region where there are powerful proletarian concentrations.

We warned in 1989 that it was better to fight imperialism in Afghanistan than to have to fight it in the Soviet Union itself. To the besieged left-nationalist regime in Kabul, we offered to raise an international brigade to "fight to the death" against the U.S.-backed *mujahedin*. When the Afghan regime instead requested financial assistance, the Partisan Defense Committee launched an international fundraising campaign, collecting nearly $50,000 for the civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad.

A few short years after the Stalinists' pullout from Afghanistan, the emboldened forces of counterrevolution triumphed in the Soviet Union. The destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 was a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat. No longer constrained by the counterweight of the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism proclaimed a "one-superpower world," acting as though it could throw around its military might unchallenged. At the same time, the end of the Cold War removed the constraints binding the other imperialist powers to the U.S.-led anti-Soviet consensus, leading to an escalation of rivalries among the major capitalist powers and a far more unstable world. In Europe, Germany has moved to expand its military presence in its own "backyard," heading up the NATO occupation of Macedonia. In the Pacific,

continued on page 8

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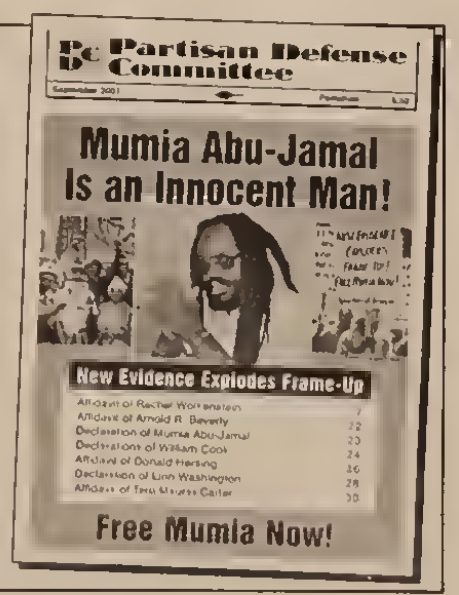

Warpath...

(continued from page 7)

Japan is using its support for the U.S. war to assert its regional military power, with Japanese warships also now venturing into the Arabian Sea.

Washington's "New World Order" is marked by ever greater disorder and instability. In South Asia, renewed U.S. support for Pakistan has provoked deep fears among India's Hindu-chauvinist BJP ruling party. On the eve of Secretary of State Colin Powell's visit, India started shelling Pakistani positions in predominantly Muslim Kashmir, site of three wars between the two regional powers. The *New York Times* (16 October) noted: "The intense firing today seemed to confirm the fears voiced by President Bill Clinton and again last week by Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage that Kashmir is the most dangerous place in the world, one where two nuclear powers are 'shooting, shouting and glaring at each other,' as Mr. Armitage put it."

Pakistan, the chief sponsor of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, is opposed to a takeover by the Northern Alliance—the U.S.'s new ally—which has long been supported by India, Russia and Iran. That's why the U.S. is mooting the idea of a "coalition" government made up of the Northern Alliance and tribal warlords defecting from the Taliban. There is also talk of installing a United Nations force in Kabul after the overthrow of the current regime. The UN is a front for imperialist terror; it is under the UN-imposed starvation blockade that Iraq has been turned into a tomb for more than one and a half million men, women and children.

Whatever Washington and its allies cobble together, there is little likelihood of stability in Afghanistan in any case. The forces that make up the Northern Alliance are no less reactionary than the Taliban and were infamous during their 1992-96 rule of Afghanistan for mass murder and rape, as well as the constant internecine feuding that finally led to their downfall. A government centered on the Northern Alliance, which is based largely on the Tajik and Uzbek ethnic minorities, would be even less stable than the Taliban, which is based on the dominant Pashtun tribes.

Niles/NY Times

Posters of victims of World Trade Center attack have been put up by relatives and friends all over New York City.

As it drives toward a new assault on Iraq, Washington has moved to mend fences with the Shi'ite fundamentalist regime in Iran, long denounced as a "terrorist state." Iran, in turn, recently agreed to assist any American military personnel whose planes are forced to land on its territory. Throughout the 1980s, the U.S. fueled a bloody ten-year war between Iran and Iraq—providing arms to both sides—in which more than a million young men were killed. Now, with Baghdad in his cross hairs, Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld cynically declaims, "How did it happen that we are on the opposite side of both Iran and Iraq?"

Russian president Vladimir Putin, hoping to improve relations with the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance and to reopen discussion on Bush's provocative plans for a "national missile defense," is currently betting on the Americans. For now, the U.S. has stopped its hypocritical "human rights" bleatings against Russia's brutal suppression of Islamic insurgents in Chechnya, but the U.S. has been largely silent about Chechnya anyway because Russia is a nuclear power well equipped with delivery systems. To curry favor with Washington, Putin announced that he will close down a Russian naval installation in Vietnam and a listening post in Cuba, holdovers from the days of the Soviet Union. But the Russian military high command is none too happy with the prospect of U.S. forces in its Central Asian "backyard." Aware of this, the U.S. just signed a "mutual defense" agreement with Uzbekistan, providing a pretext for a permanent American military presence in the guise of "defending" Uzbekistan's sovereignty.

The Stalinist regime in Beijing has also lined up behind Washington's new crusade, and Chinese leader Jiang Zemin embraced Bush when he arrived in Shanghai for an Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit last week. This comes only months after the U.S. spy plane provocation in the South China Sea underlined U.S. imperialism's unremitting hostility to the Chinese deformed workers state. The Beijing bureaucracy thinks it can do business with the imperialists, but the imperialists are determined to open China to untrammeled capitalist exploitation and will never be reconciled to the existence of any state where capitalism was overthrown. The criminal betrayals of the Beijing bureaucracy serve only to undermine defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. We fight for unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Key to defending the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution is the construction of a Trotskyist party to lead the combative Chinese working class in a political revolution that ousts the nationalist bureaucracy and replaces it with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

The international unity being proclaimed behind the U.S.'s "war against terrorism" is a mirage. Such temporary alliances among the major capitalist powers are nothing but truces between wars. Escalating interimperialist rivalries, with the U.S. riding high in the saddle as the world's nuclear cowboy, pose a great danger to the whole world. While U.S. officials talk about terrorism being America's main enemy abroad, a real challenge to American imperialism's current hegemony would come from, for example, an alliance of Germany and Russia, bringing together Russia's grain, oil and huge nuclear arsenal with German technical know-how.

Burgeoning interimperialist competition over markets, spheres of influence and natural resources, not least oil, will ultimately lead to a new world war and a nuclear holocaust if the proletariat does not first seize power. Reformist "socialists" like the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party push pacifism in the face of U.S. imperialism's war of terror against Afghanistan, sowing illusions that capitalism can be rational, benevolent and peaceful. But as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in his 1916 pamphlet, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in the midst of the slaughter of World War I:

> "The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the *strength* of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc."

Such calculations led to the first interimperialist war, as well as World War II, and many other wars of imperialist depredation by the U.S. and other major capitalist powers over the last century, at the cost of many tens of millions of lives.

Wars of aggrandizement and plunder are inherent to the imperialist system. That system cannot be reformed, but must be overthrown through workers revolutions that sweep it into the dustbin of history. A socialist America would do much to right the many wrongs, here and abroad, committed by the imperialist rulers of Washington and Wall Street and would help usher in a new era for humanity free of exploitation, war, religious obscurantism and fear. It is the task of the ICL to build the revolutionary parties, in the U.S. and internationally, needed to lead the fight for this new world. ■

Opportunism...

(continued from page 5)

Socialist Workers Party during the Vietnam War when it tailored the politics of its "National Peace Action Coalition" to curry favor with the Democratic "doves" who called for stopping that losing war in order to stop the damage it was causing U.S. imperialism. In its propaganda, the IG wisely refrains from such absurdities, restricting its attacks on this matter to the CP and Workers World—both past masters at promoting "peace" Democrats. Our party has an unbroken record—not simply on paper—of struggle to break the working class, the black masses and all the oppressed from illusions in the Democratic Party of war and racism.

Perhaps the oh-so-radical IG would prefer no cracks in the bourgeois edifice and for there to be total—as opposed to near-unanimous—support for Bush's war measures. We are not so flippant. For taking even a partial step against the prevailing jingoism, Lee received several death threats. The IG makes noises about the "drives toward a police state," but their dismissal of Lee's dissenting vote, which reflected the lack of enthusiasm for this war from many black workers and youth, gives the lie to this. Marxists are not indifferent to bourgeois-democratic rights, which provide some room for the working class and the population generally to dissent, organize and struggle. Moreover, we know that if reactionary forces are given free rein to muzzle even a capitalist politician, moves to repress revolutionary Marxists will not be far behind.

In its 27 September statement, the IG sneers at the SL/U.S. statement on the attack on the World Trade Center:

> "For that matter, it doesn't even call to *defeat* the mounting war drive, only to 'oppose' it. This is no minor difference: as Lenin emphasized against 'social pacifists' like Karl Kautsky in World War I, at issue is whether you are calling for a different policy for the imperialists or taking a stand for their defeat."

The IG's charge against us contains, unwittingly, a kernel of truth about what divides these centrists from the program of Trotskyism. The IG's call to "defeat" a particular imperialist drive toward war partakes of the view—which the reformists like the WWP and the ISO are pushing for all they are worth—that imperialism is a "policy" which can be altered by means of pressure, presumably by some "movement" on the streets. From a Marxist perspective, however, there is no way to "defeat" the inevitable drive toward war by the capitalists short of their being expelled from power through victorious workers revolution, such as the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 which ended Russia's participation in World War I by expropriating the capitalists and landlords and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The entire thrust of our propaganda has been to imbue the proletariat and subjectively anti-imperialist youth with a clear understanding of how to defeat imperialism through class struggle at home. As Trotsky taught us, it's the revolutionary party which is the necessary instrument to lead the proletariat against all obstacles, not least the centrists who direct their fire against the Bolsheviks and peddle their wares in the shadow of the reformists.

We have noted before a certain symmetry between the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) and the IG, which are decomposition products that fled from revolutionary Trotskyism at the beginning and the end of the period of Cold War II. Both resort to extremist rhetoric and "chicken"-baiting of the ICL, but this is but a mask for their impulse to be at one with the fake-left swamp. For years after departing our organization, the BT's line on the Russian question on paper represented a blurred caricature of our own. Of course, we understood and pointed out that this posture was a total fraud, as demonstrated by the fact that the BT was welcome at meetings organized by every variety of virulently Soviet-hating "left" organization and their "peace" front groups, while the SL was excluded. And the BT knew the rules—the reformists who called on the cops to keep us out had no problem with the BT, which voiced "constructive criticisms" in keeping with the "unity" of the "movement." Eventually the BT proved our point, formally retrospectively repudiating the call to "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" in order to be palatable to the reformist milieu. The IG similarly feels quite comfortable with today's red-white-and-blue, pro-Democratic Party "peace" swamp.

In his September 1935 polemic against the British centrists of the Independent Labour Party ("The ILP and the Fourth International—In the Middle of the Road"), Leon Trotsky wrote that Marxism and Leninism "are absolutely irreconcilable both with an inclination to radical phraseology, and with the dread of radical decisions." Comrade Trotsky's polemic captures the essence of the IG today: a pseudo-radical outfit that flinches when and where it counts. ■

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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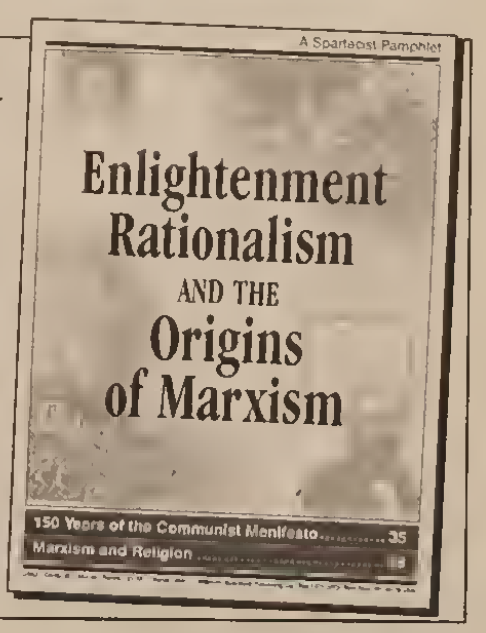


AIDS...

(continued from page 2)

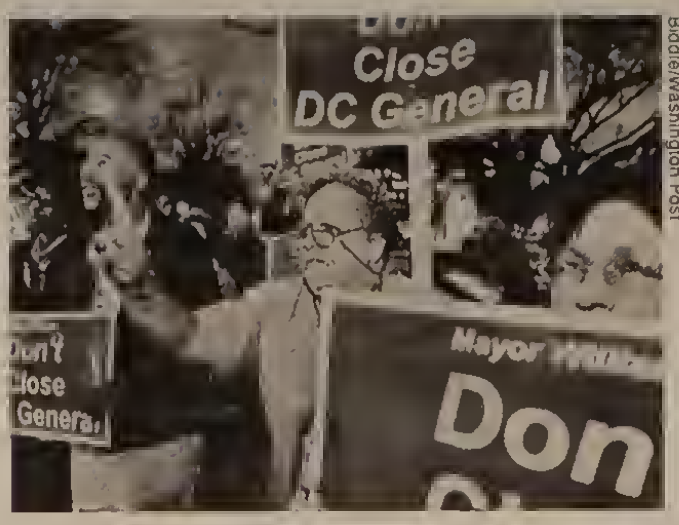
using your own needle and wiping with alcohol, but once you get high you don't care what needle you use. Needle-disposal boxes would help prevent re-use and accidents.

The "war on drugs" and America's war on the nonwhite poor are synonymous. The prisons are a very effective mechanism for spreading both HIV and TB. A substantial percentage of the prison population is HIV-positive; nearly 20 percent of prisoner deaths are attributable to AIDS-related causes. Currently 13 percent of male inmates in New York State prisons are HIV-positive, and among women prisoners it's dramatically higher—22 percent (AIDS in Prison Project fact sheet). Prison systems refuse to distribute condoms (in spite of strong inmate demand for them). Everyone knows men have sex with men in prison, and rape is widespread and systematic in a system that encourages violence between prisoners as a means of control.

Health education is almost unavailable in America's public schools, while any kind of education is increasingly difficult to get for the inner-city poor. Providing health education to the homeless was a challenge. Many were functionally illiterate. I taught a class on hepatitis. First I had to explain what your liver does and where it is. Then no one knew what a virus or bacteria was. But they learned.

These were not stupid people. They were eager for knowledge and often offered penetrating insights into the way society works and the constant discrimination they faced. One discussion group got out of my control. I was trying not to be political, because I wanted to keep my job. The group of homeless black and Puerto Rican men discussed what this society had done to them and the most outspoken summarized it: "It used to be Russia was the enemy and it was Communism. But that's gone and now *the enemy is us!*"

The worst of the released felons I had as patients seemed to have about the same moral standards as the successful businessmen I've had as patients (who were never HIV-positive). I worked with hundreds of truly desperate characters, some mentally ill, some who had served time for armed robbery or homicide. No one ever threatened me, and I was never afraid. The level of human decency is higher among addicts and the homeless than in the police departments. (True, I was providing this population with something they needed and knew they couldn't get elsewhere. The hard guys in this population, the serious ex-felons, made it clear that anyone who messed with a nurse had to deal with them.)



Biddle/Washington Post

Protest last spring against closing of Washington, D.C.'s only public hospital. Poverty, lack of medical care fuel AIDS epidemic in inner cities.

I worked for a while in a shelter for homeless adolescents. Many of them had been orphaned by AIDS. The population of AIDS orphans is at least as large as the population of HIV-positive children. I talked to a lot of overwhelmed black and Hispanic grandmothers who desperately wanted to care for their grandchildren but either weren't able to or did so at great personal sacrifice.

The New York and New Jersey area, in a swath that sweeps from Harlem to Newark, has one of the highest, if not the highest, rate of heterosexually transmitted HIV in the U.S., with a correspondingly large concentration of HIV-positive women. This pattern exactly corresponds to the pattern of black and Hispanic inner-city populations. So many members of these social layers have relatives and friends with HIV or dead from HIV that I've actually seen a decrease in prejudice against people with HIV and a rising tide of sympathy. The Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus can't turn their backs on the epidemic anymore. America's black population is being systematically destroyed, and I think it's only a matter of time until they face the same devastation as the black population of Southern Africa. The capitalists are not unhappy with this situation. Genocide can be active or passive.

Discrimination in health care is widespread. Many studies have shown that women receive less aggressive care for cardiac problems than men, and black men less than white men. The medical profession, even apart from the question of who can pay their bills, routinely provides discriminatory care—if you're less valuable in their eyes, you get less care.

Corresponding to this is the attitude of blacks and Hispanics to a racist healthcare system. The Tuskegee Experiment—the horrific federally funded study in which hundreds of black men infected with syphilis were denied treatment or even knowledge of their disease from 1932 until 1972 (they were told they were dying from "bad blood")—comes up constantly with black patients. They believe the system is trying to kill them, and I've constantly been told, "We don't want to be guinea pigs." So their white doctors' advice and prescriptions are automatically suspect even if the doctor is really dedicated to providing quality health care to the poor.

Try to find a black doctor. They're few and far between. Killing off affirmative action programs means fewer black and Latino doctors (there is a color line here, though; light-skinned Hispanics from upper-class families aren't affected). But given the level of distrust generated by the racism of the society that capitalism has created, black doctors and Spanish-speaking doctors are essential to combatting the AIDS epidemic.

Even in the U.S., wealthy as it is, I don't believe it's possible to employ adequate public-health measures to stop this epidemic under capitalism, nor is it possible to provide free or even affordable modern health care to everyone with HIV. The obstacle is not just the cost of drugs. Those drugs are free right now in New York and New Jersey. It's food, housing, education, social support systems that are lacking. Racism and the criminal injustice system compound the problem. How many times have I called Rikers Island prison to tell their nurses that my patient who was just arrested was on antiretrovirals and has to get back on them. Then there's the man who was only locked up for 24 hours, but the cops threw his pills in the trash and laughed at him.

As long as capitalism endures, the drug companies make billions while the poor die and the epidemic spreads. Only a proletarian revolution can create a society that is able to fully mobilize its resources to combat disease and make the full benefits of modern technology and health care available to all.

I've worked in Catholic medical institutions. You can't write "condom" or "contraception" in the medical record. You have to refer your female patients who want contraception to Planned Parenthood. A friend of mine works in a Catholic school—sex education is not allowed. The archdiocese ordered an AIDS education program that doesn't mention condoms.

Our article on the privatization of education and social services ("Defeat School Voucher Plan! Defend Public Education!", *WV* No. 745, 3 November 2000) didn't stress enough that sex education, condoms, safer sex, contraception, abortion are totally taboo topics at Catholic institutions. All they teach is abstinence.

AIDS is an equal opportunity infectious agent, and as a virus respects no class, race or gender privileges. But the worse your life, the less you're able to defend yourself against HIV. The less education you have, the harder it is to learn how to protect yourself. The map of HIV is a map of poverty.

Gay men as a group contain the only large numbers of middle-class and downright wealthy white people with HIV. Part accident, part oppression, part the way sexually transmitted diseases work. Street hookers have about the same rate of HIV that gay men of my generation had in the '90s in San Francisco. It's not news, because this society despises prostitutes and poor women in general. I took care of some very wealthy gay men who were dying of AIDS. There's a major industry out there of social services, nonprofit organizations, consumer marketing to reach the HIV-positive "gay community." How you experience the disease depends more on what class you belong to than on anything else.

As a small propaganda group, we can't do much right now about East Timor or the Middle East or a lot of other places we write about or have demonstrations about. Well, HIV, poverty, homelessness in the U.S. we can't do much about *in the immediate sense*, either. However, our propaganda will have an impact not just in the U.S. but also internationally. The U.S. spends a lot of time posturing as the international defender of "human rights" and waxes indignant when it gets edged out for the UN Human Rights Commission. Let's take a good look at how the poor live in the U.S.—people around the world are really interested in what goes on in the U.S. and it cuts through the human rights pretensions of this imperialist monster. This too is internationalism.

T.C.

Witchhunt...

(continued from page 3)

organized and participated in the Tuesday, October 2 teach-in at the City College of New York (CCNY). At this PSC-sponsored teach-in professors and students expressed their views in the wake of the criminal attack on the World Trade Center including addressing the U.S. government's escalating drive for war and imperialist retaliation. Those who dared to question the U.S. government's propaganda campaign and war drive at this teach-in have been condemned by Chancellor Goldstein, who stated, "I have no sympathy for the voices of those who make lame excuses for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon based on ideological or historical circumstances." The CUNY Board of Trustees has decided to vote to endorse Chancellor Goldstein's statement at an upcoming board meeting, after having dropped a proposed draft resolution which, according to the October 6 *New York Post*, condemned the union for the "un-American" and "seditious" statements made by its members. Such charges evoke the hysteria of the post-World War II anti-Communist McCarthyite witchhunt during which campus administrations purged leftist and liberal intellectuals and stifled political dissent, including at CCNY where several professors were fired.

We defend the PSC-CUNY which as the union representing CUNY professors and staff has issued a statement defending itself against these attacks and asserting its intention to defend the First Amendment rights of its members and students. We also defend professors such as Walter Daum who has been singled out by the *New York Post* for his statement that "The ultimate responsibility lies with the rulers of this country." Ominously, Professor Daum has received death threats through phone calls and e-mail since the teach-in. From the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the starvation of over a million Iraqis through starvation sanctions, it is no secret that the U.S. imperialist rulers have been responsible for the deaths of millions around the world and have earned the animosity of those who have suffered under the hoot of U.S. imperialism. This simple assertion has, in effect, been outlawed by the campus administration, which wrongly insists it is a justification for the indefensible act of mass terror carried out against the thousands of innocent people in the World Trade Center on September 11. The U.S. government's "national unity" patriotic propaganda campaign is aimed at achieving consensus among the American population for bloody retaliation against all those the U.S. rulers deem "terrorists" and for regimenting the population at home. The insidious attacks by Chancellor Goldstein and the Board of Trustees against the PSC-CUNY serve a similar purpose on campus—to stifle anyone who has the temerity to question the U.S. war drive. We stand in opposition to these attempts to intimidate the union membership and students from expressing their views and will vigorously protest any measures taken by the administration to silence dissenting political views on the campus.■

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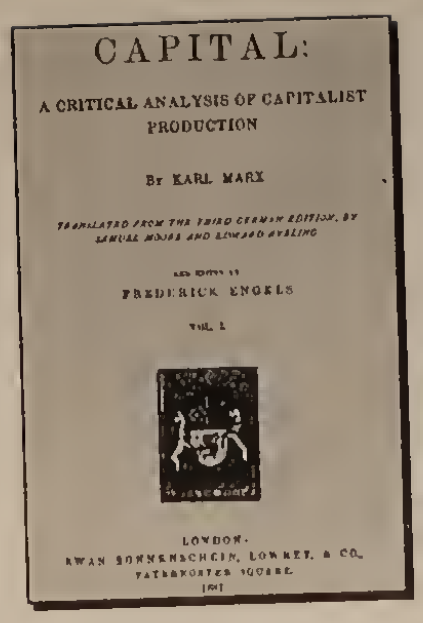
Recession...

(continued from page 12)

personal bankruptcies and loan defaults, these U.S. banks are now losing money at home. In order to recoup their losses at home, American financiers are trying to squeeze even more money out of debtor countries like Argentina and Brazil by demanding ever harsher austerity policies there. And, of course, the loan sharks in London, Frankfurt and Tokyo are likewise bleeding South America..

Euroland, as it's now called, is by no means immune from the current made-in-U.S.A. world slump. This is especially the case for Germany, the major European economy and third largest in the world. The effects of the American downturn are by no means limited to reduced demand for imports from Europe. There are also the secondary effects of reduced import demand in East Asia and elsewhere. Capital goods (e.g., machine tools) make up a much larger component of Germany's export structure than those of other European countries. With South Korean auto and electronics factories—which are geared to the U.S. market—


CAPITAL:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

By KARL MARX

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION, BY SAMUEL MOORE AND EDWARD AVELING

AND EDITED BY FREDERICK ENGELS

VOL. I

LONDON:
SWAN SONNENSCHEIN, LOWREY, & CO.
PATERNOSTER SQUARE.
1887

John Mayall

Karl Marx explained in *Capital* how falling tendency of rate of profit leads to periodic economic crises.

AFP

Imperialist terror: thousands of retreating Iraqi soldiers were slaughtered by U.S. military in 1991 Persian Gulf War.

AP

operating at as low as 50 percent capacity, they are not going to purchase German industrial equipment to expand productive capacity.

There is another important linkage between American and West European capitalism that is frequently overlooked. Since the 1980s European manufacturers have sought to take advantage of relatively lower labor and social-welfare costs in the U.S. by shifting their operations there, especially to the non-union South and Southwest. Daimler-Benz' takeover of Chrysler is the biggest and best-known example of a broader trend. One out of every 12 factory workers in the U.S. is now employed by a European company. And the sales of American-based affiliates of European firms are almost four times greater than European commodity exports to the U.S. So the depressed condition of the American manufacturing sector—which has lost 1.2 million workers in the past three years—has a direct negative impact on the profits of Volkswagen, Michelin, Volvo et al. Furthermore, moneymen in the City of London and Frankfurt lost tens of billions of dollars in the speculative mania that was Wall Street in the late 1990s.

In one sense it is misleading to speak of a world economic downturn, as if most of the world had but recently experienced an economic upswing. The economic expansion of the 1990s affected only the advanced capitalist countries (particularly the U.S. and excluding Japan) and certain sectors in some neocolonial countries like South Korea and Mexico. Despite all the talk of a new globalized economy, the gap between the First World and Third World has *widened, not narrowed*, in recent decades.

According to UN statistics, in 1960 per capita national income in the wealthiest 20 percent of the world's countries was 30 times higher than in the poorest 20 percent. By 1997, the income gap between the richest and poorest countries had increased to *74 to one*! The vast majority of the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America—some three billion people—live in abject poverty, trying to survive on the equivalent of less than two U.S. dollars a day. One and a half billion people in these countries have no clean drinking water. One out of every four people in "Third World" countries dies of infectious diseases which can be prevented or cured by modern medicine but to which they have no access.

Those countries were also directly affected by the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union in 1991-92, marking the final undoing of the 1917 Russian Revolution. The financial aid that had been used by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy to purchase alliances with underdeveloped capitalist countries against the imperialist bloc was no longer available. Thus, those countries were now left prey to the merciless demands of the imperialists through agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Unlike our sham socialist opponents, we uniquely defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack.

Depressions and wars are inherent features of the capitalist profit system. In opposition to the global immiseration wrought by capitalism, we fight for new October Revolutions to expropriate the bourgeoisie and open the road to a communist future. As we explain in the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "The victory of the proletariat on a world scale would place unimagined material abundance at the service of human needs, lay the basis for the elimination of classes and the eradication of social inequality based on sex and the very abolition of the social significance of race, nation and ethnicity. For the first time mankind will grasp the reins of history and control its own creation, society, resulting in an undreamed-of emancipation of human potential, and a monumental forward surge of civilization."

The Boom-Bust Cycle of Capitalism

In the wake of the collapse of the USSR, neoliberal advocates of "free market" capitalism have argued that the "revolution" in information technology has created a fully integrated global market for both commodities and financial assets (stocks and bonds). National economies, which could previously be influenced by government regulations and monetary and fiscal policy, are supposedly a thing of the past. Consequently, "welfare state" liberalism in the United States, social democracy in Europe and corporate paternalism in Japan have been rendered historically obsolete. For neoliberals, not only is communism "dead" but so are all forms of traditional social reformism.

At the same time, such types maintain that the new information technology has produced a quantum leap in labor productivity, opening up a new "golden age" of capitalist expansionism and prosperity on a global scale. During the 1990s, the United States—with its weak labor movement, dismantling of social welfare programs and high-flying stock market—was held up as a model of the "new economy" to be emulated by the rest of the world.

The current world slump has exposed and exploded the mystifications surrounding the term "globalization" in both their right- and left-wing forms. Obviously, the "revolution" in information technology has not produced a new era of capitalist expansionism and prosperity. Quite the contrary. What precipitated the present world downturn was the bursting of the high-tech stock market bubble last year, as the NASDAQ index plummeted by more than 60 percent from its March 2000 peak even *before* the World Trade Center attack. The market value of the rest of corporate America also fell sharply, if not as catastrophically as the tech stocks concentrated on the NASDAQ.

Underlying the stock market collapse and the ensuing recession are basic economic laws governing capitalism analyzed a century and a half ago by Karl Marx. In particular, the falling tendency of the rate of profit periodically blocks and reverses the expansion of production. Marx explained in Volume III of *Capital*:

> "The expansion or contraction of production are determined by the appropriation of unpaid labor and the proportion of this unpaid labor to materialized labor in general, or, to speak the language of the capitalists, by profit and the proportion of this profit to the employed capital, thus by a definite rate of profit, rather than the relation of production to social requirements, i.e., to the requirements of socially developed human beings."

Capitalists invest in expanding productive capacity on the assumption that the additional output, whether automobiles or Internet services, can be sold at the existing rate of profit, or at a higher rate of profit if they're investing in cost-cutting technology. However, during periods of expansion the average rate of profit tends to fall. Even if productivity rises and wages don't, increased profit per worker does not offset increased capital per worker.

This dynamic can be clearly seen in the telecommunications sector, one of the mainstays of the "new economy." The return on capital for telecommunications companies fell steadily from 12.5 percent in 1996 to 8.5 percent last year. Wall Street analyst Blake Bath unconsciously paraphrased Marx in describing what happened: "It looks like the sector is way overcapitalized. Spending has grown at absurdly fast levels relative to the revenues and profits produced by that spending" (*Business Week*, 25 September 2000).

Telecommunications is an extreme case of what has happened throughout the U.S. economy. *Business Week* (9 April) summed it up, of course, from the standpoint of capital, not labor:

> "After years of frantically investing to build up the human and physical capacity

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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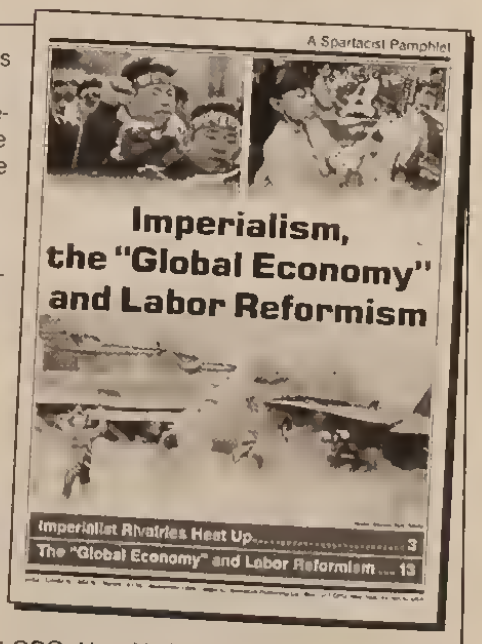

Economist

Tens of thousands protest in Argentina earlier this year against government austerity policies.

> to keep up with soaring growth, the U.S. economy is struggling with overcapacity as far as the eye can see. From Intel's half-finished building in Austin, to the multitudes of identical retail stores that seem to dot every other corner, to the gaping, empty billboards that loom over New York's Times Square, every sector is struggling with the hangover caused by too many years of too much investment."

Obviously, for working people there cannot possibly be *too many* job opportunities and goods and services available. What business executives and their ideological spokesmen mean by "overcapacity" is that the U.S. has the actual capacity to produce far more goods and services than can be sold at *a satisfactory rate of profit*. As Marx explained:

> "There are not too many necessities of life produced, in proportion to the existing population. Quite the reverse. Too little is produced to decently and humanely satisfy the wants of the great mass....
>
> "Too many commodities are produced to permit of a realization and conversion into new capital of the value and surplus value contained in them under the conditions of distribution and consumption *peculiar to capitalist production*, i.e. too many to permit the consummation of this process without constantly recurring explosions." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Capital*, Volume III

Last spring the London *Economist* (24 March) wrote: "Globalisation of goods and capital markets have spread the benefits of, both the American economic model and economic boom further afield. Could it now globalise an American recession?"

The boom-bust pattern inherent in capitalism is indeed globalized. But there is nothing new about this. In this sense the world economy has been globalized since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution around two centuries ago. Throughout the modern epoch an economic downturn in the dominant capitalist country, often triggered by a financial crisis following a period of speculative mania, has dragged down the rest of the world. Thus the October 1929 Wall Street stock market crash ushered in the world depression of the 1930s, with the dollar volume of world trade falling 60 percent by the end of 1932!

Throughout the 19th century periodic financial crises in London—then the center of world capitalism—were rapidly extended to continental Europe and North America. During the panic of 1837, the first world crisis of emerging industrial capitalism, U.S. president Andrew Jackson bemoaned the sudden catastrophic change in economic fortune: "Two nations, the most commercial in the world, enjoying but recently the highest degree of apparent prosperity, are suddenly, without any great national calamity, arrested in that career, and plunged into embarrassment and distress" (quoted in Charles P. Kindleberger, *Manias, Panics, and Crashes* [1978]). Today, the political leaders of Germany, South Korea, Mexico and elsewhere are voicing similar lamentations.

Young Spartacus

September 2000 protest in Prague against IMF/World Bank. "Anti-globalization" ideologues wrongly claim IMF and "transnational" corporations have transcended capitalist nation-state.

The Destructive Anarchy of World Capitalism

Like their neoliberal ideological opponents, the leftist spokesmen and organizers of the "anti-globalization" movement also believe that in the past few decades there has been a fundamental change in the structure and character of world capitalism. In particular, they maintain that large multinational (or "transnational") corporations have transcended the nation-state system. General Motors and Citibank, Siemens and the Deutsche Bank, Mitsubishi and the Bank of Tokyo have, in this view, become truly globalized entities not only in the scope of their operations but also in their political outlook and allegiances. But however far-flung the investments and production operations of a corporation, it is ultimately based in a particular capitalist nation-state. Not surprisingly, when the dominant component of the merged DaimlerChrysler corporation appointed a German Daimler executive to head the American Chrysler division, it provoked an outcry among bourgeois commentators in the U.S.

The ideologues of the "anti-globalization" movement often depict the world economy as if it were a gigantic conspiracy operated and manipulated by large multinational corporations acting through "transnational" institutions like the IMF and World Trade Organization (WTO). In his 1994 *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order*, American left-liberal publicist Richard J. Barnet wrote:

> "The architects and managers of these space-age business enterprises understand that the balance of power in world politics has shifted in recent years from territorially bound governments to companies that can roam the world. As the hopes and pretensions of government shrink almost everywhere these imperial corporations are occupying public space and exerting a more profound influence over the lives of ever larger numbers of people."

Yet these "imperial" corporations, as Barnet calls them, are manifestly powerless before the anarchic forces of the world capitalist market. Obviously, the managers and stockholders of Boeing, Siemens and Toshiba do *not want* to lose tens of billions of dollars, to operate factories that cost hundreds of billions of dollars at 50 percent capacity and to lay off a large fraction of their labor forces. But that is exactly what is now happening.

The CEOs of the world's largest corporations, the top officials of the IMF, WTO and World Bank, the heads of the major capitalist-imperialist states do *not* control the world economy according to their own free will. Rather they are the agents of the capitalist system, subject to and obeying its inexorable laws of motion. The drive for greater profits, leading to the expansion of production and the exploitation of larger quantities of labor, *periodically and necessarily turns into the opposite*: the collapse of production and mass unemployment.

For the past few years, a major focus of leftist protest in North America and West Europe has been international economic gatherings, from the WTO meeting in Seattle in December 1999 to the G8 summit in Genoa this past July. Not surprisingly, in the U.S. the "anti-globalization" activists have found themselves marching with forces mobilized by the chauvinist, "America first" trade-union bureaucracy. The massive and increasingly murderous state repression against leftist—particularly anarchist—protesters has dominated the news and public attention about these events. But what actually goes on at these high-level economic confabs? This alphabet soup of economic summits—WTO, IMF, EU, G8—usually does nothing more than register the differences (and underlying conflicts of interest) between the major capitalist-imperialist states.

Leftist protesters credited themselves (and were commonly credited by others) with breaking up the December 1999 WTO ministerial conference in Seattle. Not so. The meeting broke up because of deepgoing differences over trade policy between the United States, the European Union and Japan. American academic Jeffrey Schott, a specialist in international trade agreements, explained:

> "Ultimately, the WTO meeting fell victim not to protests *outside* in the streets, but rather to serious substantive disagreements *inside* the convention center among both developed and developing countries over the prospective agenda for new trade talks. The key damage to the WTO was self-inflicted."
>
> —*The WTO After Seattle* (2000)

The economic conflicts that led to the breakup of the WTO meeting two years ago have now been greatly intensified by the world economic recession. An article in the prestigious American journal *Foreign Affairs* (March-April 2001) by Fred Bergsten, a leading liberal economist and former top economic official under the Democratic Carter administration in the late 1970s, was titled "America's Two-Front Economic Conflict," the two fronts being West Europe and Japan. Bergsten's use of military terminology is entirely appropriate. As Lenin explained in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), economic conflicts between the propertied classes of the major capitalist countries are ultimately determined by the military balance of forces, in the extreme case by war.

Japan and the European Union (EU) countries are, for the moment, all united behind the U.S.-proclaimed "war against global terrorism," though even now fissures among them are evident. Those countries are signing on to Washington's "global coalition" only to further their own, divergent regional and military ambitions amid an escalation of rivalries among the imperialist powers in recent years. It is, as they say, no accident that George W. Bush puts forward a fantastic plan to make the United States supposedly invulnerable in a nuclear war at a time of increasing economic conflicts with the European capitalist powers, centrally Germany, and Japan.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended. If you are interested in meeting or picking up literature you can do so between 7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday on the third floor of the Student Events Center at New York University, 5 Washington Place. Please contact us at: nysl_syc@yahoo.com.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Behind the Global Capitalist Recession

The savagery of America's ruling class is amply evident as it unleashes its massive arsenal of terror against the already devastated and deeply impoverished people of Afghanistan. Hand in hand with the bombing of Afghanistan, the U.S. rulers are carrying out a war against immigrants, minorities and working people at home. Though carried out in the name of fighting "terrorism," the war on the domestic

PART ONE

front is driven by the capitalists' need to squeeze ever more profit from the labor power of the working people in the face of a burgeoning recession. The awesome horror, the thousands of lives smashed in the attack on the World Trade Center, will, if the bosses have their way, soon be matched by the slower but more exacting terror of escalating economic privation, death by attrition and futures without hope.

It Didn't Start on September 11

Schoenbaum/NY Times, graph: Morgan Stanley Capital International

New York City jobless wait in line at soup kitchen. Worldwide recession began with collapse of 1990s stock market speculation bubble.

Since the attack on the World Trade Center, 200,000-plus workers in the U.S. have been handed their walking papers. But they join the *million and a half* who had lost their jobs to the "downturn" (now acknowledged to be a recession) in the year before September 11. To be sure, the dislocation in travel was responsible for the suddenness of the layoffs in the airline industry, but even the airlines were already going down the tubes before the destruction of the World Trade Center. Indeed, the billions in profits made in "put orders" by betting that airline stocks would drop in value, initially attributed to a perfidious "terrorist" plot, was subsequently found to be due to business decisions by those who saw the plunge in stock values coming.

Having been made into the all-purpose, Number One enemy by the American imperialist ruling class, Osama bin Laden is even being blamed for the current ills of the American and world capitalist economy. Though obscured by the dramatic impact of the September 11 attack, including the worst week on Wall Street since the Great Depression of the 1930s, the fundamental fact is that the world economy was already in a deepening recession.

Washington's imperialist rivals in West Europe and Japan have signed on to the "coalition" against "terrorism" in order to further their exploitation and repression of the working class, immigrants and minorities in their own countries and to propel their particular international ambitions. The imperialists' conflicting interests have increasingly come to the fore since capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92, removing the glue of anti-Soviet unity. These conflicts will only sharpen as U.S. military extension into Central Asia threatens to place greater control of the world's oil spigot in American hands, just as during the Persian Gulf War a decade ago U.S. troops were placed in the Saudi oil kingdom. The only way out is *revolutionary class struggle* to sweep away the imperialist bourgeoisies whose rivalries ultimately threaten another world war, this time fought with nuclear weapons.

Global Recession Made in U.S.A.

When the U.S. economy moved into recession early this year, we predicted this would have major global repercussions:

> "What we are seeing is the beginning of a downward spiral in the world capitalist economy. A slowdown in one country reduces the export earnings of its trading partners which, in turn, cut back their imports from that country. When that country happens to be the United States, the downward spiral in the world economy can accelerate very rapidly."
>
> —"Boom Economy Going Bust," *WV* No. 754, 16 March

And so it has.

Over the past year, industrial production in the U.S. has fallen 4 percent, in Mexico almost 5 percent, in Japan by close to 10 percent and in the rest of capitalist East Asia by more than 10 percent. West Europe, which experienced only sclerotic economic growth in the 1990s, has now slowed to a standstill. About a month before the Trade Center attack, the conservative and hardheaded London *Economist* wrote: "Economies almost everywhere are looking sick."

Sickest are those economies most closely linked to the United States through trade, investments or loans. Chief among these is East Asia, not so long ago hailed as the "economic miracle" region of late 20th century capitalism. The Japanese economy, stagnant for over a decade, is now rapidly sliding into a full-scale depression. The elite core of the high-tech sector—NEC, Toshiba, Fujitsu—are slashing big chunks of their labor force, shredding the remnants of the once famous "lifetime employment" policy of corporate Japan.

In even worse economic shape are the now declawed East Asian "tigers" like South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. These and other East Asian countries (e.g., Thailand, Indonesia) had partially recovered from the 1997-98 financial/economic crisis by expanding exports to the then-booming American economy. Export earnings, heavily concentrated in the IT (information technology) sector—computers, telecommunications, etc.—account for *almost 40 percent* of the total regional output of capitalist East Asia (excluding Japan). So the depressed demand for information technology in the U.S. has "cut off their lifeline," as an economist for Morgan Stanley's East Asian operations put it.

No less hard hit are the traditional neocolonies of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Especially since the inception of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, the economic condition of Mexico is determined first and foremost by its exports north of the Río Bravo. "Free market" rightist Vicente Fox, a former CEO of Coca Cola's operations in Mexico, was elected president last December promising to create 1.5 million new jobs by integrating Mexico even more closely with the U.S. economy. Since then an estimated half million workers have lost their jobs. "The correlation of manufacturing job losses in Mexico to the deceleration of the U.S. economy is about one to one," said Alfredo Thorne, an economist at J.P. Morgan Chase in Mexico City.

The largest South American countries—Brazil and Argentina—are much less directly dependent on exports to the U.S. than Mexico and East Asia. But in a different way, they are just as economically vulnerable. For years, Brazil and Argentina have run large balance-of-trade and government budget deficits that are heavily financed by Wall Street banks. Since the stock market bubble burst last year, generating increasing corporate and

continued on page10

Reuters (left) Cambio 16 (right)

Jakarta, Indonesia shantytown (left) and impoverished Mexican children. Recession in U.S. has plunged masses of dependent semicolonial countries into deeper misery and hopelessness.

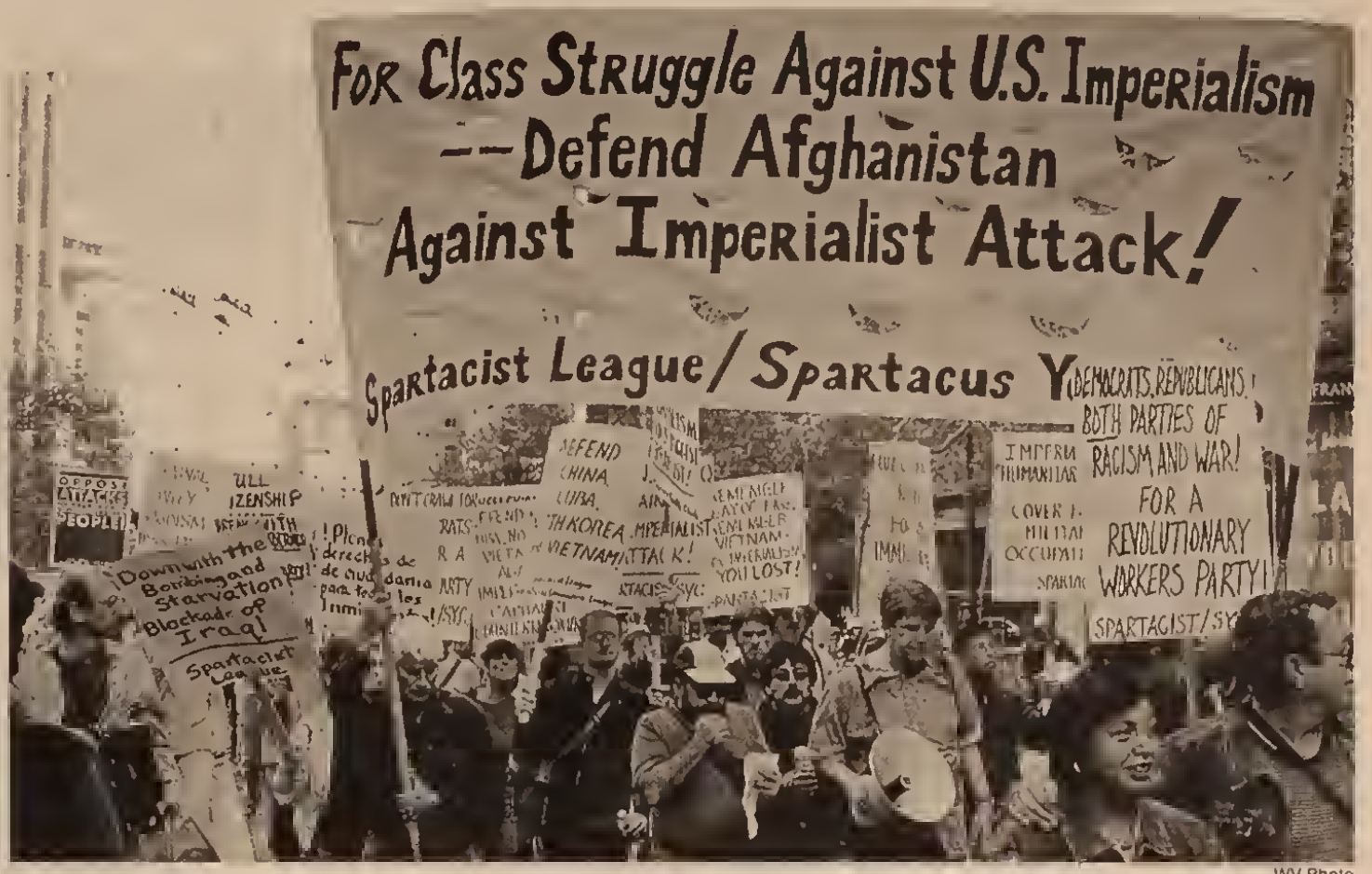
WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 768 X-823 9 November 2001

"Anti-Terror" Law Targets Labor, Minorities

No to Bosses' "National Unity"! For Class Struggle at Home!



WV Photo

SL/SYC contingent in October 20 antiwar protest in San Francisco.

NOVEMBER 6—The weeks of relentless pounding of Afghanistan by thousands of bombs and missiles have produced the intended result. Villages have been reduced to rubble and then reduced to an even finer rubble, with hospitals destroyed, Red Cross facilities obliterated, entire families blown to smithereens. "Humanitarian aid," i.e., peanut butter, is dropped wrapped in yellow, the color of cluster bombs, the only purpose of the latter being to randomly maim and slaughter. With the Taliban virtually unscathed, the seemingly aimless character of the war has sowed dissension in the ranks of imperialist America's bloc partners, primarily those in the Arab/Muslim world and in Europe. These are disturbed by any number of "what ifs." What if the war destabilizes Pakistan, putting its nuclear capability up for grabs? What if it triggers a further war between India and Pakistan, plunging the region into chaos? What if access to oil is disrupted? What if these powers are inexorably drawn from their current status as cheerleaders into a shooting war in which they have no direct interest?

The destruction of the World Trade Center was a criminal act that incinerated thousands of ordinary, innocent people. But it is not the death of ordinary people that moves America's rulers. After all, bin Laden is a Frankenstein's monster that turned on his creator, American imperialism, which unleashed him and other Islamic reactionaries, like the Taliban, against the Red Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s as part of its decades-long drive to smash the Soviet Union. In its crusade against "godless Communism," Washington readily accepted the re-enslavement of Afghan women as "collateral damage." A few years ago, Madeleine Albright also made clear that the death by starvation and disease of over a million Iraqis in the defense of U.S. imperial interests in the Near East was acceptable collateral damage. Using that brutal calculus, it is fair to ask if the thousands killed in the World Trade Center were also "acceptable collateral damage" for U.S. imperialism's victory in the Cold War.

The U.S. rulers seize on the real horror of the American people over the attack on the World Trade Center. But from the imperialists' standpoint, the "crime" of September 11 is the insult to their appetites for world domination represented by the attack on the nerve center of U.S. military power, the Pentagon. The Bush administration's response to the attacks was to proclaim that the world had to decide: either for "us" or against "us" in a war scheduled to last, perhaps, a lifetime, against any and every challenge to Amer-

Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

ican imperialism. This is the response of a swaggering bully. America's rulers seek to assure that their drive for profits, based on the exploitation of the working class here and abroad, will encounter no obstacles.

The jobs that are, in the short run, sometimes available as a result of imperialist ventures and wars are today, in the context of a worldwide depression, not to be found. While many workers from around the country have poured into New York City to donate their time and labor in the aftermath of the WTC disaster, the powers that be are satisfied to allow the small businessmen closed down by the devastation to go under. Over 600,000 jobs have been slashed nationwide just since September, and those unemployed will join the ranks of millions of others in the midst of a deepening recession.

Postal workers are ordered to work, the threat of anthrax notwithstanding, while the Senators, Congressmen and Supreme Court justices are carefully insulated from any possible exposure. On Friday, firemen in New York City fought through police barricades to protest against being pulled off the search for the bodies of their own as well as other victims of the attack. One fireman hit the nail right on the head when he pointed out that the dead were being left as garbage for the power shovels now that the gold caches stored in the subbasement of the WTC had been found and secured.

It has only been a few weeks since the air war against Afghanistan began, and it is becoming increasingly clear to many poor and working people that they have everything to lose by supporting Bush's crusade for "Enduring Freedom," including such scant freedoms as are now accessible to them. As we said in our initial statement on the World Trade Center attack (*WV* No. 764, 14 September): "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle 'one nation indivisible' patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign 'enemy,' as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people."

Over 1,100 non-citizens have been rounded up and held, most deprived of access to lawyers or their families. The cynically labeled "USA-Patriot Act 2001" authorizes preventive detention of non-citizens for seven days without charges and effectively indefinitely once they are charged, legalizes FBI break-ins and authorizes the CIA to engage in domestic spying. It also defines "terrorist" to include anyone who is deemed an opponent of the government. The sinister nature of this is already apparent to many black Americans. Reflecting such apprehensions, Chicago-area Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. pointed out: "The terrorists didn't attack the Statue of Liberty, the Constitution or the Bill of Rights or the Declaration of Independence. They attacked the symbols of our economic and military power in the world. It's the supporters of this bill who are really attacking American liberties that are contained in our most sacred historical documents."

The federal "anti-terror" law is accompanied by a series of other proposed measures targeting port and maritime workers, airline workers and others for increased surveillance and victimization. Lest workers forget that labor militancy is not a right in the eyes of our bourgeois rulers, South Carolina's attorney general recently issued a chilling reminder. Referring to the Charleston Five, longshoremen who face prison terms for defending their union against the use of scab labor, he intoned, "I'm against forcing people to join unions in order to get a job. And so this whole idea of ends justifying the means, as we know these terrorists that killed so many people, that's exactly their argument."

The "terror" that concerns the U.S. imperialists is any resistance to their prerogatives and class rule. The defense of Afghanistan against imperialist attack is integrally linked to the defense of the working masses here against increasing exploitation and oppression, which requires the overturn of the imperialist order through workers revolution. The task is to educate and mobilize the proletariat to that end. And that requires

continued on page 9

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Build PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners!

"The class-conscious worker accords to the class-war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem. The class-war prisoners are stronger than all the jails and jailers and judges. They rise triumphant over all their enemies and oppressors. Confined in prison, covered with ignominy, branded as criminals, they are not defeated. They are destined to triumph. They are the representatives of an idea that will crack the walls of every prison and crumble them into dust.

"There is a way of saying that the class-war prisoners are victorious, which smacks of superficial optimism and which offers little consolation to men who spend long, almost forgotten years behind the gray walls of the jail. We do not mean to speak in this sense, as though it were an automatic process. The victory of the class-war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the living labor movement and when that movement claims them for its own, takes up their battle cry and carries on their work."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison" (September 1926), reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (Pathfinder Press 1958)

It is in the spirit of class solidarity evoked by James P. Cannon that the Partisan Defense Committee is holding its 16th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners. The fight for these class-war prisoners is all the more urgent as the U.S. capitalist rulers have seized on the horrific and criminal World Trade Center attack to rain bombs on the desperately impoverished peoples of backward Afghanistan, while gearing up the apparatus of state repression against workers, immigrants and the oppressed at home. As masses of workers are laid off, over 1,200 immigrants detained, the new "anti-terror" law ratchets up the government's power to spy on the population, jail activists and trade-union militants and indiscriminately round up non-citizens. All this underscores the link between opposition to U.S. imperialist military adventures abroad and defense of the interests of workers and the oppressed in the U.S.

In 1986, the PDC revived a tradition of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and its founder and early leader James P. Cannon of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners as an expression of solidarity. The Holiday Appeal campaign helps to sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their families. This is not an act of charity, but rather the duty of fighters against injustice to those inside prison walls as we struggle for their freedom.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, In a sworn statement filed last May in federal court, Mumia Abu-Jamal reaffirmed once again that he is an innocent man. A prize-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, supporter of the MOVE organization and defiant opponent of racist state terror, in 1982 he was railroaded to death row at the hands of Philadelphia's notorious cop and court frame-up machine on demonstrably false charges of killing a Philly cop.

In a recently published PDC pamphlet entitled *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* we reprint the sworn confession of the man who actually did kill policeman Daniel Faulkner, Arnold Beverly. Beverly's account is affirmed in accompanying declarations by Jamal and his brother William Cook, who was at the scene of the shooting.

The pamphlet features the affidavit of PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who was a member of Jamal's defense team from 1995 to 1999. It compellingly marshals the evidence of his innocence and powerfully documents the struggle waged against Mumia's former attorneys, who worked overtime to ensure that this exculpatory evidence was never introduced in court.

December marks 20 years of Mumia's imprisonment. The PDC calls on working people, minorities, youth and all opponents of racist capitalist oppression to raise the cry: *Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!*

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers member framed up on federal charges in the July 1993 shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. The scab was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was singled out by authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. For the "crime" of defending his union, Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in jail in Ashland, Kentucky with no possibility of parole. Last March, his appeal based on new ballistics evidence was turned down in federal court.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa,** former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Victims of racist FBI COINTELPRO operation, framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony, sentenced to life and have now spent more than 30 years apiece in jail. Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen sentences so that they can be considered for parole. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, MN and Mondo is at Lincoln, NE.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur** were arrested in 1984 and '85 as part of the Ohio 7. They are radical activists with a shared history of opposition to racism and imperialism. Sentenced to 45 years to life under RICO conspiracy laws on allegations of bank expropriations and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late '70s and '80s. Jaan Laaman has been transferred to South Walpole, MA. Ray Luc Levasseur is in Atlanta, GA.

Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. Militant anti-racist, leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. In prison for over 37 years. Currently serving a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Eight MOVE members: **Chuck Africa, Michael Davis Africa, Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Phillips Africa, Edward Goodman Africa, Delbert Orr Africa** and **William Phillips Africa,** are in their 24th year in prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 1978 police attack on their Philadelphia home, falsely convicted of killing a police officer. Last year, the PCRA petition to overturn their frame-ups was denied.

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearm possession charges, targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have Hart thrown in prison. He is not eligible for parole. Hart is at Fairton, New Jersey.

WV Photo

Jerry Dale Lowe

Contribute Now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252.

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Social-Patriotism

As proletarian internationalists, we call for military defense of backward Afghanistan against the savage attack by America's imperialist rulers. In opposition to the "national unity" promoted by the bosses' labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, our task is to mobilize the U.S. proletariat in struggle for its class interests against the capitalist exploiters. Writing as the second interimperialist world war loomed on the horizon, revolutionary Marxist Leon Trotsky stressed that the working class must be won to the program of revolutionary internationalism if it is to sweep away the capitalist system that breeds war and privation.

The exposure of the thoroughly reactionary, putrified and robber nature of modern capitalism, the destruction of democracy, reformism and pacifism, the urgent and burning need of the proletariat to find a safe path away from imminent disaster put the international revolution on the agenda with renewed force. Only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the insurgent proletariat can save humanity from a new, devastating slaughter of the peoples....

A "socialist" who preaches national defense is a petty-bourgeois reactionary at the service of decaying capitalism. Not to bind itself to the national state in time of war, to follow not the war map but the map of the class struggle, is possible only for that party that has already declared irreconcilable war on the national state in time of peace. Only by realizing fully the objectively reactionary role of the imperialist state can the proletarian vanguard become invulnerable to all types of social patriotism. This means that a real break with the ideology and policy of "national defense" is possible only from the standpoint of the *international proletarian revolution.*

—Leon Trotsky, "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is 6 November.

No. 768 **9 November 2001**

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners

Organize for Jamal's Freedom

New York	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, November 30	**Sunday, December 9**	**Sunday, December 2**
6 to 9 p.m.	**3 to 7 p.m.**	**1 to 4 p.m.**
AFSCME District Council 1707 75 Varick St. (at Canal), 14th fl	United Electrical Hall 37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)	Centro del Pueblo 474 Valencia, San Francisco
For more information: (212) 406-4252 P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta. New York, NY 10013	For more information: (312) 563-0442 P.O. Box 802867 Chicago, IL 60680	For more information: (510) 839-0852 P.O. Box 77462 San Francisco, CA 94107

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From an Airline Worker:
Airline Bosses Get Billions, Workers Get Layoffs

Milwaukee Journal Sentinel

17 October 2001

To the editor:

As a reader of your newspaper, I wanted to add some of my own observations about what's happening to airline workers in the wake of the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center. The airline bosses seized on the opportunity the tragedy afforded to expedite the restructuring of their companies so as to bust the unions and increase the rate of exploitation of the workforce. Excepting Southwest and Continental, the domestic carriers were projected before September 11 to lose almost $2 billion combined this year, which management largely attributed to rising labor costs. After the hijackings, that projection more than doubled.

All the companies but Southwest in rapid succession announced furloughs of 10-25 percent of the workforce, totalling more than 100,000, both to reduce the payroll and motivate their bailout before Congress. This week, Continental, which led the campaign for federal loan guarantees, announced it is content with the cash handout (and furlough of 12,000 employees) and is unlikely to require the loans and the accompanying financial encumbrances in order to turn a profit by next spring. The prospects for other companies are improved, too. Midway Airlines, which closed its doors on September 12, now expects to again fly by late October, with any members of its old workforce who do return to do so at loss of seniority.

Meanwhile, the "Airline Labor Dispute Resolution Act," introduced in the Senate by John McCain on behalf of the industry bosses, seeks to eliminate the right of airline workers to strike and vote on their contracts by forcing all disputes into "baseball arbitration," in which a federal arbiter would select and make binding the comprehensive contract of one side. A black American Airlines ramp worker who's in the Transport Workers Union told me: "The problem is that there is no 'league minimum' with this company." The International Association of Machinists and TWU are the most vocal unions in opposition, though the strategy is to lobby Congress. The IAM bureaucracy set the servile tone of the union chiefs shortly after the terror attack by announcing to its membership, "Labor, management and the federal government must work together."

I was told that Continental furloughed close to 3,000 employees at Newark. A mixture of resignation and anxiety marked the days leading up to "Furlough Day." One Continental ramp worker likened the flow of long, solemn faces in the Terminal Operations hallway to "a funeral procession." Throughout the airline industry, co-workers sought out each other, not infrequently across craft lines, to exchange phone numbers, job leads and relive shared memories. Those with the seniority to survive what was widely viewed as the first round of furloughs did not escape the sting of cuthacks. There is a freeze on overtime, upon which many depended to maintain a decent standard of living, and hundreds were downgraded to part-time status, impelling scores of the still-employed to search for additional jobs.

Individual expressions of protest were evident. The day the *New York Times*, September 21, ran an article on Continental and the shady financial maneuvering of its CEO, Gordon Bethune, a copy was posted in the Newark Inflight Ops hallway (flight attendants) with the new headline: "Furlough Gordon!" Quickly removed, presumably by management, it was re-posted the next day. When it was removed for a second time, I'm told it was replaced by a sign warning against "unapproved postings." Though the article merely covered the mundane workings of a typical capitalist enterprise, it gave the lie to internal company propaganda of "Working Together"—Gordon placed the company on shaky financial ground, risking the jobs of the workforce, to protect his own job and maximize his personal wealth. Continental workers at Newark told me that all facilities mechanics survived "Furlough Day," but for eleven new hires it was a short reprieve. In a move that caught the shop off guard, management activated a clause in the contract with the Teamsters that allows it to terminate probationary employees, and the union tops assented. Notification was conveniently timed to coincide with a "diversity" training workshop (the principle message of which was to rat out your co-workers to management) to which the shop was herded, preventing any fraternization with the just terminated mechanics. Two days later, three of those mechanics were back on the job—in the employ of a non-union contracting company—doing the same work for less pay.

For the shift bid at the end of the month, management has broken its agreement with the union and changed the hours of the shifts so it can grind more

continued on page 11

Pran/NY Times

As National Guard troops patrol airports, airline workers are subjected to increased harassment, surveillance.

From a Letter Carrier:
For Postal Bosses, Workers' Deaths Are "Acceptable Loss"

31 October 2001
Oakland, CA

Dear Editor:

With its usual combination of callous indifference toward the lives and health of postal workers and a truly maniacal drive for speedup and productivity, the U.S. Postal Service has let an unknown number of postal workers become infected with anthrax. Anything to keep the mail moving (a sentiment that National Association of Letter Carriers president Vince Sombrotto was quick to endorse). As *WV* notes, this does indeed underscore the absolute indifference of the bosses to the lives of working people.

I would make a couple of additional points: 1) as you can see from the newspaper photos, a high percentage of Washington, D.C. (and New York City) postal workers are black—making them doubly expendable in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and 2) unlike Congress which could be disbanded for a long time without much loss, postal workers actually do socially useful work which the bourgeoisie has trouble doing without.

At the medium-sized post office where I work, carriers are not so much fearful as angry and bitter. One of my co-workers brought to my attention a column by the *New York Times*' Maureen Dowd, entitled "Postal Workers Left in the Dark." This article refers to the fact that Capitol Police dogs got tested for anthrax before postal workers did. Many people thought that about captured where, in the hierarchy of things, the postal workers fall: somewhere below German shepherds, especially if those German shepherds work for the cops.

Another co-worker who is about my age and a Vietnam vet (white) said it reminded him of the Vietnam War, where the brass were always throwing around the term "acceptable loss." A couple of dead postal workers (now on the "front lines") is just "acceptable loss" to the Postmaster General. *Everyone* noted the strikingly different response when it was Congressmen who faced the possibility of contracting anthrax. After anthrax spores were found on the machines in New York City's Morgan Station and workers were told to stay on the job, several workers in my post office expressed the hope that New York postal workers would walk out, rather than wait for the union bureaucracy to file a lawsuit(!).

One worker here told me that the day after the two Washington postal workers died, management didn't have the guts to come out on the shop floor. (These guys are always holding meetings to push speedup and threaten discipline.) Instead, they spoke over the loudspeaker, never mentioning the deaths, but assuring workers that everything was under control and that there were gloves and masks if workers wanted them. Our local union

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Spartacist Forums

Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

For Class Struggle Against Capitalist Rulers at Home!

Down With Anti-Immigrant Dragnet!
Saturday, November 17, 2 p.m.
Boston University
College of Arts & Sciences
685-725 Commonwealth Ave., Rm. 324
For more information: (617) 666-9453
BOSTON

Down With Ottawa's "Anti-Terror" Law!
Saturday, December 1, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. West (west of Spadina)
For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com
TORONTO

IBT's Centrist Phrasemongering

We print the following letter in the form that we received it by e-mail.

20 October 2001

To the Editor

In the 12 October issue of Workers Vanguard it is alleged that IBT comrades in Toronto have been pressing Trotskyism [sic] League youth "to agree that all those killed in the attack on the Pentagon 'deserved to die.'" This is absolutely untrue. We categorically deny making such a statement at any time in Toronto or anywhere else. We are flatly opposed to such views as our 18 September statement makes clear.

On 28 September I had a conversation with young TLer in front of the building at the University of Toronto where Tariq Ali was speaking. During this discussion the question of the omission of the Pentagon bombing from your initial statement came up, along with the question of Lebanon 1983 and other issues. On 19 October, after reading your erroneous account, I met this same comrade at a public meeting on "globalization" at the University of Toronto and asked him if he had been the source of this misinformation. He agreed that I had made no such statement, nor did he know of any other IBT comrade making such a statement. He furthermore denied being the source of the false attribution.

In a subsequent discussion with Comrade Charles I pointed out that in the present political climate the consequences of such falsehoods could potentially be extremely serious. I told him that I was raising this with him, as a leading member of the TL, on behalf of the IBT. He indicated that he was not the source of the quotation. He also advised me that Workers Vanguard has a policy of correcting "factual errors" and suggested that I write to you on this matter.

We look forward to an appropriate correction in the 26 October issue of Workers Vanguard.

Bolshevik Greetings,
Tom Riley

***WV* replies:** The statement in our article "On the Pentagon Attack" (*WV* No. 766, 12 October) that International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) members argued that "all those killed in the attack on the Pentagon 'deserved to die'" was a distortion of a report from our Canadian comrades, which we retract. What the IBT wrote in its 18 September statement is: "Unlike the personnel in the Pentagon, the command center of the U.S. military, the thousands of victims trapped in the World Trade Center's twin towers and the hundreds of passengers and crew on board the four hijacked airliners were civilians whose deaths we mourn."

The IBT has since posted a 21 October "Reply to *Workers Vanguard*" on its Web site claiming that our statement that "the IBT amnesties the 'war is not the answer' reformists in the U.S." is also "a malicious invention without any basis in fact." On the contrary, our characterization is absolutely true. Neither in its 18 September statement nor in the 21 October cyberspace reply to us (which, to our knowledge, are the only pieces of propaganda the IBT has produced since September 11) does the IBT mention, let alone criticize, the social-patriotism of the reformist left, whose various "anti-war" coalitions are based on bleating appeals to the imperialist ruling class for peace. Instead, the IBT aims virtually all its polemical fire at the Spartacist League, claiming *we* are social-patriotic because we refused to hail as an "anti-imperialist act" a truck-bomb attack on a U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon by unknown forces 18 years ago.

We opposed the presence of U.S. (and United Nations) troops in Lebanon from the outset, unlike sundry Third World nationalists and fake leftists who sold the lie that the imperialists would be "peacekeepers" in the multi-sided religious/ethnic civil war then wracking that country. We also made clear that "from the standpoint of the struggle of the international proletariat, the Marine HQ in Beirut was an appropriate target" (*Young Spartacus* No. 114, December 1983/January 1984). However, this did not make its destruction an act of "anti-imperialism." In fact, no side in the Lebanese civil war was fighting imperialism. Those whose cause was clearest—the Palestine Liberation Organization—had requested imperialist intervention in the first place. And to this day it is still not clear who blew up the Marine barracks.

Marxists recognize that victorious struggle by the proletariat against the imperialist rulers—and the massive arsenal of violence in the hands of the capitalist state—requires the maximum assembling of effective force to deter and demoralize the forces of reaction. But the use of terrorism as a strategy by individuals or small groups—even against a military target—is counterposed to mobilizing the proletariat in class struggle against the imperialist rulers. At the same time, Marxists draw a distinction between attacks on institutions like the Pentagon and random terror against innocent civilians, as in the case of the World Trade Center, even if the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks (whoever they were) might not have drawn any such distinction. As we wrote in "On the Pentagon Attack":

> "The Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and rather quintessentially represents the military might of U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the working people and oppressed of the world. That recognition does not translate this attack into an 'anti-imperialist' act, nor do we think the planeload of innocent passengers which was used as the massive bomb 'deserved to die' (or the janitors and secretaries who were employed at the Pentagon)."

In 1983, when we raised the evocative slogan, "Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive!" to intersect widespread outrage among the American population against the Reagan administration, the IBT (then called the External Tendency—ET) denounced us as social-patriotic and countered with the call, "Marines: live like pigs, die like pigs!" We wrote in "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984):

> "From a safe distance, the petty-bourgeois radicals embrace the 'good' peoples (if necessary first inventing them, as in Lebanon today) and for the 'bad,' well, the only good one is a dead one. Reactionary in itself, such an attitude—completely divorced as it is from Marxist class analysis—necessarily gives way to anti-communist public opinion. Thus we see many of yesterday's 'radicals' joining up ideologically with U.S. imperialism over the plight of 'poor little Afghanistan' and the crushing of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność."

This aptly captured the politics animating the ET/IBT, which was founded by people who quit our organization in the early 1980s when they caught the first whiff of the heightened reaction and repression of Cold War II. The renewed imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union was launched after Red Army troops moved into Afghanistan in December 1979 to aid a pro-Moscow, left-nationalist regime besieged by a CIA-backed Islamic insurgency. Noting that what was posed was not only defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state but the possibility of extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the hideously oppressed peoples of Afghanistan, particularly women, we forthrightly declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

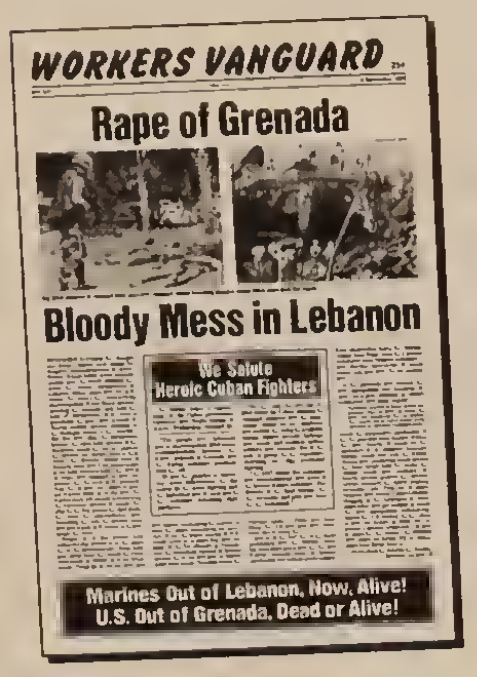
In an early polemic, we wrote: "If the ET were more honest, they would admit that they hated it when we hailed the Soviet Red Army's military intervention in Afghanistan" ("The 'External Tendency': From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning," *WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984). Four years later, they finally owned up to their real position, declaring: "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state.... The slogan 'Hail Red Army' is not a Trotskyist slogan, because what it tells workers is to trust the Stalinists, put your faith in the Stalinists, hail the Stalinists" (see "BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," *WV* No. 449, 25 March 1988). This retrospective repudiation came even as Soviet troops were being withdrawn, so the IBT's sole purpose was to clean up its history to remove any taint of "Spartacism."

Here was a quintessential expression of social-patriotism, on what was a defining question of opposition to the imperialist rulers. In the biggest covert CIA operation in history, the U.S. funneled billions of dollars to the Islamic "holy warriors" in Afghanistan, with the aim of using the Afghan conflict as a launching pad for the destruction of the Soviet Union. Albeit administered by a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was a *workers state* based on proletarian property forms. In its contemptuous dismissal of the Soviet Union as a "Stalinist state," the IBT was simply giving voice to the social-democratic hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat—the necessary instrument for the suppression of counterrevolution. The IBT's purpose was to gain entry into the social-democratic swamp, and it succeeded, being welcomed into events organized by reformists from which the SL was excluded.

We have long noted that early supporters of the IBT were the crystallization of every flinch and deformation in our organization under the pressures of renewed imperialist Cold War. Indeed, they have attracted to their ranks some of the most loathsome elements that have ever been supporters of our organization. One is Howard Keylor, who never broke from the Stalinist line of support to the "democratic" imperialist Allies in World War II. Another early adherent was one Gerald Smith, who devoted his energies in the early 1990s to building "Copwatch," a "police reform" outfit in Berkeley. Then there was Fred Ferguson, the IBT's chief trade-union supporter, who ran for office in the Bay Area printers union just before the 1991 Gulf War on a platform whose sole reference to the impending war was to complain, "It is our

Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. Trotskyists hailed Red Army intervention against CIA-backed, anti-woman Islamic reactionaries. Those who went on to form IBT couldn't stomach our hard Soviet-defensist line.



Front page of *WV* (No. 341, 4 November 1983) as Reagan ordered invasion of Grenada after bloody fiasco in Lebanon.

International Communist League Pamphlet

The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

International Communist League pamphlet, August 1995

$1 (10 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

Postal...

(continued from page 3)

president also spoke in the same vein over the loudspeaker. Many workers found this whole thing insulting and obnoxious. The union president's participation served to further discredit him.

Several days later there was a meeting and the speaker was a postal inspector. (Postal inspectors are cops and are universally loathed by postal workers. We are very often the target of their investigations.) There were a number of worried questions about health concerns and I asked about the Brentwood facility in Washington, D.C. and why it hadn't been closed promptly. As several people commented afterwards, they really didn't answer any of our questions.

Since then most carriers, mail handlers and clerks are wearing gloves, but not masks. (My doctor tells me that masks won't do any good, anyway.) I think this is a good idea in general. Post offices are incredibly filthy. Mail, like money, is dirty to begin with. And the Post Office has a policy of never washing a mail bag, tub or tray. They are used (no matter how encrusted with filth) until they fall apart and are only then discarded. The sorting machines are cleaned by blowers that blow the dust into the work areas and into the workers' lungs. I personally have gotten three serious infections since I started working for the Post Office (including one that required hospitalization and taking the antibiotic Cipro).

AP

Funeral of Joseph P. Curseen Jr., one of two Washington, D.C. postal workers who have died of anthrax.

The work situation is more terrible than ever: speedup, harassment and the consistent attempt to ratchet up the rate of exploitation. One of the more diabolical plots of the Post Office is the new scanners that we have been issued. They have also issued us little bar codes on adhesive tape that have to be attached to a number of our customers' mailboxes! We have to scan a bar code before we leave the post office, scan a bar code at the first mailbox on our route, scan the bar code on a mailbox when we stop for lunch, when we return from lunch, when we get to the last mailbox, and when we return to the post office. This is in addition to punching a time clock.

In regards to the war, the sentiment has been more muted than I expected. It is also more muted than around the Persian Gulf War, when there were a lot of anti-Arab cartoons, etc. The Post Office handed out flag lapel pins, but only a minority wear them. The ones with the biggest flags always seem to be the union stewards and officials. There are also some who have put up flags on their trucks, but many of these seem to be more for protection than out of commitment. A number of my co-workers are Indian, Pakistani or Sikh, as well as Hispanics and all kinds of Asians. One right-winger put a personal statement along the lines of "America, defend it or leave it" on all the desks, but management came around collecting it within the hour because someone had complained about it. Some of those who have bought tickets to the Partisan Defense Committee's Holiday Appeal over the years start off defending the U.S.'s need to "do something about the terrorists," but are increasingly uneasy and unconvinced about what the U.S. is actually doing. And the Post Office response to anthrax has certainly driven a small wedge into the "united we stand" rhetoric.

At one post office, all the managers were on the back dock, wearing gloves and going through every item of mail. Rumor has it that a guy tried to mail a padded envelope at an L.A. post office, but fled (taking the envelope) when the window clerk went to call a manager to inspect it. Now post offices around the country are looking for the envelope. Is this for real? Who knows. But it is a measure of the hostility to management that the main reaction of carriers was ostentatious snickering at the unprecedented sight of bosses doing any work.

By the way, the Letter Carriers contract expires this November 21. The American Postal Workers Union's contract, which covers most of the inside workers, does not expire at the same time anymore. Their contract is currently in arbitration.

D.C.

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sons and daughters who will die"—with not a word in defense of the Iraqi people facing imperialist slaughter! And finally, there is current IBT *supremo* Bill Logan, a sociopath who was expelled from our organization in 1979 for gross crimes against communist morality and elemental human decency—including interference in the personal/ sexual lives of comrades, forcing couples apart or making them stay together and forcing a comrade to give up her baby.

In joining this anti-Spartacist lash up in the 1990s, Logan steered the IBT more openly into the waters of social-democratic opportunism. In 1996, the IBT's British outfit totally liquidated into Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (although one might more appropriately charge Scargill with opportunism for accepting them given that the IBT stood to his right, particularly in regard to the Cold War). More recently, the IBT supported the Socialist Alliance in Britain, which ran point in the last elections for Tony Blair's Labour Party. Both the IBT's 18 September statement and its recent Web posting avoid any mention of the Labour Party, whose government is the most stalwart ally of U.S. imperialism in the current war. The title of the IBT's initial statement, "U.S. Imperialist Rule: An Endless Horror," played well to its audiences at antiwar rallies in Britain and Canada, where anti-Americanism is the stock in trade for those who want to cover for the crimes of their own imperialist rulers.

War provides the clearest test for organizations that claim to speak on behalf of the working class, and it is not only over today's U.S.-led assault on Afghanistan that the IBT has bared its opportunist underbelly. In 1990, as Washington instigated the United Nations blockade of Iraq that has led to the death of some one and a half million people, the IBT group in the U.S. busied itself in trying to build an "antiwar" coalition with red-white-and-blue reformists, declining even to call to end the blockade as part of the coalition's "basis of unity."

Eight years later, when NATO launched its bloody war against Serbia under the guise of defending the Kosovo Albanians, the IBT joined with the rest of the opportunist left in promoting imperialist war propaganda with the call, "Independence for Kosovo!" While claiming to "defend Yugoslavia against NATO's attack," the IBT simultaneously lined up behind the Kosovo Liberation Army—which was then literally acting as spotters for U.S./NATO air strikes—writing: "While we offer no political support to the bourgeois-nationalist KLA, we nonetheless side with them militarily in their struggle for freedom from their Serb oppressors" (*1917* No. 21, 1999). Only after a month of the bombing, as KLA forces in Kosovo served as military auxiliaries for NATO and KLA supporters in the West joined in openly pro-NATO demonstrations, did the IBT finally acknowledge that the KLA had become a "cat's paw of imperialism."

The IBT readily shouted for "Independence for Kosovo!" at a time when this suited imperialist interests. In Canada, the IBT stands with the English-Canadian chauvinist rulers in *opposing* independence for Quebec. In fact, the IBT and the unabashedly Maple Leaf nationalist Communist Party of Canada were the only purportedly socialist groups to join the Canadian ruling class in calling for a "No" vote in a 1995 referendum on independence in Quebec. The IBT's sole member in Quebec, as he quit, denounced its "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie" (see "From the Swamp of Anglo-Chauvinism—'Bolshevik Tendency' Opposes Quebec Independence," *Spartacist Canada* No. 108, March/April 1996).

The IBT seeks to camouflage its many capitulations to bourgeois social-chauvinism with what we have termed "vicarious bloodthirstiness." Thus much of its latest Web posting is devoted to reiterating for the umpteenth time the charge that we were guilty of a "cowardly flinch" for raising "Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive!" at a moment when the Reagan administration was widely reviled because it had sent the troops into the Lebanese quagmire.

The vulnerability of the government over the Lebanon fiasco was demonstrated not least by the fact that it immediately launched an invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada in order to get an easy "victory." The sheer absurdity of the IBT's charge that we went social-patriotic over Lebanon is shown by the fact that we coupled our Lebanon slogan with the call, "U.S. out of Grenada, dead or alive!" on the front page of *WV* (No. 341, 4 November 1983), where we also hailed the 700 Cuban construction workers who resisted the American invaders. Unlike in Lebanon, in Grenada Marxists *had a side*: with the Cubans and others who fought against the U.S. occupation forces.

In its Web posting, the IBT writes that "Leninists stand for the immediate and unconditional removal of imperialist troops from neo-colonies as a matter of principle." But at the time, the IBT wasn't simply for the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon. Rather, they engaged in idiot New Left grooving over the dead Marines, sneering: "The pro-imperialist 'American masses' don't want the *U.S. Marines* to die in Beirut, and neither does the SL leadership. We say: 'Marines: Live Like Pigs, Die Like Pigs!'" (ET Statement of 12 November 1983, reprinted in *Bulletin of the External Tendency of the iSt* No. 2, January 1984). While opposing the many bloody incursions of U.S. imperialism around the world, our purpose is not to gloat over the deaths of American soldiers—who are disproportionately black and overwhelmingly of proletarian origin—but to make the working class conscious of the need to overthrow capitalism through a socialist revolution. Such a revolution will never be achieved if you are indifferent (at best) to the working-class ranks of the army.

The IBT posting demagogically claims that in labeling Reagan's Lebanon adventure "senseless" our concern was the same as that of the bourgeoisie, quoting their 7 February 1984 article "Marxism and Social-Patriotism":

> "'Senseless' is precisely the way that Reagan's Democratic critics in Congress perceive his intervention in Lebanon. 'Senseless' from the point of view of the best interests of U.S. imperialism. They also want to be sensible and smart and get them out now, while they are still alive."

In fact, the bourgeoisie doesn't care how much of its working-class cannon fodder is expended in war. During the Vietnamese Revolution, the rulers in Washington were worried not about GIs coming home in body bags, but about *losing the war*—and that was directly related to the fact that the American army was splintering from within. The Vietnamese liberation fighters did not gloat over the deaths of American GIs, but rather appealed to black troops in particular to turn against their own racist rulers, declaring in one instance: "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."

Revulsion in the ranks of the military over senseless slaughter has long been a powerful weapon for communists: many of the early cadre of the Communist parties in Europe were World War I POWs on the Eastern front who came home won to Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution. Winning over the largely peasant-derived ranks of the tsarist army was crucial to the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution.

We are Marxists not least because we abhor war and its pointless slaughter of millions of lives. Unlike the reformists the IBT is so happy to tail, we are simultaneously for the victory of just causes, from the Vietnamese Revolution to the defense of semicolonies and small countries from Iraq to Serbia and now Afghanistan against imperialist bombing and blockade. This is all part of our struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the instrument for the emancipation of the working class and oppressed worldwide. In contrast, as we wrote in our 12 October polemic, "the IBT's vicarious bloodthirstiness and conspicuous silence on the social-patriotism of the reformist left merely serve the interests of the class enemy, insofar as their insignificant forces are capable of serving any cause."■

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

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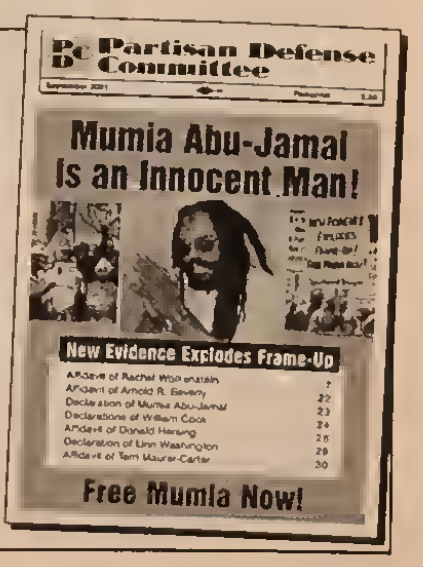

Recession...

(continued from page 12)

trade. But one can expect conflicts over agricultural trade to take on much greater weight in the near future. For one thing, there are now strong forces in the U.S. Congress, with farm-state Republicans in the lead, pushing to increase subsidies to American farmers in open violation of WTO-sanctioned treaties. An EU spokesman on agricultural matters, Gerry Kiely, rebuked Washington politicos that "U.S. policy is going in the wrong direction." That is, in a direction contrary to the interests of European capital.

On the other side, Germany in particular is pushing hard to expand the European Union to the East European countries of the former Soviet bloc (e.g., Poland, Hungary, Slovakia). These countries have much larger peasant populations (over 20 percent in Poland) and far more backward agricultural sectors than the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe. Hence German imperialism's ambitions to consolidate a sphere of influence in East Europe will almost certainly lead to higher levels of EU agricultural protectionism vis-à-vis the United States.

"Global Warming" and the Politics of Oil

Two of the most publicized disputes between the Bush administration and West European governments—over the Kyoto treaty and the anti-missile defense system—appear at first glance to have little or nothing to do with economic conflicts of interests. But, in fact, they do.

AP

London, November 2000: truckers protests throughout West Europe against exorbitant fuel prices were widely popular.

M. Maizel

German troops in Macedonia on eve of 1999 NATO air war against Serbia. Germany now heads up imperialist occupation force in Macedonia.

The dispute over Kyoto is not really about global warming. After all, the American and West European governments clearly cannot even control the level of industrial production or the sales volume of new automobiles within their own national boundaries. How, then, can they possibly regulate industrial pollution on a global scale and its effect on worldwide weather patterns? Obviously, they can't. The Kyoto dispute is actually about an important and longstanding conflict of interest between American and European capitalism: the economics of world oil.

The United States, with a population of 280 million, accounts for 26 percent of world oil imports. Europe (excluding Russia), with a population of slightly over 500 million, accounts for about 24 percent. The far lower per capita consumption of oil in Europe is achieved by exorbitant taxes on gasoline and heating fuel, which triggered widely popular protests by small truckers and farmers throughout much of West Europe last year. But why should European capitalists be concerned with, much less opposed to, the relatively high level of oil consumption and importation in the U.S.? Because the world oil market is dominated by giant American companies like Exxon-Mobil, which effectively control Saudi Arabia. Although Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum are also major players in this game, the core countries of the European Union—Germany and France—are *not* major producers and distributors of oil.

The high level of oil consumption in the U.S. tends to raise the price of oil in the world market. And every additional dollar in the world market price of oil not only enriches an important sector of corporate America at the expense of German and French capitalists but also increases the energy costs of industry and transport in Europe. So the European bourgeoisies have tried to use concern over global warming as a *pretext* to pressure the U.S. to restrict its consumption and especially importation of oil. In response, George W. Bush, who is closely tied to Texas-based oil interests, fed the Kyoto treaty into the White House shredder.

Even more so than the dispute over Kyoto, European opposition to Bush's plans for an anti-missile defense system appears to have nothing to do with economics. Here, it needs to be emphasized that the Commander-in-Chief of American imperialism really does envision fighting and winning a nuclear war. Even the London *Economist* (21 July), which is generally pro-American, derided Bush's plans "for the construction of a giant shield over the whole of America" as "technically probably impossible to achieve and strategically highly dangerous."

Dangerous to whom? No one buys the official White House line that the proposed missile defense system is intended to protect America from attack by "rogue states" like Iraq. Everyone knows the real target is China, with its relatively small arsenal of nuclear missiles. A senior White House spokesman stated: "We don't want anyone, definitely including the Chinese, to be able to threaten limited strikes against the U.S." (*Business Week*, 14 May). In other words, the American imperialists want to be able to launch, without fear of effective retaliation, a nuclear first strike against the People's Republic of China—which, despite significant inroads by imperialist and overseas Chinese capital, remains a bureaucratically deformed workers state based on the collectivized property forms established in the wake of the 1949 Revolution.

But in addition to China, Pentagon strategists have plans for a possible nuclear war against another major country, namely Russia. Russia inherited from the Soviet Union a large nuclear arsenal which, although it has subsequently deteriorated, is still the second most powerful in the world after that of the U.S. And Russia's new capitalist rulers have their own imperialist ambitions even if they are not now in a position to realize them. America's rulers, having proclaimed their state to be "the world's only superpower," view Russia as a potential enemy, despite the recent apparent rapprochement over the "war against terrorism."

The German ruling class, however, views Russia as a potential ally, a counterweight to American global dominance, for example, in the Near East. Ever since the USSR collapsed, right-wing Russian nationalists have looked toward an alliance with Germany against the United States. And Russian president Vladimir Putin has described Germany as "Russia's leading partner in Europe and the world" (*New York Times*, 31 August). In terms of current international politics, this is certainly an overstatement. But an alliance of Germany and Russia against the United States is very much a possibility in the not-so-distant future.

U.S. imperialism remains the overwhelmingly dominant military power on the face of the planet. But as we wrote in the ICL's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998): "Rival imperialisms, especially Germany and Japan, no longer constrained by anti-Soviet unity, are pursuing apace their own appetites for control of world markets and concomitantly projecting their military power. In the conflicts between rival regional trade blocs today, the outlines of future wars are sharpening. In the face of growing inter-imperialist rivalry, we reassert: '*The main enemy is at home!*'"

The East Asian Economic Collapse

In the 1960s and early '70s, Japan—with an annual growth in national output averaging 10 percent—was generally viewed as the economic superstar of world capitalism. Business schools in the U.S. introduced courses on Japanese managerial techniques to be emulated by corporate America. In the 1980s and early '90s, the so-called East Asian "tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) displaced Japan as the new "miracle" countries of world capitalism. The political leaders of these countries attributed their economic success to the unique virtues of the "Asian character" with its supposed propensity for hard work and high rates of personal savings rather than profligate consumption.

But today, after a decade of stagnation the Japanese economy looks to be in free fall, last week hitting the highest unemployment rate ever recorded in the country's history. In conjunction with the American downturn, the Japanese economic downslide is dragging the rest of capitalist East Asia down with it. As a *Business Week* (2 April) headline put it: "Asia Is Catching the Japanese Disease." How is it that the onetime "miracle" region of world capitalism has become the sickly region of world capitalism?

Certainly not least of the reasons is the radically changed international political context following the destruction of the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, American imperialism was willing to accept large and continuing balance-of-trade deficits with Japan and also South Korea et al. as part of the economic overhead of maintaining the anti-Soviet alliance. But as British financial journalist Christopher Wood wrote in his 1994 tract, *The End of Japan Inc.*: "With the end of the Cold War America no longer sees a need or reason to put diplomatic or strategic interests ahead of its own commercial self-interest." For similar reasons, Washington in the past tolerated a high level of import protectionism in South Korea combined with generous government export subsidies. That is no longer the case.

At the economic level, Japan in the 1950s and '60s and subsequently the East Asian "tigers" benefited from labor costs that were very low relative to those prevailing in North America and West Europe. Low labor costs, in conjunction with easy access to the huge American market, encouraged extremely high levels of industrial investment—internally generated in the case of Japan; mainly a transfer of capital from Japan and the United States in the cases of Taiwan and South Korea. However, the East Asian economic "miracle" inevitably led to a crisis of overcapitalization in the classic Marxist sense. Japan, South Korea et al. cannot sell on the world market the vast quantity of commodities they are capable of producing—from steel ingots to automobiles to consumer electronics—at a rate of profit high enough to repay the loans that financed their industrial construction.

Post-World War II Japanese capitalism was based on a tightly knit structure of industrial-financial empires, like Mitsubishi and Mitsui, which were called *keiritsu* ("corporate groups"). This structure—often termed "Japan Inc." by Western journalists—was eroded in the 1980s by the loosening of financial markets, in part under the pressure of Wall Street. Japanese corporations were now able to raise large sums of money by selling securities (stocks and bonds), whereas previously they were almost entirely dependent for financing on the *keiritsu* main bank.

In the late 1980s, Japan experienced the so-called "bubble economy," which in many ways prefigured the U.S. stock market/high-tech investment boom a decade later. Speculative mania drove corporate stock (and real estate prices) to ridiculous heights. With an already massive industrial base, Japanese manufacturers now *added* productive capacity equivalent to the entire existing industrial capacity of France! When the "bubble economy" burst in the early 1990s, Japanese corporations were saddled with trillions of dollars worth of industrial plant and equipment that they could not utilize profitably, financed by loans they could not repay. (For an analysis of Japanese capitalism from the end of the Second World War through the collapse of the "bubble economy" and its aftermath, see

CORRECTION

In "U.S. Government's Domestic Terror Machine" (*WV* No. 766, 12 October), we incorrectly stated that Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein had introduced a new "Maritime Security Act" in the wake of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. In fact, the Port and Maritime Security Act of 2001 was first introduced into Congress on July 20 by South Carolina Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings.

"Japan Economic Crisis Shakes Imperialist Order," *WV* Nos. 693 and 694, 3 July and 31 July 1998.)

To prevent a total economic collapse, the Japanese government has been bailing out the banks to the tune of trillions of dollars over the past decade. And to offset the stagnation of industrial investment, trillions more have been spent on public works projects, which in many cases amounted to nothing more than a rip-off of the state treasury by the *keiritsu* bosses who run the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Where Japan once had the highest rate of economic growth in the capitalist world, it now has the highest rate of growth of government debt. This year the combined central and local government budget deficits reached 10 percent of the country's gross domestic product, *the highest such level ever experienced by an advanced capitalist country* except in wartime.

At the same time, a large fraction of Japanese banks are actually insolvent, in that their liabilities exceed their income-generating assets. According to the most conservative estimates, Japanese banks are now carrying on their books half a trillion dollars in "non-performing" loans, equivalent to over 10 percent of the total national income.

The severe structural problems of the Japanese economy were partly offset in the late 1990s by the American economic boom. The *keiritsu* benefited not only through increased exports to the U.S. but by greater profits and capital gains on their more than 500 billion dollars in investments in America. When the U.S. boom went bust last spring, influential sections of the Japanese ruling elite decided that drastic measures were needed to deal with the country's long economic malaise. So with much fanfare, the governing LDP chose a new leader, the right-wing nationalist Junichiro Koizumi, whose promises of a "reform with no sacred cows" included abolition of the restrictions imposed on Japan's military by the U.S. in the aftermath of WWII—restrictions which continue to have huge support among a population for whom the horrors of war, not least the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are still a living memory.

Koizumi's economic "reform" program is substantially similar to that implemented by the administration of Herbert Hoover in the U.S. with the onset of the Great Depression in 1930-31. This was to encourage bank failures and corporate bankruptcies in order to purge the economy of "inefficient" firms combined with tight money to impose "discipline" on both industrialists and financiers. In the context of a worldwide recession, Koizumi's program, if implemented, would drive Japan into a full-scale depression. There are, however, powerful vested interests within the Japanese ruling class (not least in the LDP) opposed to Koizumi's slash-and-burn approach. But whatever the policies of the Tokyo government, Japan—still the second-largest economy in the world—is in a deepening and likely prolonged economic slump.

The former East Asian "tigers" (centrally South Korea) and the ASEAN countries of Southeast Asia (e.g., Thailand) based their economies on the "Japanese model." Indeed, this region is closely enmeshed with Japanese capitalism through investments, loans, subcontracting arrangements, licensing agreements and the like. The crux of the "Japanese model" is close cooperation between the government and big industrialists with the aim of maximizing the country's exports, primarily to the huge American market. Thus successive regimes in Seoul provided subsidies and loan guarantees to Hyundai, Daewoo and other South Korean *chaebol* (analogous to the Japanese *keiritsu*).

In 1997-98, the capitalist countries of East and Southeast Asia replicated the "Japanese model" in another respect as well. They, too, suffered a crisis of overcapitalization that left the big (and small) industrial firms of the region awash with debts they could not repay. For example, South Korea's Hyundai Electronics, the world's second-largest memory-chip maker, has debts of over $6 billion and now faces the prospect of bankruptcy given the presently depressed world market demand for semiconductors.

There is, however, a crucial difference between Japan, on the one hand, and other East and Southeast Asian capitalist countries on the other. This is the difference between an imperialist country and dependent, neocolonial countries. Japanese industrialists are in debt almost exclusively to Japanese banks and other financial institutions (often owned by the same individuals and families). The industrial firms, banks and governments of South Korea, Thailand et al. are heavily in debt to banks in Japan, the United States and, to a lesser extent, West Europe. Under the imperialist system, the economic fate of South Korea and Thailand is determined in Tokyo and New York, not in Seoul and Bangkok.

In order to repay their foreign loans in yen and dollars, the capitalists of South Korea and Thailand have to run a balance-of-trade surplus, mainly with the United States. For these countries, the slogan "Export or Die" is not a cliché but a harsh reality. Last spring, Morgan Stanley economist Andy Xie predicted: "A looming US recession threatens to cut off their lifeline" (London *Financial Times*, 12 March). The U.S. recession then looming is now here and, moreover, the Japanese economy has suffered an even sharper decline.

Consequently, a mood of deep gloom has fallen upon the once buoyant capitalists of East Asia. "I don't think the region is conducive to fast growth," says the head of Thailand's largest manufacturer of construction materials. The CEO of a South Korean securities outfit declares: "The real crisis in Korea is diminishing hope for the future." There is no more telling indication of the destructive irrationality of the world capitalist system than the historic pessimism voiced by the capitalists of a region not long ago hailed as the site of an "economic miracle."

AP

AFP

Japanese capitalism in free fall: homeless protest in Tokyo in 1998; Tokyo stock prices hit 16-year low this July.

Mexico Under NAFTA

Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Latin American propertied classes have demonstrated their subservience to Wall Street and Washington even more blatantly than in the past. In Mexico, the National Action Party of "free marketeer" Vicente Fox, a former Coca Cola CEO, replaced the long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which had institutionalized nationalist-populist demagogy. Argentina rigidly tied its currency, the peso, to the U.S. dollar in foreign-exchange markets. Yet the greater integration of the Latin American economies with that of the United States has brought not prosperity but greater immiseration.

A few months ago, the *New York Times* correspondent in Mexico City wrote: "Mexico has been in a recession for months, and its deep dependence on trade with the United States is the primary cause." But even the economic boom in the U.S. in the mid-late 1990s did *not* bring about a significant improvement in the conditions of Mexico's toiling masses. Superficially, the economic statistics looked good. In the seven years following the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, Mexico's economic growth averaged 4 percent a year. Exports (primarily manufactured products) tripled. Foreign investment, mainly by U.S. multinational corporations, increased at an annual rate of $10 billion.

Yet for all that, according to the official 2000 census, 40 million Mexican peasants and urban poor—out of a total population of more than 100 million—have to survive on the equivalent of less than $3 a day. Fourteen million people live in houses with dirt floors, six and a half million in shacks with cardboard roofs; 20 percent of the labor force has no regular full-time employment.

To be sure, workers employed in the profit-making sectors of the Mexican economy were able to take advantage of the economic expansion through strikes and other forms of labor struggle to improve their wages and benefits. In the *maquiladora* assembly-for-export plants, located along Mexico's northern border, wages last year increased by an estimated 10 percent. But Mexico's chief attraction for American as well as European and Japanese multinationals is its cheap labor. To the extent that labor becomes *less cheap* in Mexico, Mexico becomes *less attractive* to foreign investors.

Business Week (6 August) noted: "Rivals threaten Mexico's appeal as a manufacturing hub." In particular, multinationals now producing consumer electronics in Mexico are considering shifting their operations to Southeast Asia, where wages are as low as 60 cents an hour. *Business Week* quotes Charles Parks, executive vice president for Latin America for SCI Systems, which employs (for now) 10,000 workers in Guadalajara: "Anything that is really price-sensitive is considering moving lock, stock, and barrel, to Asia."

An important and direct effect of NAFTA has been the devastation of Mexico's smallholding peasantry, which cannot possibly compete with the highly mechanized and scientifically advanced agribusiness of North America. Fox's minister of agriculture, Javier Usabiaga, has proclaimed an economic death sentence for the country's rural toilers: "A small farmer, no matter how productive, is not going to be able to make enough money to survive.... He is going to have to find another job" (*New York Times*, 22 July).

Find another job?! Even during the relatively favorable conditions of the late 1990s, millions of small farmers driven off the land could not find jobs in the urban industrial economy. Many were condemned to the squalid slums around Mexico City or Guadalajara, eking out a near-starvation existence as street vendors or day laborers. And the number of desperately poor former peasants and laid-off workers is now being multiplied by the world economic slump.

The transformation of a smallholding peasantry into an industrial proletariat was a progressive historical development in what are now the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe and Japan. But backward, neocolonial countries like Mexico cannot today replicate their development into advanced industrial economies. Within a capitalist framework, the countries of the so-called "Third World" cannot elevate themselves into the "First World" either by the "free market" neoliberalism of Vicente Fox or by the nationalist corporatism/protectionism practiced by the PRI over the previous half-century.

The social, economic and cultural modernization of Mexico can be achieved only through a *socialist revolution* that places the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant and indigenous masses and all the oppressed, in power and establishes a planned, socialized economy. From the outset, a victorious workers state in such a backward country—one, moreover, sharing a long border with the U.S.—would have to strive to promote proletarian revolution in the American imperialist behemoth and

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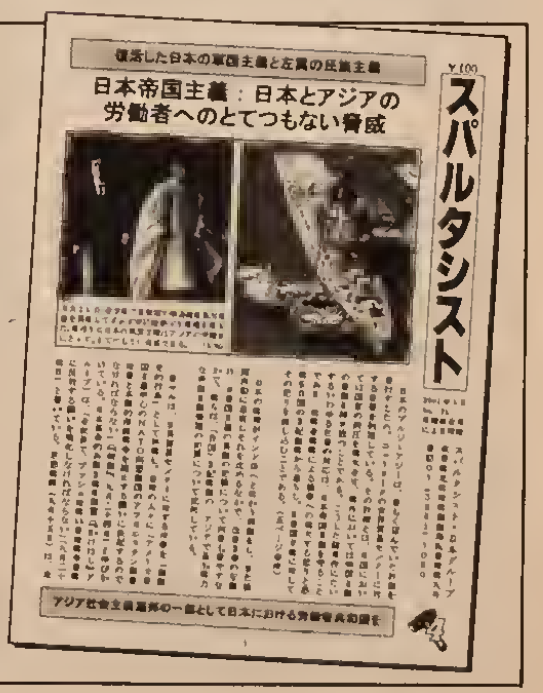


Recession...

(continued from page 7)

internationally. And a revolution in Mexico would indeed have a powerfully radicalizing effect in the U.S.

Over the past few decades, the Mexican proletariat has in a sense extended itself into the territorial boundaries of the United States, mainly in Texas and California, as impoverished Mexican and other Latino workers and peasants have flooded into the U.S. looking for jobs. These immigrant workers, many of whom retain strong family ties to Mexico, have brought with them the experience of bitter class struggles in their homelands. Thus the Los Angeles area, with its large Mexican and Central American communities, has for several years been a center of labor militancy in the U.S. To release this potential for revolutionary struggle requires an *international revolutionory porty* capable of liberating the Mexican working class from the shackles of nationalist populism and of breaking the hold of the racist, pro-imperialist AFL-CIO bureaucracy over the American working class. This perspective underscores the crucial nature of the fight in the U.S. for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

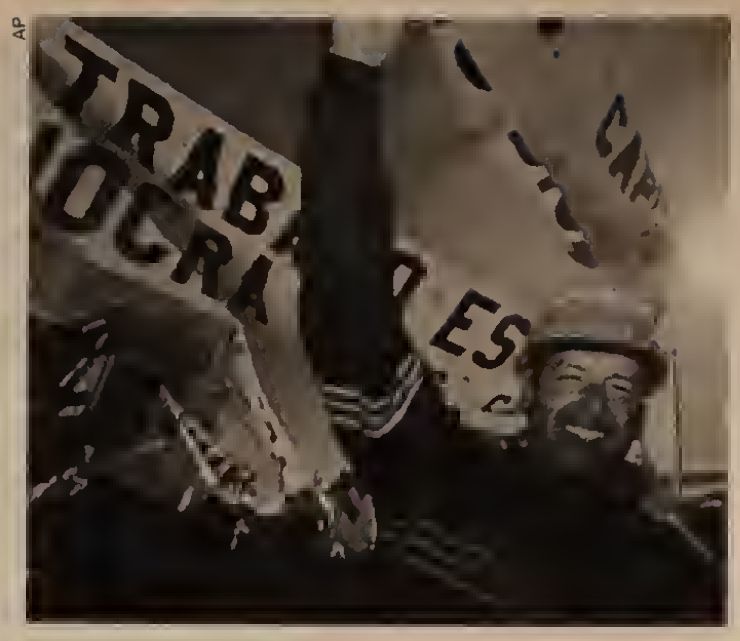
Wall Street Bleeds South America

If the Mexican bourgeoisie has bound itself ever closer to American imperialism through NAFTA, the Argentine bourgeoisie did so in a different way a few years earlier. As a supposed "cure" for the country's chronic hyperinflation, in 1991 the neoliberal regime of Carlos Menem pegged the Argentine peso to the U.S. dollar at a rate of one to one. Furthermore, the expansion of the domestic money supply was now based on the amount of dollars held by the central bank.

In order to attract more dollars, the financial authorities in Buenos Aires maintained interest rates higher than those prevailing in other Latin American countries. And for a time in the early 1990s, Argentina did attract a sizable flow of speculative (easy come, easy go) money. But the high rates also discouraged borrowing for long-term productive investment in new plant, equipment and infrastructure.

Because of its peculiar foreign-exchange system, the Argentine economy was severely damaged by the U.S. financial/economic boom in the mid-late 1990s. Huge sums of money from Tokyo, London, Frankfurt and elsewhere flooded into the Wall Street bull market. Consequently, the value of the dollar rose sharply in relation to the Japanese yen, the major European currencies and almost all the currencies of Third World countries with the notable exception of Argentina. The Argentine peso and therefore the price of Argentina's goods in the world market also rose sharply compared to almost all other countries, including its main trading partner, Brazil. Mainly due to mounting balance-of-trade deficits, Argentina slid into recession three years ago, that is, well before the current world slump.

Ironically, in the name of "free market reform" Argentina's capitalists have deprived themselves of the normal market mechanism for reducing a balance-of-trade deficit, namely, currency depreciation, which reduces the world market price of exports and increases the domestic price of imports. The stubborn refusal of successive Buenos Aires regimes to devalue the peso (as Brazil devalued the *real* in 1999) is not simply due to wrong-headed ideological dogmatism. To "stabilize" the currency, over the past decade the Argentine government and many large businesses denominated most of their new bond issues in dollars. So a devaluation of the peso would increase Argentina's debt proportionally. That is why of all major Third World countries Argentina was and still is the most likely to default on its government debt.



AP

Buenos Aires, August 29: tens of thousands of trade unionists march to protest government cutbacks.

So late last year Washington, operating through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), put together the usual "emergency rescue package" for Argentina. This is *not o bailout of Argentino*; it is a bailout of U.S. banks that hold Argentine government (and private) bonds. As the *Wall Street Journal* (20 August) explained: "The possibility of an Argentine debt default sends shudders through Wall Street since Argentine bonds comprise one fifth of the benchmark emerging-market debt index."

The American imperialists are intent on making the working people of Argentina repay with interest the loans that the Buenos Aires regimes have negotiated with the U.S. Treasury and Wall Street banks. As usual, the IMF "rescue package" contains conditions of harsh austerity: suspension of the social security system, increase in the retirement age for women from 60 to 65, a freeze on spending by the provincial governments that provide much of the country's social services.

For almost a year, Argentina has been convulsed by mass labor strikes and popular protests against the Washington/IMF-dictated austerity. Commenting on these protests, the Buenos Aires correspondent for the *Washington Post* (6 August) wrote: "After a decade of free market reforms, many workers, politicians and business leaders are deeply discouraged by the outcome, and doubting the very wisdom of the capitalist model they once embraced." This analysis, typical of the current thinking in American ruling circles, *falsely* identifies "the capitalist model" with "free market" neoliberalism as espoused by the IMF. Latin America has always been capitalist and no more so today than in the past. The difference is that in the past the prevalent bourgeois ideology was nationalist populism represented by Peronism in Argentina and the PRI in Mexico.

Thus one can speak of a nationalist-corporatist "model" of capitalism in Latin America. Strategic sectors of the economy were state-owned. Domestic industry was protected by high tariffs and import licenses. Foreign-exchange transactions and short-term capital movements were subject to a wide array of controls, while various restrictions were placed on foreign-owned businesses. Despite occasional anti-Yankee demagogy, nationalist regimes like the Peronists in Argentina and the PRI in Mexico in fact functioned as the local political agents of Wall Street, keeping the proletariat in line through their agents in the corporatist labor bureaucracies. These regimes also periodically slashed workers' wages and depressed the living standards of the masses to repay their debt to U.S. and other foreign banks, usually through the mechanism of accelerated inflation rather than the deflationary measures now favored by the IMF. That is, money wages continued to rise but the price of food, fuel, clothing and other necessities rose even faster.

The *Washington Post* correspondent is probably right that the current economic crisis in Latin America, from Argentina to Mexico, will produce a shift in the political-ideological climate away from "free market" neoliberalism back toward the nationalist populism of yesteryear. However, such a shift in the political climate and balance of forces is not in itself anti-capitalist. In a sense, it would strengthen the forces of capitalism in Latin America by recementing the ties of the working class to its own national bourgeoisie, which is well practiced in demagogic denunciations of Wall Street and Washington.

To liberate themselves from Wall Street's debt peonage, the workers and rural toilers of Latin America must be won to the principles and program of *proletarion internotionalism* as represented by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. As the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League, wrote following Fox's election last year (*Espartaco* No. 14, Autumn-Winter 2000; translated in *WV* No. 748, 15 December 2000):

> "The struggles of the Mexican and American proletariat are politically and economically linked, even more tightly since the imposition of the NAFTA 'free trade' rape of Mexico by American imperialism. The GEM fights to win the Mexican proletariat to an international revolutionary perspective joining their struggles with those of their class brothers and sisters in the U.S., through combatting the nationalism that chains the proletariat to its bourgeoisie. Correspondingly, our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. fight to break American workers from the reactionary nationalism and racism against blacks and immigrants that infect the workers movement and serve to tie the workers to the ruling class."

Reforge the Fourth International!

Coming amid the slaughter of the first global interimperialist conflict, World War I, the October Revolution of 1917 showed the international proletariat a way out of recurrent capitalist crises and wars. Despite the subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, the Bolshevik Revolution, by expropriating the bourgeoisie and laying the basis for a planned economy, enabled the Soviet Union to become a major industrial and military power. The Stalinist regimes of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, falsely labeled communist, collapsed precisely because their nationally limited program of "building socialism in one country" could not withstand the economic pressures of capitalist imperialism.

Similarly, the nationalist bureaucratic caste in China daily places the gains of the 1949 Revolution in ever greater jeopardy. Even as the capitalist world sinks into economic crisis, the Beijing bureaucracy, now entering the WTO, seeks to promote greater reliance on imperialist investment. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution that overthrew capitalist class rule must be unconditionally defended against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. The task facing the combative Chinese working class is the forging of a revolutionary working-class party committed to the overthrow of bureaucratic misrule through a political revolution that installs a government based on workers (soviet) democracy and proletarian internationalism.

For all the bourgeoisie's triumphalism about the supposed "death of communism," the current world economic crisis cries out for an internationally planned socialist economy. To achieve this requires workers revolution, from industrialized Third World countries like South Korea, South Africa, Brazil and Mexico to the imperialist centers of North America, Europe and Japan. What is needed is an authentically communist international party—a reforged Fourth International based on Lenin and Trotsky's program of world socialist revolution—to render the proletariat conscious of its historic task as the gravedigger of capitalism, a party capable of politically defeating the reformist misleaders and bourgeois nationalists who bind the exploited and oppressed to the bloodsuckers of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo.■

NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League public office will re-open on Saturday, November 10th. (See Directory for regular hours.) We had suspended office hours in solidarity with a strike by cleaners in the building where the office is located. This strike has now ended with the cleaners returning to work. We will no longer be at the Student Events Center at NYU every Tuesday night as previously advertised.

CHICAGO NOTICE

The Chicago Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club announces public office hours at our new location. Office hours are every Saturday from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. at 222 S. Morgan (buzz "23") near UIC-Halsted stop on the Blue Line.

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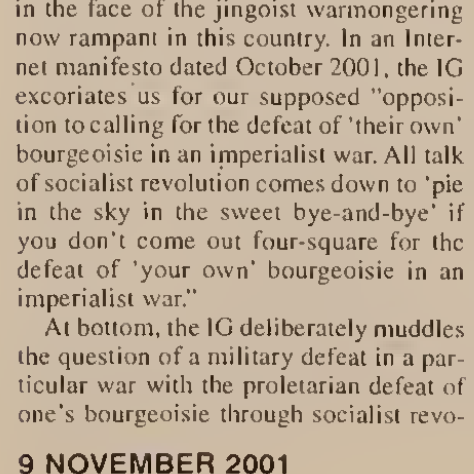
Class Struggle...

(continued from page 1)

breaking the allegiance of the workers to their class-collaborationist, social-chauvinist leaders.

Centrists and Renegades

Reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party, who busy themselves attempting to enlist dissident Democratic Party politicians (currently with scant success) in building "peace" coalitions, offer up the pipe dream of an imperialist system cleansed of war and injustice. We Marxists say that only workers revolution can end imperialist war, and as part of that task we seek to break the proletariat from the chauvinist "national front" and to mobilize class-struggle opposition to the war. And while such a perspective may seem remote in the U.S. today, in Italy the COBAS (Rank and File committees) unions have called for a political general strike on November 9 in opposition to the imperialist war against Afghanistan and, to the Italian government's assault on social benefits. Similarly in 1999, the COBAS launched a one-day general strike in opposition to the U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia. Such labor actions against the war in this country would challenge the jingoist "national unity" used to cement the workers behind the war aims of their capitalist exploiters.



Perry/NY Times

NYC, November 2: cops attack firefighters protesting order to pull back from search through WTC ruins. Over a dozen firefighters, including union officials, have been arrested.

Our perspective is based on the experience of the October Revolution of 1917, which triumphed amid the slaughter of World War I because of the Bolshevik program of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. Proletarian opposition to the imperialist depredations of the exploiters can, in the words of Leon Trotsky, be pursued "only through the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, that is, by widening, deepening, and sharpening those revolutionary methods which constitute the content of class struggle in 'peacetime'" ("Learn to Think," May 1938).

This is the understanding we have propagated in our sales at work locations, in the ghettos and in all our interventions at antiwar protests and meetings. Nevertheless, the Internationalist Group (IG), a handful of centrist renegades who fled our organization in the mid-1990s under the pressures of imperialist "death of communism" triumphalism, have recently taken us to task for having "flinched" in the face of the jingoist warmongering now rampant in this country. In an Internet manifesto dated October 2001, the IG excoriates us for our supposed "opposition to calling for the defeat of 'their own' bourgeoisie in an imperialist war. All talk of socialist revolution comes down to 'pie in the sky in the sweet bye-and-bye' if you don't come out four-square for the defeat of 'your own' bourgeoisie in an imperialist war."

At bottom, the IG deliberately muddles the question of a military defeat in a particular war with the proletarian defeat of one's bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. The latter is the program animating any truly revolutionary party in peacetime as in wartime. The slogans used to proceed toward that end—to lead the working masses from their current level of consciousness to the seizure of state power—are, however, necessarily conjunctural. Thus, upon returning to Russia after the overthrow of the tsar in early 1917, Lenin had to fight against those in the Bolshevik Party who wished to lend support to the bourgeois Provisional Government. Having won this battle, he then had to caution left proletarian elements of the party who wanted to immediately call for the overthrow of the Provisional Government. On 5 May 1917, the Central Committee passed the following motion authored by Lenin: "The slogan 'Down with the Provisional Government!' is an incorrect one at the present moment because, in the absence of a solid (i.e., a class-conscious and organised) majority of the people on the side of the revolutionary proletariat, such a slogan is either an empty phrase, or, objectively, amounts to attempts of an adventurist character."

AP

Kabul, October 26: Red Cross facility hit by U.S. air strikes for second time in ten days.

The IG, in an effort to back up its empty phrasemongering, offers the following example: "The French defeat at the hands of the Algerian independence fighters culminating in 1962 demoralized the French bourgeoisie and helped lead to the worker-student revolt of 1968, which posed the first potentially revolutionary crisis in Europe in years." In reality, the eight-year-long colonial war in Algeria bears no resemblance to what is happening in Afghanistan today.

It is interesting to examine our position of defense of Afghanistan against the U.S. onslaught as compared to a situation which was, in some ways, similar: the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by imperialist Italy. Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie was a cruelly oppressive society—one of the world's last bastions of chattel slavery—characterized by tribal backwardness, subjugation of minority peoples and unremitting exploitation of the peasant masses. Revolutionaries defended Ethiopia against Mussolini's Italy because the latter was an imperialist power, regardless of the fact that the form of imperialist rule was fascist rather than democratic.

In calling on the working class to defend Afghanistan against U.S. imperialism, we apply the same Leninist principle of siding with backward countries against imperialist attack. That said, the U.S. war against Afghanistan is in important ways different from the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, which was aimed at realizing Italy's longstanding intention to colonize that country. The U.S. does not aim at an occupation of Afghanistan—at least not at this point—although now that they're in Central Asia the imperialists will grab what they can. In attacking Afghanistan, the U.S. seeks vengeance for the insult to its imperial might.

Such is not always easily available even to the mightiest imperialist power. In the 19th century, when Britain was the world's leading imperialist state, its ambassador to Bolivia disdainfully declined a cup of Bolivian beer. Bolivian officials were so offended by his condescending attitude that they dragged him through the streets of La Paz tied across the back of a donkey, then forced him to drink a whole barrel of the brew. Infuriated by this act of *lèse majesté*, Queen Victoria insisted that the Royal Navy bombard Bolivia in retaliation. When one of her advisers finally summoned up the courage to inform her that Bolivia was landlocked, the queen demanded a map and, dipping her pen in an inkwell, marked a bold X across the country, declaring "Bolivia does not exist!"

The IG's spurious analogy with colonial wars notwithstanding, it seems currently unlikely that the U.S. will launch a significant land invasion of Afghanistan. Indeed, its maiden efforts in this regard, a commando raid in October, led to results that must have induced nightmares of the humiliating American defeat in Vietnam among the Pentagon brass. The London *Independent* (30 October) reported: "The raid was a purely cosmetic one for the benefit of the media and the public on a target, which intelligence had claimed, would be poorly defended. The tenacity of the Taliban in fighting back has so alarmed the Pentagon that no further raids have taken place since."

Washington's most likely variant at this time is for continued, incessant and purposeless bombing for which the Taliban has no possible military redress. Again, this was not the case in the 1935 Italo-Ethiopian war. Italy was a second-rate imperialist power riven by sharp class contradictions and constrained in its intentions by its bigger imperialist rivals. Although in the upshot Italy was victorious after a seven-month-long ground war, it was not unreasonable for the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party to project a possible military victory by Ethiopia:

> "It can be said without exaggeration that a defeat of Italy and a revolution on the Apennine peninsula can have unforeseeable results. The whole European system of alliances and states would fall apart. The proletariat in Germany, Austria, Spain, on the Balkans, and not least of all in France, would receive an enormous impulsion; the face of Europe would be altered. That lies in the direct class interests of the international proletariat. But still more. A defeat of Italy in Africa, a victory of Ethiopia, might deliver the imperialist bandits a terrific blow in Africa."
>
> —"Questions of the Italo-Ethiopian War," *New International* (October 1935)

None of these factors currently constrain the U.S., although, to be sure, the war will exacerbate tensions among the imperialist powers, and its price in misery at home may awaken class combativity in the American proletariat. Thus, the call for a U.S. military defeat is, at this time, illusory and the purest hot air and "revolutionary" phrasemongering—and one which derives from forsaking the mobilization of the U.S. proletariat with the aim of the conquest of state power.

Unlike the IG, the SL is committed to breaking the American working class and the oppressed from their class-collaborationist bondage to the Democratic Party and to forging a revolutionary workers party to overthrow American imperialism through socialist revolution. While the IG waxes oh-so-revolutionary in the ether of cyberspace, we actually fight for a proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist perspective on the ground. In a recent intervention at a rally at the ILWU Local 10 longshore union hall in San Francisco in defense of the Charleston Five (see *WV* No. 767, 26 October), an SL supporter called for class struggle at home and for defense of Afghanistan against the imperialist attack. "Both ruling parties," she declared, "are fanning the flames of patriotic fervor to line up the population behind their military aims abroad and to further chain the working class to the interests of the bosses at home." She concluded as follows:

> "For decades, the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO leadership has tied workers to their class enemy through support to the Democrats....

continued on page 10

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA
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Columbia University
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Hamilton Hall, Room 302
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

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Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.
November 14:
The Revolution Betrayed
York University Student Ctr., Rm. 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER
Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
November 14:
The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

Class Struggle...

(continued from page 9)

> "For that reason, we believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for black freedom, for immigrant rights and for our class brothers and sisters abroad against U.S. imperialism. Such a party will lead the fight to get rid of the capitalist order and create a workers government and a new society without exploitation. This is the only road to end racism and war forever. Those who labor must rule!"

In order to tell the truth about this imperialist war, our comrade had to battle the disruptions of one Jack Heyman, a left-talking ILWU local bureaucrat styled by the IG as a "workers leader," who was thwarted in his efforts by longshoremen in the audience.

Dickinson College

Movietone News

Italian imperialist invaders (left) fought Ethiopian resistance forces for seven months in 1935-36 war of annexation.

We Said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

The IG's r-r-revolutionary phrasemongering is shared by another clot of centrists, as exemplified by a 9 October joint statement signed by the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI, centered on the British Workers Power group), the Morenoite Fraccion Trotskysta in Mexico and the Communist League-Workers Power in Greece. They, too, are enamored with the call for "defeat of the imperialist forces." Where the IG attacks us for focusing on the indefensible nature of the indiscriminate attack on the World Trade Center, their centrist counterparts omit altogether any condemnation of the slaughter of thousands of ordinary working people and minorities in that attack, indicating a congruence with the worldview shared by U.S. imperialism's leaders and Islamic fundamentalists inspired by bin Laden—that entire peoples are responsible for the crimes of their rulers.

In the case of the LRCI et al., anti-Americanism is intermingled with preposterous slogans and some very red rhetoric to appeal to any and all who might read it, from the psychiatrically challenged to youth in search of an alternative to pacifism and reformism. The red rhetoric is unserious bombast, as captured in the call on "soldiers to organise resistance in the armed forces...to rebel against the imperialists and their mass-murdering Generals" and on "workers in the munitions factories to boycott and sabotage imperialist war production." For these opportunists, words are meant not for the class struggle but for Greek tavernas, English pubs and Latin American cantinas. In Britain, the real substance of Workers Power's "revolutionary defeatism" is captured in their organizing to "LOBBY PARLIAMENT as it debates the war."

Indeed, voting Labour is just about the only "principle" the British Workers Power group adheres to. In 1997 as well as this year Workers Power voted for "Bomber Blair" and his Labour Party. In the 1999 NATO war against Serbia, the LRCI was marching in demonstrations shot through with placards reading "NATO Good Luck," championing the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army, which was then a pawn for NATO. Their current left posturing over Afghanistan is a function both of the growing unpopularity of the U.S. bombing among Europeans and the peripheral nature of Afghanistan from the standpoint of the European imperialists.

As to the preposterous, there is the call for "united action of all Afghan forces—including Islamist forces—to repel the imperialist assault," a task of interest to those who believe in alchemy. The notion that there can be any but the most ephemeral unity among the various tribes within Afghanistan's borders is belied by a history of constant internecine conflict. These peoples have no coherent national interest because Afghanistan is not a nation. The "Afghan forces" are today, as in the past, engaged in shooting at each other, with the Taliban, based on the dominant Pashtun people, arrayed against the largely Tajik and Uzbek Northern Alliance, which currently acts as a puppet of U.S. imperialism.

Declaring "Afghanistan has suffered over 20 years of war," the LRCI joint statement lumps together the CIA-backed *mujahedin* war against the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan with the later war among the rival *mujahedin* groups, the Taliban and the components of the Northern Alliance. In other words, the LRCI and its current bloc partners are united in hoping that no one will look too closely at where they stood on the U.S. proxy war in Afghanistan at the time! We *hailed* the Red Army in Afghanistan and fervently desired that Soviet commandos would take out the Islamic fanatics who threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and murdered those who dared teach young girls. Not so Workers Power, which *condemned* the Soviet presence

Australasian Spartacist

Melbourne, October 13: Australian Workers Power pushes reformist pacifism on the ground; centrists' "revolutionary" hot air is strictly for cyberspace.

while stopping short of echoing the imperialist cry for a Red Army withdrawal. The Morenoites openly backed the *mujahedin*. In France, they called for the Soviet Army to pull out of Afghanistan and leave its arms with the anti-Communist Islamic guerrillas. In Italy, the Morenoite group looked forward to "the possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR" (*Avanzata Proletaria*, 12 January 1980)!

As a left cover for its opposition to the Soviet military presence, Workers Power at the time concocted an Afghan proletariat as an independent "revolutionary force." The current LRCI joint statement raises the demand for a "workers' and peasants' government" in Afghanistan, where there are no workers and not much of a peasantry. This idiocy is now echoed by the IG in its call for "socialist revolution" in Afghanistan. It was only the intervention of the Soviet Union that opened the possibility of bringing the Afghan peoples into the 20th century. That's why we raised the call, "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Today, social revolution can come to Afghanistan only through socialist overturns in those countries in the area with significant proletarian concentrations, from Iran to Pakistan and India. Central to a revolutionary perspective in such countries is the fight against the age-old subjugation of women. Indeed, the Afghan conflict in the 1980s was the only war in modern history fought centrally over the status of women.

In reality, the IG has little taste for the proletariat—whether in the U.S. or in the "Third World." Instead the IG peddles its wares to a variety of petty-bourgeois nationalist audiences. In its latest Web posting, the IG sneers that "the SL presents itself as the vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism." Its contempt for our unqualified opposition to Islamic reaction is a tacit rejection of our call for a Red Army victory against the mullahs in Afghanistan in the 1980s (which the IG feigns to stand on). It is also a promissory note to nationalists from those parts of the planet where Islam is dominant, in the name of a "united front" against American imperialism, to forswear the struggle for proletarian power in those countries. It is, in embryo, an abandonment of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which holds that the proletariat in the backward countries is the only force capable of leading the struggle for social and national justice. As Trotsky stressed, only proletarian revolution can break the imperialist yoke over such countries and, with its extension to advanced capitalist countries, end imperialism forever.

The growth of Islamic and other religious fundamentalism in backward countries is a measure of the bankruptcy of the post-independence bourgeois-nationalist regimes, which enforce imperialist starvation dictates while themselves promoting obscurantist backwardness. Take, for example, predominantly Hindu India, where the caste system and such hideous practices as *suttee* (the burning of widows) flourish after more than five decades of "democracy." The weight of social backwardness is evident in all aspects of the society. Some 70 million Indians are afflicted with goiter and 200 million are at risk of iodine deficiency, which is the single most preventable cause of mental retardation. Iodized salt is a cheap, ready means for combatting such medical disorders. Yet in the wake of a clamor by small-scale salt producers, Gandhians and fascist groups tied to the ruling BJP, last year Hindu-chauvinist prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee overturned a ban on the sale of non-iodized salt.

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

In Europe no less than in America, the working class has been subjected to a continuous attack on jobs, wages and benefits. In large measure these attacks have been carried out by governments led by social-democratic parties. In addition to the COBAS strike called in Italy, there is evidence of popular discontent throughout Europe. At the end of October, the giant IG Metall union in Germany called for a halt to the bombing, only to be reprimanded by "their" Social Democratic chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, who lectured: "Concern yourself with the living conditions of your members, but keep your fingers out of foreign policy, because you understand nothing about it" (*Spiegel Online*, 31 October). An IG Metall spokesman replied, "We're not about to let even Schröder shut us up."

While workers throughout Europe are no doubt suspicious that the war against Afghanistan may redound to their detriment, the union tops also seek to voice the interests of their own bourgeoisies through appeals to anti-Americanism. Thus, the vice chairman of IG Metall warns against "blindly following orders from America." Such anti-American nationalism is also promoted by centrists like the LRCI, whose occasionally left-sounding rhetoric is mere window-dressing that serves to reinforce working-class illusions in the social-democratic labor lieutenants of capital. Only the Leninist commitment to drive the social-chauvinist misleaders out of the labor movement, to split the masses of workers from their social-democratic betrayers, can prepare the way for the long overdue and increasingly urgent socialist overturns necessary in Europe and elsewhere.

While in the U.S. the working class remains largely in support of the war, tears are beginning to appear in the fabric of jingoist "national unity." For many postal workers facing the threat of potentially deadly anthrax infection, Osama bin Laden likely appears as less of an enemy than their own bosses. The arrest of four firemen's union officials following last Friday's protest near the ruins of the World Trade Center will justly be taken as a warning by many workers that the bosses will crack down on any labor unrest. Beginning with the strikes last month by Minnesota state workers and at three General Dynamics tank plants, it is evident that many workers resent the losses to their living standards sustained during the recent nine-year boom and are dismayed by the prospects of further losses—including the loss of any paycheck at all—as a result of the recession and the war effort. The Republicans' plan to grant even further massive tax breaks to the rich will doubtless add kindling to these smoldering resentments.

Evidence of such dissatisfaction can be found in the fact that a layer of local trade-union bureaucrats is voicing opposition to the U.S. bombing. This also finds its echo among black Democrats. In September, Oakland Democrat Barbara Lee cast the sole vote against the Congressional war resolution; subsequently 66 Congressmen and one Senator voted against the "anti-terror" law. And Lee, who received death threats after her vote, was feted by a rally of several thousand hosted by local liberal Democrats and the ILWU tops.

Both the ILWU on the West Coast and a lash-up of more than 400 New York City trade unionists, including 12 local presidents, have come out in opposition to the war. A statement issued by "New York City Labor Against the War" declares that war "will redirect billions to the military and corporate executives, while draining such essential domestic programs as education, health care and the social security trust. In New York City and elsewhere, it will be a pretext for imposing 'austerity' on labor and poor people under the guise of 'national unity'."

The black Democrats and oppositional trade-union tops are positioning themselves to get ahead of and contain the increasing discontents that the capitalist rulers' war at home and abroad, coming

Airline...

(continued from page 3)

work out of the mechanics from 10 p.m.-4 a.m., the time block for heavy maintenance projects, without paying overtime. One consequence is that mechanics on the afternoon shift will be expected to take on a project like changing a shaft and bearing at the end of the shift instead of just replacing a bearing, while performing all the same work earlier in the day. This change will place greater stress on the morning shift, which will no longer have backup for fixing jams and doing emergency maintenance during a critical period when there are a lot of bags in the system.

The changing of shift schedules to speed up work is not limited to facilities maintenance. Flights now arrive and depart from Newark in groups known in the industry as banks whereas previously, when there were 25 percent more flights, arrivals and departures were relatively continuous. The bank system allows the company to maximize feeding passengers into connecting flights at its hubs. For the part-time ramp workers, many of whom were downgraded from full-time, it means their shifts now coincide with the banks so that they have to perform the same amount of work in four hours that they previously did in six or eight hours.

Other measures the industry bosses have tried to rally their workforces behind the companies include "voluntary" pay cuts, individual schedule reductions and early retirement. Born out of the culture of company loyalty bred by the profit-sharing prevalent in the industry, and perhaps best understood as profit-sharing in reverse, the voluntary pay cuts, at American Airlines and Southwest in particular, are a means for shifting the blame for layoffs to the workforce (in the event there are too few volunteers). The executive pay freeze through the end of the year at the major carriers is a cynical ploy to seek to cement the bond of the workforce to the company and set a precedent for accepting wage cuts. Of course, all the top executives already have each taken home hundreds of thousands of dollars this year. Southwest grossly entitled its voluntary pay cut program "Pledge to LUV" after the code for its Dallas Love Field base.

The airline that has most bungled its efforts to reduce labor costs, thereby raising the ire of its workforce, is Northwest. It is the only major airline at which the executives will not forego compensation for the remainder of the year, while already having cut 10,000 positions. The company, apparently mistakenly, sent furlough notices to pilots high on the seniority list, prompting threats of work actions. I was told the company "corrected" these furloughs. But the Northwest bosses have specially targeted the aircraft mechanics, who obtained a record-setting contract earlier in the year. By the numbers, a disproportionate number of aircraft mechanics were furloughed and with minimal severance pay. The craft union Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association has filed breach of contract grievances in the courts on behalf of its membership.

What the AMFA was really pushing hard was national chauvinism. I was directed to an AMFA statement available on the internet in which it attacks Northwest for keeping open foreign aircraft maintenance repair stations while it is laying off its American-based workforce.

Management also is seeking to smash the unions through route realignment. As much as possible given their fleet composition, companies are switching routes to regional jets. The regional jet (or "express") workforce more often than not labors for lower "B-scale" wages, historically enforced by the parent companies backed up by the union officials of the parent company workforce. Last week, United transitioned six destinations to regional jets. Delta has announced new regional jet service at its hubs in Atlanta, Cincinnati, Dallas/Fort Worth and Salt Lake City. At Continental, almost twice as many mainline pilots (1,100) than express employees in all crafts (600) were furloughed. Many of these furloughed mainline pilots are seeking to "bump into" express. By the terms of their contract, the mainline pilots can displace from their job express pilots with less company seniority. This bumping has heightened the division between different sectors of the workforce and greatly incapacitated the unions.

In general, the course of events has exacerbated craft divisions. Pilots are particularly notable in this regard, perhaps not surprising given their military background (e.g., 1,200 of United's 10,500 pilots are active National Guard reservists). Though its position has shifted with the winds of bourgeois opinion, at one point acceding to Bush's opposition only to reverse itself under the weight of its ranks, the Air Line Pilots Association, the main pilots union, wants pilots armed in the cockpit. Of course, in its scheme, the FBI would train and deputize pilots as federal law enforcement officers. The ALPA bureaucrats have gone so far as to lobby the FBI to back its plan in Congress.

In any case, the Association of Flight Attendants and other flight attendants unions have floated proposals for making instruments of self-defense, from pepper spray to handguns, available to its membership. That the flight attendants, the front-line workers in the event of any hijacking, were serious about self-defense was driven home to me when one flight attendant noted, "I am a liberal at heart [i.e., pro-gun control], but I cannot help but feel that if five or six people on board those planes had guns, none of this would have happened." In a bitter feud, the ALPA and other pilots union tops have successfully spiked all such proposals before the federal government, arguing with a strong dose of male chauvinism that a potential hijacker could easily disarm a flight attendant.

I also witnessed on CNN an ALPA representative go on a tirade against the airport baggage screeners for allowing ramp personnel (subtext: black and immigrant) to pass through checkpoints with a wave of their ID badges while subjecting (white) pilots to thorough searches of their persons and baggage.

Overnight following the September 11 attacks, the airports were turned into armed camps. One worker told me that the next day at Newark, from where one of the hijacked United flights departed, Port Authority and military police were spotted virtually strip-searching United employees. Today, the National Guard, federal marshals, state police, city police and Port Authority police, all armed, patrol the airports around the country.

Employees are under increased scrutiny. The Federal Aviation Administration is pursuing a comprehensive background check of all those with ramp access, an investigation it is conducting jointly with the FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies. At Chicago airports, all employees now are required to pass fingerprint checks, a security measure likely to be adopted elsewhere. At Newark, if an employee follows another through a gate or ramp access door without first closing it and re-punching the entry code, the consequence is termination. As well, industry workers, especially Hispanics, like the larger immigrant population, have been persecuted and detained at security checkpoints, even with the full complement of their IDs.

Wanting to avoid additional expenses at all costs, the airlines have recruited various sectors of their workforces to help cover the demand for greater security. At a number of airlines, management has ordered aircraft mechanics to conduct bomb sweeps of aircraft after the last flight of the day, and the FAA has mandated that flight attendants perform this function before and after every flight.

As in other industries, the union tops are peddling the "United We Stand" rhetoric of the ruling class. A United ramp worker, who had voted with his union to authorize a strike approximately three months ago, said, "We cannot strike now. United can't pay us any differently. It might not be around in a year." Almost none of the unions were even notified about the furloughs, which does have union members fuming. Most contract negotiations are on hold, including that between the Teamsters mechanics and Continental, and between IAM mechanics and fleet service workers (cleaners and ramp workers) and United.

By and large, the industry workforce is for U.S. "retaliation" for the September 11 attacks, conditioned by a logic that runs as follows: Jobs are secure only if passengers return, which will occur only if the threat of terrorism is stomped out, the mechanism for which is the U.S. military. Most of the social-chauvinism is directed at Arab people. The targeting and detention of Arab passengers as well as their expulsion from some flights is well-documented. Mechanics from South Asia are the subject of intense harassment, not only by management but by white mechanics as well.

But after the first two weeks, more thoughtful comments and criticisms of U.S. retaliation were expressed with greater frequency. An older black facilities mechanic noted, "If there was no bin Laden, the U.S. would find someone else to bomb. And America is just going to anger more people and create more enemies." Before the military strikes began, an East European worker observed, "America puffs out its chest, shakes its fist and yells loud, and we are all supposed to march behind it. But it just wants war to save its economy from a recession."

A.W.

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amid a deepening recession and the enduring character of racist oppression, will generate among working people and minorities. Selling themselves as the friends of labor and blacks is the long-standing card played by the Democrats, which is why they are historically the preferred party of the bourgeoisie when it comes to mobilizing the population for war. Jesse Jackson Sr. offers such services to his capitalist masters in an article in the Chicago *Defender* (15 October) headlined "Victory at Home, Victory Abroad!"—the NAACP's slogan during World War II. Trying to stoke support for the war among the black population, Jackson holds out the promise of a better future if they rally 'round the flag: "In many ways, we are two nations under one flag. We want to be one nation under one flag."

Black columnist Mary Mitchell captured some of the mistrust of the black population for the government's "war against terrorism," writing in the Chicago *Sun-Times* (9 October): "When black people think of terrorists, they don't immediately think of the Taliban or Osama bin Laden. They think of the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Nation, Southern slaveholders." Mitchell went on to complain that the same government that gutted welfare is now dropping "millions of dollars of food into the mouths of a people who live in the country ruled by a sworn enemy." Such anti-foreigner prejudices have their domestic reflection in anti-immigrant chauvinism, which is fanned by the likes of the black Democrats and Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, who seek to channel the anger of the ghetto poor into hatred for Arab, Korean and other immigrant shopkeepers. This is deadly poison which only serves the divide-and-rule schemes of the American bourgeoisie, whose rule is fundamentally premised on the subjugation of black people at the bottom of this society.

While the Republicans unabashedly enforce the interests of big business, the Democrats lie and do the same thing. As we note in the Programmatic Statement of the SL/U.S., "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!":

> "The shell game through which the Democratic Party—the historic party of the Confederate slavocracy—is portrayed as the 'friend' of blacks and labor has been essential to preserving the rule of racist American capitalism. Our principal task in the U.S. is to break the power of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy over the labor movement. It is this bureaucracy—itself a component part of the Democratic Party—which politically chains the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and is the major obstacle to revolutionary class consciousness, to the forging of a revolutionary workers party."

While the Sweeney leadership of the AFL-CIO openly supports the imperialist war, the antiwar union officials offer consoling words of opposition, but no deeds. A strike by the heavily black postal unions—in defense of the very lives of their members—to shut down anthrax-contaminated worksites would resonate widely among working people and minorities. But that would mean defying federal anti-strike legislation, challenging the government's proscription of strikes that it deems threatening to "national interests." In thrall to the bosses' laws, the postal union tops instead push fruitless court suits.

For America's capitalist rulers, workers are mere fodder for profit at home and war abroad. The callous indifference of the bosses and their government to the lives of postal workers only underscores that the interests of capital and labor are fundamentally counterposed. Such an understanding is the beginning of wisdom if the working people are to struggle successfully against this system of exploitation and war.

American "democracy" has been purchased through the brutal exploitation of the colonial and semicolonial masses around the world, generally through imposition of murderous anti-labor dictatorial regimes. Our task in the bastion of world imperialism is to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, section of a reforged Fourth International, that will lead the proletariat in the overthrow of the American capitalist order, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class and the establishment of a planned socialist economy. ***For class struggle against capitalist rulers at hame! Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!*** ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

It Didn't Start on September 11

Behind the Global Capitalist Recession

We conclude below an article begun in WV *No. 767 (26 October).*

NOVEMBER 1—"The recession has begun," proclaimed the chief economist for Pittsburgh's PNC Financial Services Group following yesterday's announcement that the American economy underwent an outright contraction in the last business quarter for the first time in a decade. He added that "the fourth quarter will show an even deeper drop." President Bush asserted that the economic decline

PART TWO

was the result of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, an ignorant statement belied not least by the fact that the period after September 11 accounted for less than three weeks of the last quarter. For the more than a million manufacturing workers who were given their walking papers before the economic fallout from September 11, which led to several hundred thousand more layoffs, the "news" of a recession was no news at all.

The deepening economic crisis is certain to exacerbate existing tensions between the U.S. and its rival imperialists in West Europe and Japan, as they each scramble to buttress their profits. In the immediate aftermath of September 11, the French *Le Monde*, speaking for the most anti-American bourgeoisie in Europe, proclaimed on its front page, "We Are All Americans!" What this meant was that, like the American capitalist class, the European rulers intended to use the "war against terrorism" to further their own aims internationally and domestically, especially moving to further crack down on immigrants and asylum-seekers and to regiment the proletariat "at home" in the face of the burgeoning economic crisis. Meanwhile, as the U.S./British air war against Afghanistan continues, the cracks in the facade of "anti-terrorist" unity have become ever more visible, with a *New York Times* headline today warning, "Public Apprehension Felt in Europe Over the Goals of Afghanistan Bombings." Even the most staunchly pro-American of the European Union (EU) countries, Blair's Britain, has openly opposed White House talk of a new assault on Iraq.

AFP Reuters

World recession hit before September 11: Taiwanese jobless demonstrate outside parliament amid record unemployment in summer; French airline workers protest threatened closures and layoffs in June.

U.S.-Europe Conflicts Escalate

When Bush visited Europe in the spring, *Le Monde* (12 June) declared more characteristically: "His ambition seems to be to turn the United States into a sort of me-nation, a country essentially busy, on the international stage, defending national interests defined in the narrowest way." In the first months of his administration, Bush certainly seemed to go out of his way to insult and antagonize America's NATO "allies" with his go-it-alone policies and cowboy-style diplomacy. For example, he unilaterally rejected the Kyoto treaty on global warming and declared his intent to scrap the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty.

Yet clearly the tensions between Washington and West European capitals did not originate with the inauguration of the new right-wing Republican administration. Economic nationalism has been on the rise on both sides of the Atlantic for several years, especially since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, which removed the main factor restraining the rivalry between American and European (centrally German) imperialism.

At the time of Bush's European tour, the London *Economist* (9 June) pointed out that "unilateralist tendencies" within American ruling circles "have long been present, especially in Congress, which had put 70 countries under sanctions by 1999, balked at paying America's UN dues and thumbed its nose at the Kyoto climate-change treaty long before Mr Bush, too, gave it a Bronx cheer." To this list one can add the differences between the Clinton administration and the European Union over competition, investment and agricultural policies that led to the breakup of the December 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle. At the political-military level, the Clinton White House consistently torpedoed European initiatives in war-torn ex-Yugoslavia (particularly Bosnia) in the mid-1990s for fear these would undermine the American-dominated NATO alliance.

The visible increase in tensions between Washington and European capitals earlier this year was not mainly due to the change from Clinton to Bush but rather to the changed economic condition in the U.S. and therefore the world. During the 1990s, European industrialists and financiers made a lot of money in the U.S. through increased export earnings, increased sales revenue from their American-based operations and capital gains on their holdings of high-tech and other American corporate stocks. But now the situation is just the opposite. European exports (e.g., German industrial machinery) are being hurt by the American recession and its impact on East Asia. European-owned factories in the U.S. are operating way below capacity. And any European financiers who weren't smart enough to sell off their American corporate stocks early last year have taken a bath. The conflicts between American and European capital are now over the division of a *smaller and shrinking* total economic pie.

A clear and important case in point is the steel industry. The contraction of the American manufacturing sector during the last few years has hit the steel industry especially hard. Many companies are losing money and some (the giant LTV and Bethlehem Steel) have even filed for bankruptcy. To protect this core component of the U.S. military-industrial complex (and as a sop to the protectionist demands of the trade-union tops), in June Bush announced broad new restrictions on steel imports, declaring, "It's in our nation's interest that if there are unfair trade practices in the steel industry we address them in a very aggressive way." In response, EU trade commissioner Pascal Lamy lectured the American ruling class: "The cost of restructuring in the U.S. steel sector should not be shifted to the rest of the world" (*New York Times*, 7 June). Christian Georges, an economist with the French Crédit Lyonnais Securities, commented, "You can expect that the European Commission will retaliate." Obviously so.

Some of the sharpest trade battles between the U.S. and EU have been over agriculture—e.g., "the banana wars" over Caribbean fruit exports a few years ago and European restrictions on imports of American genetically engineered beef. To date these disputes have involved a relatively small amount of total agricultural

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AP

Soup kitchen in Buenos Aires. As Argentine government enforces imperialist austerity, one in five workers is jobless.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 769

23 November 2001

U.S.-Backed Killers Take Kabul

AFP

Hicks/Getty

U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan and Central Asia Now!

Red Cross warehouse in Kabul destroyed by U.S. bombing. U.S.-backed Northern Alliance troops murder wounded Taliban soldier on road to Kabul.

NOVEMBER 20—Surprising even their U.S. imperialist patrons, Northern Alliance forces seized the northern Afghan city of Mazar-i-Sharif and then Kabul last week as Taliban troops retreated from one town after another. Hailed as "liberators" by Washington and the Western media, the Northern Alliance cutthroats are already displaying the internecine feuding and murderous barbarity of their four years in power in the mid-1990s. Based largely on the minority Tajik and Uzbek peoples, Northern Alliance forces have reportedly massacred hundreds of ethnic Pashtun and other Taliban prisoners.

Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld brags that U.S. commando units are now roaming freely through Afghanistan in a manhunt for anyone allegedly connected to Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network, while U.S. bombs rain down on Kandahar and Kunduz, where fierce fighting still rages between the Taliban and its rivals. On November 13, American missiles slammed into the Kabul office of Al-Jazeera, the Arab-language satellite channel that the U.S. leaders of the "free world" have been trying to silence since the beginning of the war for its coverage of the death and destruction wreaked by the imperialists.

The war-crazed American imperialists have already begun plotting "Phase 2" of the "war on terrorism," which Vice President Cheney has warned "may never end, at least not in our lifetime." The London *Guardian* (17 November) reports: "The ease with which Kabul has fallen has encouraged hawks within the US administration who are keen to extend military action, particularly against Iraq." *U.S. hands off Iraq!*

In moving into Kabul, the Northern Alliance forces openly flouted U.S. diktat. Now the imperialists are scrambling to conjure up a "broad-based" government under United Nations auspices, drawing in particularly the predominant Pashtun tribes. According to the London *Independent* (17 November), U.S., British and French strategists worked out a plan where "Afghanistan will be divided between the three countries into 'zones of influence'." Kabul is supposed to be occupied by "a strong international Muslim presence" dominated by Turkish troops, who are seasoned in the slaughter of the Kurdish national minority in Turkey. French troops are slated to move into Mazar-i-Sharif and British forces are now positioned at the Bagram air base near Kabul.

Taking hits on its own territory in the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, American imperialism lashed out at Afghanistan to assert its unchallenged supremacy as the world's nuclear cowboy. Now that the U.S. and West European imperialists are in the region, they will doubtless try to grab whatever they can get their hands on, including the vast oil and natural gas reserves in Central Asia. But as one Afghan intellectual recently observed, "It is impossible to predict what is going to happen in this country in an hour." Having stoked all manner of ethnic and regional antagonisms, the imperialists have opened up a Pandora's box that they may not be able to seal with their schemes for "zones of influence" and the like. And whatever they do, their presence will only deepen the misery and destruction already wreaked upon benighted Afghanistan. *U.S./UN/NATO out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East!*

Northern Alliance: Woman-Hating Killers

Mostly in order to maintain liberal support at home for the war in Afghanistan, the imperialists and their media mouthpieces have portrayed the Northern Alliance as bearers of "freedom" for the Afghan masses, especially women. This fiction has also been promoted by the social-democratic left in Europe. In Paris in late September, the fake-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire joined with the three governing parties—the Socialists, Communists and Greens—in building a rally for Afghan "women's rights" that was shot through with portraits of assassinated Northern Alliance leader Ahmed Shah Massoud.

In the U.S., even "First Lady" Laura Bush, whose husband's administration would be happy to see every abortion clinic in this country burned to the ground, gave a radio address on Saturday denouncing the Taliban's "brutality against women." CNN has been televising images of women no longer wearing the head-to-toe *burqa* in "liberated" Kabul—above a "Women's Liberation" logo, no less! But as Maureen Dowd noted in the *New York Times* (18 November): "Most have held off burning burkas because, as one woman put it, 'They say the Taliban beat first and asked questions afterward. They say the Northern Alliance asks questions first and beats afterward'."

The display of crocodile tears by American rulers for the enslaved women of Afghanistan is the most repulsive hypocrisy. The Taliban, Osama bin Laden and the rest of the Islamic fundamentalist killers are Frankenstein's monsters unleashed by the U.S. in the 1980s against the Soviet Red Army, which brought the only hope of emancipation for the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan (see "U.S. Imperialism and the Enslavement of Afghan Women," page 4). The Soviet military presence there was one of the few truly progressive acts carried out by the Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the downtrodden and impoverished Afghan peoples. When the Kremlin announced that it was withdrawing Soviet troops, we declared, "Russia Must Win Afghan War!" and warned: "The price for this obscene bid to placate U.S. imperialism is to hand over hundreds of thousands of Afghans to be tortured, flayed alive, beheaded and dismembered as infidels by the mullahs, tribal khans and feudal landlords. This is treachery!" (*WV* No. 444, 15 January 1988).

And the forces that make up the Northern Alliance—not least among them the late, unlamented Massoud—constituted the bulk of the anti-woman cutthroats bankrolled by the CIA to kill Soviet soldiers. During the four years those same forces ruled Afghanistan, they killed countless civilians, perpetrated mass rapes and enslaved women in the veil. After a bloody year-long civil war in which 50,000 Kabulis were slaughtered and the city reduced to rubble, Massoud's mainly Tajik forces took control of Kabul in 1995, expelling the Shi'ite Muslim Hazara minority from the capital.

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We Said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Defeat CIA's Islamic Cutthroats!

U.S. Imperialism and the Enslavement of Afghan Women

See Page 4

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Federal Judge Bars Evidence of Mumia's Innocence Again

Free Mumia Now!

This coming December 9, Mumia Abu-Jamal will have been behind bars a full 20 years for a crime he did not commit, the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. On October 15, U.S. District Court judge William Yohn barred for the second time the sworn testimony of Arnold Beverly, who two years ago confessed that he shot Faulkner and that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting," blowing the prosecution's frame-up to bits. Yohn's new order is one more brick in the wall of silence the bourgeois prosecutors, courts and media have tried to build around the explosive new evidence that confirms that Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man who should not have spent a day in prison. *Free Mumia now!*

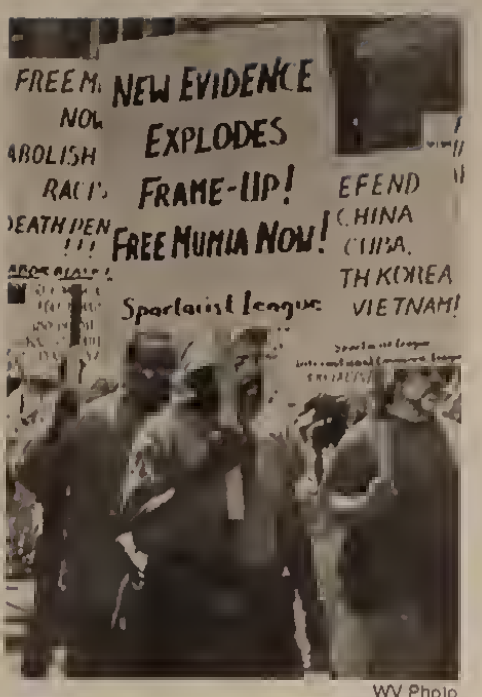
Much of this wealth of new evidence is detailed in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet published in September, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This fall, Jamal filed four additional affidavits which buttress the new evidence in every respect, from exposing the glaring discrepancies in the prosecution's physical and ballistics evidence to indicting the treachery of Jamal's former lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, who sabotaged Mumia's defense by burying the Beverly confession and other evidence of Jamal's innocence.

Yohn also ruled that Jamal is barred from raising Beverly's confession in federal court because he has not yet presented this new evidence in the Pennsylvania state court system. But in a vicious Catch-22, Yohn also turned down a defense motion to put the federal proceeding on hold while Mumia pursues Beverly's confession in an appeal pending before Philadelphia Common Pleas Court judge Pamela Dembe.

The fight to free Mumia is even more urgent now, as the racist rulers attack democratic rights and massively augment the bourgeois state's repressive powers in the name of "anti-terrorism," allowing wiretaps of lawyer-client communications and trials of suspected "terrorists" in military tribunals. But long before any of these new measures, Jamal was subjected to a blatant frame-up involving racist jury-rigging and the denial of his right to select his own attorney. And later, as he prepared his 1995 Post-Conviction Relief appeal, state and prison officials intercepted and opened confidential legal communications between Mumia and his attorneys.

The current "anti-terrorist" hysteria only underscores that in the fight for Jamal's freedom there can be no illusions in the capitalist courts. Mumia's frame-up reaches into the highest levels of law enforcement and government: Tom Ridge, George W. Bush's chief of "Homeland Security," signed two warrants for Mumia's execution when he was Pennsylvania governor, while during her recent re-election bid, radio ads for Philly's Democratic Party D.A. Lynne Abraham crowed about her "vigorous" opposition to Jamal's fight for freedom.

In a November 2 court filing, Jamal's defense team points to the "direct and chilling historical parallel" between Mumia's frame-up and the 1920s case of Sacco and Vanzetti. These Italian workers were convicted because they were immigrants who espoused anarchist politics, and were sent to the electric chair even after a man involved in the crime for which they were framed up had confessed and exonerated them. Hundreds of thousands were mobilized in an international campaign of protest spearheaded by the International Labor Defense (ILD), whose heritage the PDC today continues.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at August 18 San Francisco protest for Jamal.

As sharp turns unfolded in the legal and political battles on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, ILD national secretary James P. Cannon warned against all illusions in the "justice" and "fair play" of the courts and other institutions of the class enemy:

> "The new developments bring out more than ever, and with crystal clearness, the class basis of this famous case. They show that it is a case of workers against exploiters—with Sacco and Vanzetti, the victims elected for the holocaust, standing out before the whole world as the representatives of the exploited class. The class-struggle policy in the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti was right from the beginning and is a thousand times right now. The power that can save Sacco and Vanzetti is the power of the masses."
>
> —"New Developments—New Dangers" (19 August 1927), reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* (1973)

The forces of bourgeois "law and order" want to kill Jamal to silence forever this former Black Panther Party spokesman, MOVE supporter and journalist who is an eloquent fighter for black freedom. The reasons why are clear: even from his death row cell, Mumia Abu-Jamal continues to speak out against this racist imperialist system, denouncing the U.S. war on Afghanistan (see "In Search of a Holy War," page 3). Today we must redouble our efforts to mobilize mass protest centered on labor's power to demand: *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Imperialist State: War and Repression

During and immediately after the first interimperialist world war, the U.S. bourgeoisie jailed Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs and other opponents of the war as well as scores of IWW labor militants (Wobblies), threw Socialists elected to Congress and state assemblies out of office for "sedition" and deported thousands of suspected radicals in the 1919-1920 Palmer Raids. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky noted the tendency of all imperialist states, as seen particularly during World War I, to contract the scope of parliamentary democracy in order to defend the class interests and rule of the bourgeoisie.

"Imperialism," wrote Marx of the Empire of Napoleon III, "is the most prostituted, and, at the same time, perfected form of the state which the bourgeoisie, having attained its fullest development, transforms into a weapon for the enslavement of labour by capital." This definition has a wider significance than for the French Empire alone, and includes the latest form of imperialism, born of the world conflict between the national capitalisms of the great powers. In the economic sphere, imperialism pre-supposed the final collapse of the rule of the middle class; in the political sphere, it signified the complete destruction of democracy by means of an internal molecular transformation, and a universal subordination of all democracy's resources to its own ends.... The last great slaughter—the bloody font in which the bourgeois world attempted to be re-baptized—presented to us a picture, unparalleled in history, of the mobilization of all state forms, systems of government, political tendencies, religions, and schools of philosophy, in the service of imperialism. Even many of those pedants who slept through the preparatory period of imperialist development during the last decades, and continued to maintain a traditional attitude towards ideas of democracy and universal suffrage, began to feel during the war that their accustomed ideas had become fraught with some new meaning.... Imperialism succeeded by means of all the resources it had at its disposal, including parliamentarism, irrespective of the electoral arithmetic of voting, to subordinate for its own purposes at the critical moment the lower middle classes of the towns and country and even the upper layers of the proletariat.... In all countries the question of the control of the state assumed first-class importance as a question of an open measuring of forces between the capitalist clique, openly or secretly supreme and disposing of hundreds of thousands of mobilized and hardened officers, devoid of all scruple, and the revolting, revolutionary proletariat; while the intermediate classes were living in a state of terror, confusion, and prostration. Under such conditions, what pitiful nonsense are speeches about the peaceful conquest of power by the proletariat by means of democratic parliamentarism!

—Leon Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism* (1920)

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No. 769 **23 November 2001**

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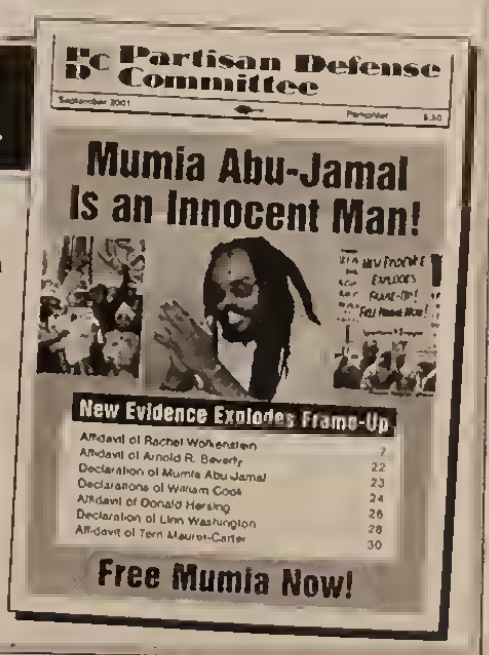

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

In Search of a Holy War

"Fervor is the weapon of choice of the impotent."
—Dr. Frantz Fanon

Throughout American history, one thing has remained constant; the continuous effort of the state, and its ruling elites, to demonize some person, or some group, as a predicate for war. We are all in the midst of but the latest expression of this exercise. This was visible in the very first hours after the suicide bombings and destruction of the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and the aerial strike against the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Remember when the politicians lectured the nation about, "This is a battle between good and evil"? How about, "This is against those who oppose civilization itself"? There is a close tie, but the latest figures for global demonization are Usama bin-Ladin and the ruling clique in war-ravaged Afghanistan, the Taliban.

What is interesting, when you look back a few years, is the similarity with other historical figures, like Saddam Hussein, or Manuel Noriega of Panama.

Why are these disparate figures similar?

Well, before the U.S. media machine assured us they were devils incarnate, they boasted of their friendship with the Americans. Messrs. bin-Ladin, Hussein and the forerunners of the Taliban were armed, and/or trained by the CIA, or directly by the military industries, to fight against the Russians (then the Soviets) and the Iranians under the late Ayatollah Khomeini.

General Noriega was best buds with George I (the former President) Bush, as long as he was helping U.S. efforts to destabilize the Sandinistas when they ran Nicaragua. When he got tired of playing along with Washington, the media began its drumbeat against the General. "He's dealing in drugs!" "His government isn't democratic!"

The Taliban's biggest exposure, before 11 Sept., 2001, was the destruction of ancient Buddhist shrines in Afghanistan. When I heard of it, I could not help but think of the acts of Pope Gregory I, of whom it is said:

Marble statues of ancient Rome were torn down, most notably by Gregory the Great, and made into lime. Architectural marbles and mosaics were either made into lime or went to adorn cathedrals all over Europe and as far away as Westminster Abbey in London. The ravaging of marble works accounts for the thin ornate slabs WITH ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS STILL FOUND IN MANY CHURCHES TODAY. (H. Ellerbe, The Dark Side of Christian History, [1995], p. 50)

Are the Taliban unique in their aversion to women? The great Church Father, Tertullian once said of women: You are the devil's gateway: you are the unsealer of that tree: you are the first deserter of the divine law: you are she who persuaded him (Adam) whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image, man. On account of your desert—that is, death—even the Son of God had to die. (Ellerbe, p. 115).

The 6th Century Christian philosopher, Boethius once wrote, in his The Consolation of Philosophy, "Woman is a temple built upon a sewer."

Few are the writers and historians who point to such Christian historical figures and label them as "religious fanatics."

And before some wag claims I am an apologist for the Taliban, I need only point out that it was the U.S. CIA, who paved the way for them to come into being, by their support of the destruction of the Soviet-backed Najibullah government. Afghanistan is the way it is today, because the American CIA, and Pakistani intelligence wanted it that way.

Let us beware of religious wars. Being human, we have more than enough madness to go around.

27 September 2001

©2001 Mumia Abu-Jamal

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Afghanistan 1979

CIA Provocations, Islamic Reactionaries and Soviet Intervention

When the Soviet Union moved troops into Afghanistan on 27 December 1979 to defend its southern flank against a U.S.-backed Islamic insurgency, the imperialist rulers seized the occasion to launch a renewed Cold War offensive aimed at destroying the homeland of the October Revolution. For Marxists, there was nothing tricky about the war pitting the Soviet degenerated workers state and its left-nationalist allies in Kabul against a reactionary cabal of CIA-financed *mujahedin*, mullahs and tribal chiefs committed to the enslavement of Afghan women. The gut-level response of any leftist should have been the fullest solidarity with the Red Army. However, virtually every fake-revolutionary group internationally echoed the imperialists' howls about Soviet "aggression" against "poor little Afghanistan" and joined in demanding, "Soviet troops out!"

In fact, Soviet forces intervened in Afghanistan only after repeated requests by the Kabul regime and well after the U.S., as well as Iran and Pakistan, had started funneling aid to the *mujahedin*. A posting on the George Washington University National Security Archive Web site, "Afghanistan: The Making of U.S. Policy (1973-1990)," reports: "Starting in April 1979, eight months before the Soviet intervention...the United States had, in fact, begun quietly meeting rebel representatives." Among those was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a *mujahedin* cutthroat then in Pakistan who was notorious for throwing acid in the faces of unveiled women at Kabul University. In July 1979, Democratic president Jimmy Carter signed a secret CIA directive officially launching what would become the biggest covert operation in the CIA's history. Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, later gloated in an interview in *Le Nouvel Observateur*

Ledru/Sygma

Cold Warrior Brzezinski at Khyber Pass overlooking Afghanistan, 1980.

(15 January 1998): "That secret operation was an excellent idea. It had the effect of drawing the Russians into the Afghan trap."

The Soviet bureaucracy initially resisted intervening militarily in Afghanistan, even as the People's Democratic Party (PDPA) regime in Kabul proved unable to stem the rising fundamentalist threat stoked by the U.S. This comes through clearly in a series of Soviet documents from 1979, recently posted in English translation on the National Security Archive Web site. A number of the documents are from the period following a March 1979 uprising by fundamentalists in the Afghan city of Herat, in which hundreds of government officials and Soviet advisers were massacred. The Soviet Politburo debated desperate requests by PDPA prime minister Noor Mohammed Taraki for an immediate Soviet military intervention. In a phone conversation with Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin, Taraki pleaded:

> "Why can't the Soviet Union send Uzbeks, Tajiks and Turkmens in civilian clothing?... We want you to send them. They could drive tanks, because we have all these nationalities in Afghanistan. Let them don Afghan costume and wear Afghan badges and no one will recognize them."

Repeatedly, Politburo members declared: "Under no circumstances may we lose Afghanistan." Yet Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko, arguing against sending troops into Afghanistan, sounded for all the world like a trade-union bureaucrat recoiling at the prospect of upsetting cozy relations with the capitalists by calling a strike:

> "All that we have done in recent years with such effort in terms of détente, arms reduction, and much more—all that would be thrown back.... From a legal point of view too we would not be justified in sending troops. According to the UN Charter a country can appeal for assistance, and we could send troops, in case it is subject to external aggression. Afghanistan has not been subject to any aggression."

Though aware of the fact that both Pakistan and Iran had provided arms and training to the fundamentalist insurgents in Herat, the Politburo rejected Taraki's pleas for an immediate military intervention.

What finally compelled Moscow to pour troops into Afghanistan was the fear that the PDPA regime, with Taraki assassinated and his successor, Hafizullah Amin, reportedly making approaches to Washington, was about to collapse in the face of the reactionary Islamic *jihad* (holy war). Moreover, the Soviet high command anxiously watched as U.S.

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British SWP, U.S. Progressive Labor Party and Revolutionary Communist Party youth group: lining up behind imperialist anti-Communism agalnst Red Army in Afghanistan.

We Said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Defeat CIA's Islamic Cutthroats!

U.S. Imperialism and the Enslavement of Afghan Women

We print below edited excerpts from a presentation by Spartacist League spokesman Carla Norris at an October 25 New York SL forum.

As we meet tonight, cruise missiles, cluster bombs and mortar shells are raining down on Kabul, Kandahar and other parts of Afghanistan, killing hundreds of defenseless women, children and men and driving many others into disease-infested refugee eamps. What few hospitals exist in that benighted country are being flattened and roads and other infrastructure destroyed in what U.S. president Bush promises will be a "sustained and relentless" military assault. Against sueh high-tech barbarism, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—stands for the defense of Afghanistan against imperialist attack, and for class struggle here at home against the bloodthirsty U.S. capitalist class.

So all of a sudden, there are all these articles in the capitalist press about the need to save Afghan women. It's one of the ways the U.S. imperialists and their liberal supporters are justifying this one-sided war. There has been a spate of articles and documentaries on the horrible conditions that women sulfer in Afghanistan under the Taliban's savage and backward regime. And the plight of Afghan women *is* dire. Women are hideously oppressed: forbidden to even show their faces, stifled in 30 yards of dusty fabric, prey to high levels of tuberculosis as a result.

The veil is a physical symbol of the subjugation of women. They are forbidden to learn to read and write, to work, to walk too loudly or laugh, or to leave their house unaccompanied by a male relative. For some 30,000 widows in Kabul, begging is the only way to earn a few coins for their children, and widows are permitted to beg on the street only between dusk and the 9 p.m. curfew. Medical services are essentially unavailable to women, sinee there are hardly any women medical workers and male doctors are prohibited from touching women.

But the media's sudden attention to the women of Afghanistan is tailored to suit the aims of the U.S. bourgeoisie. For one thing, although the oppression has certainly intensified in the last several years, it didn't start with the Taliban in 1996. In 1992, three years after Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev betrayed the Afghan people—and the USSR—by withdrawing Soviet military forces, the U.S.-backed, -trained and -financed Islamic fundamentalists took power in Kabul. The reeently killed leader of the U.S.-allied Northern Alliance, Ahmed Shah Massoud, became, as defense minister, the strongman of this fundamentalist regime, which lasted until the Taliban drove it out of the eapital. The main division between the various fundamentalist groups has always been defined along ethnic and tribal lines: the Northern Alliance is based largely on the Tajiks and Uzbeks; the Taliban is based mainly on the Pashtun people, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan and one which extends well into Pakistan.

In power, Massoud's forces carried out mass slaughter, torture and rape of rival ethnic populations. Massoud's *mujahedin* regime decreed that the country would be governed by Islamic *sharia* law. All workers were required to observe fixed prayer times. Books deemed anti-religious were burned in the streets. A series of ordinanees were decreed governing the behavior of women, including that a woman must cover her whole body, that she must not leave the house without her husband's permission, that she must not look upon strangers, and that women wearing perfume were to be considered adulteresses (a "crime" punishable by being stoned to death).

Saeed Khan

Kabul, 1993: *Mujahedin* forces that now make up U.S.-backed Northern Alliance enslaved women in head-to-toe veil.

Where were all the defenders of women's rights when this was happening? Here we get to the crux of the matter: the U.S. had spent billions to arm, train and fund the *mujahedin* cutthroats in order to kill Soviet troops and pro-Soviet Afghans in the 1980s, during the first war ever sparked by the question of women's rights. The feminists as well as virtually every left group in this country besides the Spartaeist League lined up with the U.S. government's anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan.

In December 1979, the Soviet Union sent 100,000 troops, mainly from Soviet Central Asia, into Afghanistan in order to stem an insurgency of *mujahedin* fighters, mullahs and landlords against the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party (PDPA) government, whieh had requested the Soviet aid. We forthrightly declared: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the social gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" These slogans expressed our recognition that despite its degeneration under a Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union remained a workers state embodying the historic gains of the October Revolution of 1917—centrally the planned economy and collectivized property. These were enormous gains not least for women and the historically Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia (what is now Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan). Within weeks of the Soviet troops going in, the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League, held demonstrations calling for military defense of the USSR and for victory to the Red Army.

Compare the abysmal condltions under which women in Afghanistan live now with some facts from 1988, before Soviet forces were withdrawn. Then there were 245,000 women workers, while 15,000 women served as soldiers and commanders in the army. Women made up 40 percent of the doctors and 60 percent of the teachers at the University of Kabul; 440,000 female students were enrolled in educational institutions and 80,000 more participated in literacy programs. The All-Afghanistan Women's Council had 150,000 members. Western dress was common in the cities and women enjoyed some real measure of freedom from the veil and subjugation, for the first time in Afghanistan's history.

Despite the zillions of dollars of aid and weapons provided for the *mujahedin* by the U.S. and its allies, the Soviet Union was not militarily defeated in Afghanistan. Over ten years of war, the USSR lost some 13-15,000 soldiers. By way of comparison, the U.S. lost 50,000 soldiers in Vietnam. But in a vain attempt to placate U.S. imperialism, the Kremlin Stalinists had pulled Soviet troops out by early 1989, handing over hundreds of thousands of Afghan women, leftists and workers to be tortured, flayed alive, beheaded and dismembered as "infidels."

We denounced this betrayal. In solidarity with the Afghan masses, who were waging a bitter struggle for survival in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, we formally proposed to the Afghan government, in a letter dated 7 February 1989, the following: "To organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend "the right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education." And we were dead serious about this.

Although the Afghan government declined our offer, at its request the Partisan Defense Committee (the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartaeist League) and the PDC's fraternal organizations around the world raised over $44,000 for the civilian victims of the *mujahedin* offensive against Jalalabad. This is the Afghan city closest to the CIA-sponsored guerrilla bases in Pakistan. The people of Jalalabad drove back attack after attack. The PDPA government held out against the *mujahedin* for almost three years.

Anti-Communism was the bond between U.S. imperialism and the mullahs in Afghanistan. Ronald Reagan called these cutthroats "the moral equivalent of the founding fathers of this country." While I'm not a big fan of the slaveholders Jefferson, Monroe et al., I think they would be appalled at being eompared to a bunch of feudalistic religious fanatics. In 1996, after four years of the horrific rule of the Northern Alliance types I mentioned before, who had already brought Kabul to the point of famine and devastation, the capital of Afghanistan fell to the Taliban. One of the Talihan's first acts was to grab former president and Soviet ally Najibul-

Clovis/Indymedia

Paris, September 29: Government-backed rally for "women's rights" in Afghanistan hailed assassinated Northern Alliance cutthroat Massoud.

lah, who was castrated and hanged from a lamppost in downtown Kabul for three days. The Taliban killers proceeded to wreak bloody vengeance against any remaining vestige of social progress.

Fake Leftists: Hate the Soviet Union, Hail the *Mujahedin*

So why did almost every leftist and feminist group oppose the Soviet intervention, which alone raised the possibility of social liberation in that wretchedly backward country? The majority of the U.S. left succumbed to the Carter government's anti-Soviet propaganda barrage, which was unleashed in the name of "human rights."

The various Maoist groups, of which there were many during the 1960s (until China's alliance with the U.S. made them irrelevant), all lined up against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." Of these, only Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party is still around. Likewise, the Progressive Labor Party at the time denounced the Soviet Union as imperialist. The United Secretariat, the fake-Trotskyist international outfit supported today by Socialist Action and some members of the group Solidarity, condemned the 1979 Red Army intervention and one year later openly joined the imperialists in demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had left Trotskyism far behind in the 1960s when it sought to attract Democratic Party liberals and pacifists to its anti-Vietnam War protests, had completely given up on working-class revolution. Instead, they engaged in cheerleading for bourgeois-nationalist forces and even Islamic fundamentalists, such as in Iran in 1979 when Khomeini took power—in fact, they still think that the "Iranian Revolution" was some sort of anti-capitalist revolution. The Spartacist League, in contrast, said: "Down with the Shah! No to the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" In regard to Afghanistan, the SWP at first pretended that "the issue is not Soviet intervention, but a growing U.S. intervention" (*Militant*, 15 February 1980). But as everyone knows, the issue *was* Soviet intervention, so a year later they changed their line to call for "Soviet troops out" like the rest of the fake left.

The most repulsive form of tailing the imperialist anti-Soviet crusade was probably represented by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), at that time affiliated with Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party. The Cliffites openly embraced the *mujahedin* hailed by Reagan as "freedom fighters," screaming "Troops Out of Afghanistan!" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 12 January 1980). They made it clear that only meant Soviet troops. A short time later in Poland, they supported the reactionary, anti-Semitic so-called "union" Solidarność, which was funded by the CIA and Vatican for the sole purpose of spearheading capitalist counterrevolution. The ISO justified all this by asserting that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist," which they evidently consider even worse than real capitalism. At the start of the Korean War in 1950, the Cliffites broke with the Trotskyist movement over their refusal to defend the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against U.S. imperialism.

Another organization that labeled the USSR "state capitalist" as an excuse to avoid defending it against U.S. imperialism is the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP). In a 13 September statement, the LRP correctly notes Osama bin Laden's "leading role in Afghanistan's mujahedin" when they were waging war against the Soviet-backed regime and that these Islamic reactionaries "received massive organizational, military and financial backing from the U.S. government." But at the time, the LRP ludicrously claimed that the Soviets "hail Islam and crush women's gains" and argued that "to support the Russian military intervention is to line up with the side of imperialism, stability and counterrevolution" (*Socialist Voice*, Summer 1980).

Smolan/Contact

no credit

Left: Kabul demonstrators greet arriving Soviet troops, 1980. Right: Afghan women take up arms to join fight against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries.

When the Kremlin Stalinists began withdrawing Soviet troops, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (May 1988) cheered: "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." It sure did "give heart" to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that in the next few years succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, driving the working class of those countries back into massive unemployment, homelessness, hunger and misery, as well as ethnic slaughter. Some of the blood of every unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundamentalists is on the hands of every leftist and feminist organization internationally that lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan.

Humbert-Droz Archives

Baku Women's Union in Soviet Azerbaijan marched with banner linking "liberation of women" with "liberation of the world's toilers," 1920.

The October Revolution and Central Asia

For decades prior to the outbreak of the civil war launched by the *mujahedin* after the PDPA came to power in 1978, Afghanistan was a client state of the Soviet Union. A large fraction of the small educated stratum was trained in the USSR, and much of the intelligentsia regarded the Soviet Union as a source of social progress. In 1973, officers loyal to the PDPA played a major role in overthrowing the monarchy and participated in the bourgeois-nationalist Daud government. Subsequently, Daud moved to the right and attempted to crush the PDPA. Mass demonstrations of mostly students and government workers ensued. The PDPA military faction outgunned Daud's forces and he was killed. This was the April 1978 "Revolution"—essentially a left-wing military coup with some popular support among intellectuals.

I gave you some statistics from 1988. To give a sense of the country's backwardness before the Red Army moved in, according to the UN's *Statistical Yearbook* for 1978, only 35,000 people were employed in manufacturing out of a population of 17 to 20 million. At the same time, there were a quarter of a million mullahs, paid by the government—an enormous parasitic caste sucking the blood from a desperately poor people. There were no railroads, very few highways, primitive sanitation and widespread malnutrition. Average life expectancy was 40 years, infant mortality was at least 25 percent, and half of all children died before age five. The rate of illiteracy was more than 90 percent for men and 98 percent for women. Almost all women, save members of a tiny Westernized urban middle class, were imprisoned in the veil and sold like chattel under the bride price system. Most people lived in nomadic tribes or as impoverished farmers in mud villages. There were a multitude of tribes over which no previous government had ever completely established its authority. Life was scarcely different from many centuries earlier.

These statistics indicate the limits to social change from within Afghan society. Unlike in neighboring Iran or Pakistan, a proletarian revolution is not possible in Afghanistan. The country is too economically backward. On the other hand, the social base for reactionary resistance to even the most moderate bourgeois-democratic reforms is strong.

While not repudiating Islam, the PDPA regime sought to modernize the country along secular lines. One of the more popular measures was to cancel the debt that poor and landless peasants owed to the powerful moneylenders. The landlords and tribal khans held the power of life and death over the mass of peasants, controlling 42 percent of arable land and the associated irrigation systems. Though the PDPA government proposed a sweeping land reform program, they were stopped in their tracks by landlord economic sabotage and terror combined with a mass reactionary insurgency aided by Pakistan's military.

But what really drove the mullahs into a frenzy and propelled them to take up arms were the government's limited measures of equality for women, reducing the bride price to a nominal sum and introducing compulsory education for girls and voluntary literacy programs for adult women. Even the *New York Times* in February 1980 admitted: "It was the Kabul revolutionary government's granting of new rights to women that pushed Orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns."

In any given society, as Karl Marx, quoting the French utopian socialist Charles Fourier, maintained, "The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation" (*The Holy Family* [1845]). Central to the oppression of women in class society is the institution of the family, which takes different forms depending on the demands of the social system. In areas such as Central Asia, there was a complex relationship between the bride price and polygamy, primitive agricultural production, sheepherding, land and water rights. A woman was her father's means of economic exchange and her husband's chattel; the right to control and inherit property was only for men. Most variants of local law gave a man access to land and water rights only if he married; more than one wife meant more land and water. On the other hand, marriage was so expensive because of the bride price that many poor men could never marry at all, and others turned to abduction and rape to get a wife.

With Afghanistan's social development

continued on page 8

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

For Class Struggle Against Capitalist Rulers at Home!

Down With Ottawa's "Anti-Terror" Law!

TORONTO

Saturday, December 1, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. West
(west of Spadina)

For more information: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail spartcan@on.aibn.com

Young Spartacus

Trotskyism vs. Anarchism

Barricada: Which Side of the Barricades Are You On?

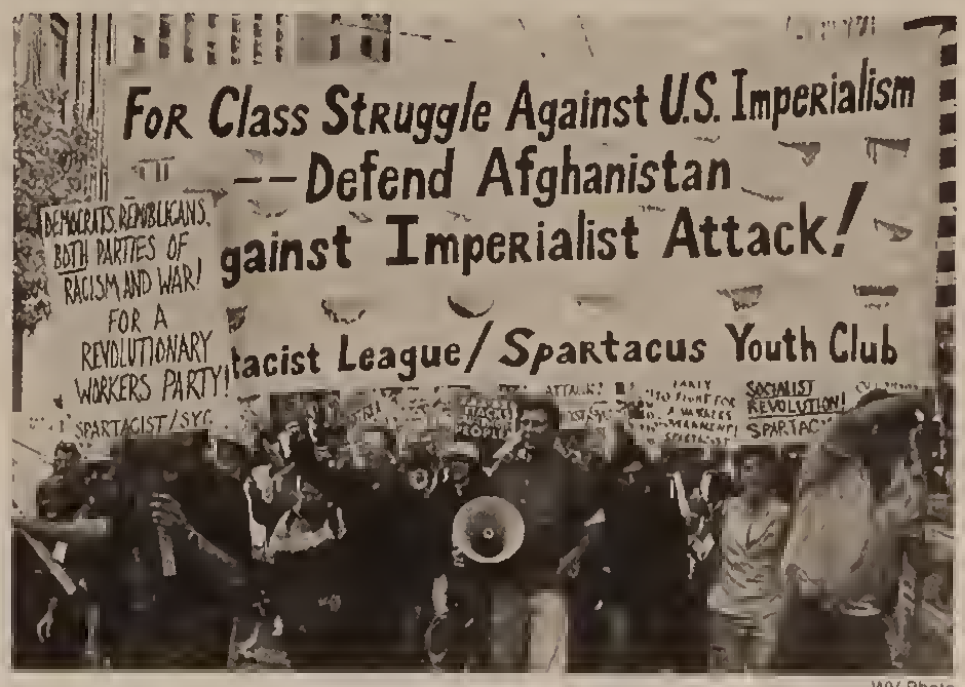
The following leaflet by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club was distributed on November 10 at an antiwar teach-in organized by anarchists, including the Barricada Collective, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Spartacist comrades intervened in the conference despite bombastic pronouncements by organizers that "absolutely no party groups" would be allowed. During the previous week, the SYC also spoke out at a New England-wide anarchist book fair in Amherst and at a lecture on Emma Goldman at Boston's Lucy Parsons bookstore, where we counterposed our Marxist politics to anarchism. Reeling from these interventions, the organizers sent us an e-mail warning we would be excluded if we tried to "hijack" their teach-in, and went on MIT radio whining about trouble with us Spartacists.

When our team arrived at MIT they were greeted with shocked faces and murmurs of "I can't believe the Sparts are here!" Believe it! Unable to defend their rotten politics, fake leftists like the International Socialist Organization are well practiced at excluding revolutionary Marxists from their events. Now it looks like the anarchists are taking a cue from their would-be coalition partners in the stinking swamp of the liberal-reformist "antiwar movement." In opposition to the fake lefts and their anarchist "shock troops of reformism" we fight to win youth to the program of international socialist revolution.

* * *

"Anarchism, if it does not live within the four walls of intellectuals' cafés and editorial offices, but has penetrated more deeply, translates the psychology of despair in the masses and signifies the political punishment for the deceptions of democracy and the treachery of opportunism," wrote Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution ("The Strangled Revolution," February 1931, in *Leon Trotsky on China* [1976]). Today, anarchism is again fashionable among young radicals. As befits a trendy college town, Boston has more than its share of such tendencies—everything from pompous old windbags like Noam Chomsky, whose "anarchist" veneer is an excuse for vicious anti-Communism and egotistic lust to be a foreign policy adviser to the U.S. and its creature the UN, to far more radical-sounding "revolutionary anarchists" like the Barricada Collective, which claims to reject reformism in all its forms.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union a decade ago and the imperialist rulers' triumphalist, lying "death of communism" propaganda has obviously had its stupefying effect on left consciousness. It was the Russian Revolution which swept aside anarchism as a serious contender for political allegiance among militants, winning over the best syndicalists and anarchists of the time to the red banner of international Communism, by showing in the real world how a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class could seize and hold power, abolishing exploitation and establishing its own class dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Today, those lessons must be relearned if radicals are to find the road from militant protest to working-class power.



WV Photo

San Francisco: October 20 antiwar protest. Marxists call to defend Afghanistan from imperialist attack through class struggle at home; anarchists of Barricada refuse to defend Afghanistan, equating victims with their oppressors.

Boston's Barricada Collective has done us the favor of publishing a journal presenting a very left-sounding anarchist worldview. For example, they write: "unlike many other anarchists today, we have no interest whatsoever in reformism.... An 'anti-globalization movement' does not appeal to us. We are not interested in trying to find the (non-existent) human face of capitalism." They write that they want "a movement...satisfying itself with nothing less than the total destruction of capital and the state" ("Lessons of Genoa," *Barricada* No. 8, September 2001). However, in concrete struggles of the working class and oppressed, the question of which side of the barricades Barricada finds itself on is not so clear-cut, as we will see.

Defend Afghanistan Against U.S. Imperialist Attack!

A key question today for revolutionaries is the current U.S. war against Afghanistan. We Marxists say, "For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers—Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" In contrast, Barricada and other anarchists refuse to take sides. In Boston protests against what Barricada calls "America's New War," Boston Anarchists Against Militarism (BAAM, in which Barricada is active) carried banners reading, "Neither State Terrorism nor Religious Terrorism: Against Bush and Bin Laden" and "No War Between Nations, No Peace Between Classes!" While superficially this may seem rather radical, it's an excuse for neutralism, a confession of impotence in the face of imperialist onslaught, and as a political program is fully compatible with mainstream liberalism.

We say it is the simple duty of revolutionists to stand in military defense of small countries like Afghanistan against the most deadly imperialist power on the face of the planet, not to equate the already devastated victims with their oppressors. We would welcome a defeat of U.S. imperialism as a victory for the oppressed of the world, while giving no political support to the reactionary, women-hating Taliban murderers.

Barricada states: "We are opposed to nationalism and other artificial divisions of the working class. However, we are also anti-imperialists and as such support oppressed peoples in their struggles of national liberation providing that they maintain a revolutionary leftist character" ("Barricada Collective Statement," *Barricada* No. 9, October 2001). This statement collapses the difference between military defense of a people from imperialist subjugation and political defense of a particular regime. What this means on the ground is that they will politically support the nationalist leaders of some movements and abandon the rest to military repression by the imperialists. Marxists on the other hand understand the difference between military and political support, for instance, we have consistently defended the anarchists against state terror from Gothenburg to Genoa, but anyone reading this leaflet can tell we don't share their politics.

Spartacists Said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Showing their contempt for the gains made by the working people of the world, Barricada explains the resurgence of anarchism in the misery brought by the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. "We as anarchists are being presented, thanks to the current global situation, the decay of the welfare state, and the bankruptcy of authoritarian and statist alternatives to capitalism, with yet another opportunity to present people with the possibility of a different world," they write ("Lessons of Genoa," *Barricada* No. 8, September 2001).

Far from a "statist alternative to capitalism," the Russian Revolution was the first, and to date only, successful workers revolution in history. By taking Russia out of World War I and expropriating the Russian capitalists as a class, it was also the greatest anti-imperialist action ever undertaken (a point that could be learned by many of today's "anti-globalization" protesters!). The Russian Revolution not only meant the liberation of the myriad of oppressed peoples in the former tsarist empire, but also the birth and growth of a genuine and revolutionary communist movement in the "third world." In China and elsewhere, not only the advanced workers but also anti-colonialist students, emancipated

AFP

Italian riot police attack Genoa protester, July 2001. Police attacks in Genoa illustrated repressive force of capitalist state; rejecting vanguard party, anarchists have no program to smash capitalist state.

VAAP

AK Press

December 1917 Russian workers demonstration banner includes call: "Long Live Soviet Power Which Has Paved the Way for Peace Among Nations." Bolsheviks led workers to power in greatest victory for proletarlat ever.

Barcelona, July 1936 (right): During Spanish Civil War, anarchists joined coalition government with bourgeoisie, betraying revolutionary workers.

women and leftist intellectuals saw for the first time a way forward from the hopeless perspective of looking to the backward, imperialist-dependent colonial bourgeoisies as a force for liberation.

Among those who rallied to Bolshevism were many of the best left-wing anarchists of the time. Although hostile to this trend, Barricada still has to admit it. For instance, in an article on early Argentine anarchism they write, "Sadly, with the rise of Lenin and his authoritarian brand of communism in Russia, so called anarcho-bolshevik groups formed all around Argentina, advocating for the dictatorship of the proletariat and justifying the state as a vehicle to an anarchist society" ("Anarchism in Early 20th Century Argentina," *Barricada* No. 9, October 2001).

Even as degenerated as the Soviet workers state became under the misrule of Stalin and his heirs, it continued to obsess the imperialist powers because it ripped whole swaths of the globe from their hands. Not least of these were the various deformed workers states that arose in this period and continue to exist—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—states whose very existence has become increasingly threatened after the fall of Soviet power in Russia, whom many, in particular Cuba, were dependent on for aid. The Soviet Union also gave some modicum of maneuverability to nationalists in the "third world," who were able to jockey for position between the world's two "superpowers."

In contrast, the imperialist ruling class cements its rule through supporting the most reactionary tinpot dictators and religious fanatics the world over. The U.S. armed and funded the *mujahedin* during their dirty proxy war against the USSR in the late seventies and eighties. The best hope Afghanistan had at modernization (especially for its horribly oppressed women) was the Soviet Red Army intervention in 1979. The USSR gave women not only the ability to read and write, but weapons and training in order to defend themselves. So we uniquely said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" In contrast, the social-democratic reformists around the world and their left tails, like the ISO, SWP, etc., joined in the imperialist crusade against the USSR.

By 1988 in Afghanistan 15,000 women served in the armed forces. Forty percent of doctors and 60 percent of teachers at the University of Kabul were women, and 440,000 female students were enrolled in educational institutions. That's all shattered today. When in 1989 the Stalinist bureaucracy betrayed the Afghan peoples by pulling the Red Army out, we offered to raise an international brigade to fight to the death against the U.S.-backed *mujahedin* scum. Most anarchists at the time in practice abandoned Afghan women to the mercies of the U.S.'s murderous "freedom fighters" in the name of fighting "Soviet imperialism." Why? Because anarchists share the anti-Communist hostility of the bourgeoisie to these "authoritarian" states. If your only criteria are "authority" and "democracy" as abstract phrases floating above social reality, you end up in the camp of the "democratic" imperialist ruling class. As opposed to this "radical democratic idealism," Marxists, as materialists, understand that class struggle is the motor force of history.

We Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet Union, as we continue to defend the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, because of the gains made by these states in overthrowing capitalism and establishing collective property forms. We call for the overthrow of the venal and brutal Stalinist bureaucracies through proterarian political revolution, because Stalinism, in pursuit of the illusion of peaceful co-existence with imperialism, undermines the gains of those social revolutions. Stalinist bureaucracies must be replaced by workers political rule in order to defend these revolutions and extend them throughout the world.

The "Anti-War Movement": Liberal Reformism or Class Struggle?

Noting the opportunism of much of the so-called "left" in the face of renewed patriotic frenzy and domestic repression, Barricada asks in "Cowering in the Wake" (*Barricada* No. 9, October 2001): "should we as anarchists cut off our links to groups that display these attitudes?... A possible answer might be that, we should not for the moment, as an objective observation of North American anarchism would most likely reveal a movement still too weak to stand on it's [sic] own.... unsettling attitudes of others aside, how do we, as anarchists react in a positive and constructive manner to this new situation?"

The first point here is that, independently of anarchists' attitude, the reformists have already given their answer. From attempts to harass the anarchist contingent at the Boston September 20 march to the Workers World/ANSWER organizers' attempts to play off the police provocation against anarchists in Washington on September 29 as an attempt by anarchists to join "their" march, the reformists and their liberal masters will alternately attempt to co-opt radicals as a "left" cover for their rotten politics and then offer them as cannon fodder to the capitalist state and disown them. The latter point was most brutally brought home in the blood-drenched streets of Genoa.

The real question here is what attitude should would-be revolutionaries take toward them, and this is not an organizational question, but a political one. Immediately after Genoa, Barricada wrote: "we have no interest whatsoever in reformism," noting, correctly, that "we do not believe...that a collection of groups, organizations, parties, and whatnot, whose only common bond is the opposition to a certain facet of capitalism... qualifies as a 'movement'"("Lessons of Genoa"). Fine, but now BAAM, Barricada, et al. find themselves again immersed in precisely such a "movement." Despite Barricada's admission of the "unpleasantness of a lot of the attitudes of the WWP (and a fair amount of the politics as well)" ("Thousands Demonstrate Against Capitalism and War in Washington, D.C.," *Barricada* No. 9, October 2001), it ends up acting as a left cover for reformism, praising the WWP demo for its "extensive outreach work" and for creating "the basis for a strong and combative anti-war movement." But the only real "anti-war" movement is one that aims at overthrowing capitalism, the basis for wars in the imperialist epoch. Barricada shares the reformists' belief that the capitalist state can be pressured to end the war, if only enough people fill the streets. They simply want these to be more "militant" demonstrations.

So it's no accident that anarchists are being sucked into the orbit of the liberal-reformist "anti-war movement." Barricada's latest issue ("Opposition to 'America's New War' Grows in Boston," *Barricada* No. 10, November 2001) approvingly notes that "the groundwork is certainly present for a strong anti-war movement in Boston. It is now simply a matter of learning to accept some of the differences and working together." Meanwhile, on the very same page, Barricada advertises an "Anti-War Teach In" at MIT presenting "Anarchist and Radical Perspectives" on the war which snarlingly concludes with "Absolutely no party groups." So, anarchists, while you project "working together" with reformists in a red-white-and-blue "antiwar" movement, you suggest that you're going to practice the same political censorship against communists that they do?

The job of revolutionists is to politically struggle against these reformist tendencies by exposing their rotten class-collaborationism and counterposing a strategy of class struggle. A revolutionary movement is not built by seizing on the existing consciousness of the class in times of crises, it is built by exploding this consciousness and instilling revolutionary consciousness, the consciousness of the working class as a class for itself with its own interests and power diametrically opposed to that of the ruling capitalist class. This means organizing the working class independently of the capitalist class. Does this sound like a vanguardist approach? It should! This is the essence of the vanguard party, to bring consciousness to the working class.

Class Struggle in the U.S.: The Fight for Black Liberation and Socialist Revolution

Barricada is for "class war," yet its concept of this reduces itself to individualistic protest, not a struggle for power: all that's offered is "direct action, workplace sabotage, property damage, mass confrontation, and civil disobedience" ("Barricada Collective Statement"). "When 'social turbulence' becomes strong enough to topple the status quo, revolutions occur" ("Cowering in the Wake"). Revolutions do not just occur; they must be made by a working class conscious of its historic mission of liberating all of humanity. Barricada writes in "Lessons of Genoa" that they want to create "anarchist alternatives" to "parties, NGOs, and unions" in order to "render the NGO/party/boss union apparatus irrelevant."

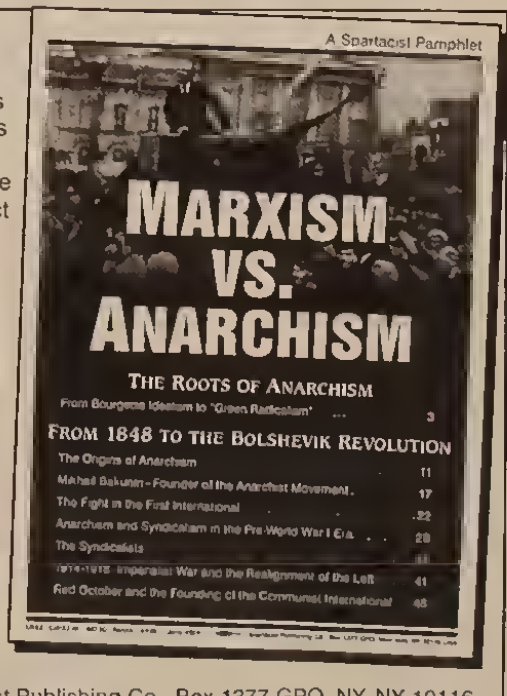
But trade unions are not "irrelevant," they are in fact the first line of working-class defense against capitalist exploitation. Anarchist dismissal of unions as "irrelevant" essentially leaves the most organized sector of the proletariat in the hands of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats. The main obstacle to revolutionary consciousness in the U.S. is the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which ties workers to their enemies in the capitalist Democratic Party. The Barricada Collective "opposes electoral politics, [and] the party system" but does nothing to concretely overcome this because it refuses to engage in political battle with the current misleaders of the working class.

No one seeking to be a revolutionary

continued on page 11

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.



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Women...

(continued from page 5)

somewhere between tribalism and feudalism, there was no internal social base for the relatively minimal reforms pursued by the PDPA, much less for proletarian revolution. Conditions were much the same in Soviet Central Asia at the time of the 1917 Russian Revolution. That area, like Afghanistan, was so economically underdeveloped that it did not have a working class capable of serving as the motor force for social change. The revolution was brought to Central Asia by the revolutionary proletariat in the form of the Red Army, supported by those forces locally who embraced the liberating ideals of the Russian Revolution—notably women who rejected the veil.

Like the U.S. did in Afghanistan 60 years later, Britain, the dominant imperialist force in the region in the 1920s, armed and funded reactionary revolts led by the mullahs, who were enraged above all by the threat of equal rights for women. In a sense, the tragedy of Afghanistan is that when the Russian Revolution arrived in Central Asia, the Soviet Red Army was obliged, because of the British presence in colonial India (including what is currently Pakistan), to stop at the border of Afghanistan.

The Russian Revolution brought to Central Asia an immense leap in social progress unimaginable in any backward country under capitalism. Despite the inequalities and bureaucratic oppression that Soviet citizens suffered under Stalinist rule, the status of women in Soviet Central Asia was not only higher than in any Islamic bourgeois country, let alone Afghanistan, but in some areas (e.g., representation in government) compared favorably with advanced bourgeois countries.

A couple of comrades who visited Soviet Central Asia in the late 1980s observed the spectacular gains that had been achieved, despite the corruption and cynicism of the Stalinist regime then in the process of disintegration. In more than a week of travel throughout Uzbekistan, they did not see a single veil—to say nothing of the dreadful *burqa*, the stifling head-to-toe shroud that imprisons Afghan women. They attended a party at which young women and men were dancing freely to rock 'n' roll—including mixed couples of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Russians. Health care was free and readily available, including for women. There were no visible extremes of poverty: most homes had a television, many had a car. The population was well-educated, with many people speaking at least one European language (in addition to Uzbek and Russian). Even elderly women dressed in brightly colored dresses and spoke in a relaxed fashion with strangers. Asked about the war in Afghanistan, one woman declared: "We will fight to the death before we will put on the veil again."

The CIA's Afghan Connection

Now the Soviet Union of 1979 was not at all the dynamic workers state of the late 'teens and early '20s. In the period immediately following the October Revolution, no one in the Bolshevik Party—not even Stalin—thought that the Soviet Union, a backward country with a small working class, could stand on its own without the spread of socialist revolution to the more advanced capitalist countries. A huge revolutionary wave swept Europe after the Russian Revolution. But because the revolutions in other countries were defeated—and that's a subject for a whole other forum—the young workers state was isolated, encircled by hostile capitalist nations. By the end of the Civil War of 1919-1921 against a range of counterrevolutionary and imperialist armies, Soviet Russia was impoverished, its working class decimated and exhausted.

These factors opened the door for a conservative bureaucratic layer within the Bolshevik Party, of which Stalin came to be the leader, to usurp political power from the working class in 1923-24. As a result of that political counterrevolution, the Soviet Union became a degenerated workers state, with a foreign policy motivated by the nationalist dogma of "building socialism in one country," which meant seeking illusory "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Leon Trotsky fought against this political counterrevolution, and that's our heritage. Until the day he was assassinated by Stalin's agent in 1940, Trotsky fiercely fought to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution and for a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the road of Bolshevik internationalism.

So the conservative Kremlin bureaucracy did not pour troops into Afghanistan in 1979 with the intention of carrying out a revolution, as the Bolsheviks had done in Central Asia in the 1920s. Rightly worried about the threat of a hostile Islamic fundamentalist government taking power, the bureaucracy sought simply to secure its unstable Afghan client state. Nevertheless, we recognized that an extended Soviet occupation of Afghanistan would open up the possibility of transforming that country along the lines of Soviet Central Asia. The threat of a CIA-backed Islamic takeover on the USSR's southern flank posed pointblank the need for unconditional military defense of the USSR.

Paris Match

Troops from Soviet Central Asia made up large component of Red Army in Afghanistan. We called to extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples.

Lashing out against so-called "Soviet expansionism," Democratic Party president and born-again Christian Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II against the Soviet Union over Afghanistan. Like the first Cold War beginning in the late 1940s, this anti-Soviet war drive was accompanied by a massive increase in military spending, in this case a five-year, trillion-dollar program. At the same time, under first Carter and then Reagan, billions of dollars began flowing to the Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan in the biggest covert operation in the CIA's history. From 1980 to 1990, the CIA's "black budget" quadrupled, from an estimated $9 billion to $36 billion. Some of this was used to fund a war of terror by the *contra* mercenaries against the left-nationalist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. But most went to an array of *mujahedin* groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan and to that country's ISI secret service. By the mid-'80s, the *mujahedin* were getting 65,000 tons of war matériel annually.

In 1986, Congress approved a three-pronged plan by CIA director William Casey to step up the U.S. proxy war in Afghanistan. Initially, the Afghan reactionaries were supplied only with Soviet and Chinese-made weapons purchased from Egypt, China, Israel and South Africa, so that the U.S. could "plausibly deny" a direct role in the war. But now the CIA began delivering Stinger surface-to-air missiles, along with American military trainers. Secondly, the CIA, the ISI and Britain's MI-6 plotted the launching of guerrilla attacks into the Soviet Union itself, targeting the Central Asian republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, which supplied many of the Soviet troops for duty in Afghanistan.

As we detailed in our article "The Afghan Connection" (*WV* No. 761, 6 July), the CIA also joined in the campaign initiated by the ISI to recruit zealots from throughout the Muslim world to join the *mujahedin*. According to the CIA's own estimates, as many as 70,000 Islamic fundamentalists from more than 50 countries—the so-called "Arab Afghans"—were trained at the "*jihad* universities," or *madrassas*, which still flourish in Peshawar and elsewhere. Among those who flocked to Peshawar to enlist in the U.S.-sponsored "holy war" against Communism was Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden. Another of Washington's firm friends was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who got his start as a "holy warrior" by throwing acid at unveiled women university students in Kabul.

So there was no outcry from Washington against "Islamic terror" when *mujahedin* in Khost used a U.S. Stinger in March 1987 to shoot down a civilian airliner taking Afghan children to study in the USSR, killing all 52 aboard. And there wasn't a peep of criticism from the American government when the Taliban forced thousands of girls to leave school after capturing Herat in 1995, or when it seized Kabul a year later and subjected women to the virtual house arrest of *purdah* (seclusion). On the contrary, the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia at the time stated that "it is not in the interests of Afghanistan or any of us here that the Taliban be isolated." Besides, the U.S. oil company Unocal was seriously considering building a pipeline through Afghanistan to exploit the rich natural gas and oil fields being opened up in post-Soviet Central Asia.

For Workers Revolution to Sweep Away Imperialism!

The U.S.-backed war of terror against the Red Army in Afghanistan forced five million people to flee the country, devastated what economy and infrastructure had been built up during the Soviet presence and led to the re-enslavement of Afghan women. From the Algerian Armed Islamic Group to the Islamic Jihad in Egypt, the "Arab Afghans" spawned and nurtured by the anti-Soviet war went on to foment reactionary movements elsewhere, capitalizing on popular hatred for brutal nationalist regimes and the imperialist-dictated austerity measures they impose.

As is usual with Washington, it was only once such Islamic reactionaries had served their purpose that they were denounced as terrorists. This shift in U.S. policy was signaled in late 1997 when Madeleine Albright cynically chastised the Afghan rulers for their treatment of women. Also in this period, the Taliban refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, and the economics of the Unocal deal no longer added up. By this time as well, the plight of Afghan women under Taliban rule had become something of a cause among American liberals and feminists.

A group that has been getting a lot of press is the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). Their Web site proclaims that "if you are freedom-loving and anti-fundamentalist," you belong with RAWA. RAWA members do sometimes carry out courageous actions in Afghanistan and Pakistan, exposing the atrocities of the Taliban and supporting victimized women. And they issued a statement against the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan, although they think that there exists some mythical "Afghan nation" that is going to rise up and throw out the Taliban. But RAWA also brags about how *they fought on the side of the* mujahedin against the Soviet troops, despite its current denunciation of its erstwhile allies as fundamentalists. RAWA's idea of "freedom" is the same as that of the CIA's Radio Free Europe: bring back King Zahir Shah and his "tribal council."

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Dock Workers...

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port truckers. But the Teamsters bureaucracy's chauvinist opposition to allowing Mexican truckers on U.S. roads is counterposed to the internationalist working-class solidarity needed to win union rights for the heavily Latino port truckers. The ILWU tops are themselves spewing this chauvinist poison, with Spinosa complaining in his September column that performing "security checks" on port truckers "would be a logistical nightmare" made worse by "NAFTA, with its provisions to allow truckers from Canada and Mexico to drive across the borders directly to our ports." Spinosa vituperates, "Why are hard-working, productive longshore workers being targeted for extensive security clearances while unknown truck drivers are being allowed free access to our work environment?"

Such chauvinism plays right into the capitalists' divide-and-rule schemes aimed at pitting white against black and American-born against foreign-born workers. This undermines union power and strikes back against all the oppressed. Black support was instrumental in pushing through California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in 1994; that measure paved the way for the passage of Prop. 209 abolishing affirmative action in the state. Many black people perceive that light-skinned immigrants can come to this country and advance up the ladder in a way barred to the black masses. At the same time, many immigrants are taught to believe that the desperate conditions faced by much of the black population are "their own fault." Such backward prejudices are promoted by black and Latino Democratic Party "ethnic politics."

The idea that immigrants, the majority of whom labor in the most demeaning, poorly paid jobs, are to blame for keeping black people at the bottom of American society is reflective of a false consciousness. But it is one born of resentment against the very real color bar in this country which acts as a key prop for obscuring the *class* divide between labor and capital. Labor must be in the forefront of the fight for black freedom and against anti-immigrant bigotry, championing all the exploited and oppressed. As a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat, black workers have the potential power to smash racial oppression and capitalist exploitation. And far from being helpless victims, many immigrant workers have infused the American labor movement with traditions of class struggle in their homelands.

Break with the Democrats—Unchain Labor/Black Power!

As quoted in the *Oakland Post* (4 November), the *Local 10 Longshore Bulletin* noted pointedly that "the politicians are saying—*hey, if we can't get Bin Laden, Longshoremen with criminal records will have to do!*" Yet an "Open Letter to Barbara Boxer" (31 October) by the ILWU Longshore Legislative Action Committee buys into the anti-terrorist hysteria and offers up the union ranks to police the docks as finks for the bosses. Declaring that "port security is an important concern in the fight against terrorism," it goes on to state that "maritime workers can be one of the country's first lines of defense at ports because they...*can report anything suspicious*." Meanwhile, the union tops are participating in "security task forces" alongside business and police representatives. The number of security guards in the ports has also increased sharply. These unarmed "watchmen," who bear the metal stars and military green uniforms typical of sheriffs, serve as adjuncts to the capitalist cops. Yet they are members of the ILWU. The job of these private police is to break strikes, bust up picket lines and spy on union members. They are not part of the working class and have no place in the labor movement. Cops and security guards out of the unions!

Beneath the ILWU tops' "progressive" image stands the same pro-Democratic Party class collaboration that defines the rest of the labor officialdom. Last month, Local 10 adopted a resolution commending Oakland Democrat Barbara Lee for her sole vote in Congress against giving Bush unlimited war powers. Despite the lockstep alliance between the Democrats and Bush on the war nationally, it is more acceptable in the Bay Area, a stronghold of Democratic Party liberalism, and in heavily black Alameda County especially, to criticize the bombing of Afghanistan. While Lee simultaneously voted *for* appropriations to fund the U.S. "war against terrorism," her show of opposition reflected deep distrust of the government particularly among black people, a fault line in "national unity." At the same time, she and like-minded liberal Democrats strive to seal that breach.

To maintain their image as the "friends" of labor and blacks, the Democrats are obliged to keep around suitable radical-liberal types who can be paraded as showpieces of the ultimate justness of the capitalist order. Lee's predecessor and mentor, Ron Dellums, played this role in previous decades. Such types serve as an insurance policy for the bourgeoisie. For example, if the U.S. were to find itself bogged down in an Afghan quagmire, Lee would be deemed "prescient" by a wing of the ruling class pushing for a withdrawal in order to cut American imperialism's losses. The black Democrats and "progressive" union tops are positioning themselves to get ahead of and contain the increasing discontents that the capitalists' war at home and abroad will generate among workers and minorities.

For decades, the AFL-CIO leadership has tied workers to their class enemy through support to the Democrats, part of an all-sided program of collaboration with the bosses that has crippled the ability of the unions to defend themselves. The ILWU was not created and built up as the core of union power on the West Coast through lobbying the capitalist Democratic Party for occasional, equivocal favors, but through hard class battle, including the 1934 San Francisco general strike. As a Spartacist League spokesman said at a recent Charleston Five defense meeting at the ILWU Local 10 hall:

> "We believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for black freedom, for immigrant rights and for our class brothers and sisters abroad against U.S. imperialism. Such a party will lead the fight to get rid of the capitalist order and create a workers government and a new society without exploitation. This is the only road to end racism and war forever. Those who labor must rule!" ■

A Victory for Labor
State Drops Vendetta Against Charleston Five

"The Charleston Five are finally free," said Kenneth Riley, president of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422. "This is a tremendous victory for the labor movement in South Carolina." Prosecutors have dropped bogus felony riot charges against five longshoremen, who were under house arrest for a year and a half and faced up to five years in prison for defending their union picket line against a massive police assault. The longshoremen—Kenneth Jefferson, Elijah Ford Jr., Peter Washington Jr., Ricky Simmons and Jason Edgerton—were allowed to plea-bargain "no contest" to reduced misdemeanor charges of "engaging in a riot where a weapon was not used," which carries no jail time.

The charges stemmed from a waterfront battle on 20 January 2000, when Locals 1422, 1422A and 1771 mobilized to stop the Nordana shipping company's use of the non-union Winyah Stevedoring outfit to unload one of its ships. The unionists were met by an army of 600 municipal, county and state police, including prison guards, clad in riot gear and backed up with armored vehicles and helicopters. Firing tear gas, shock grenades and pellet bags, the cops waded into the largely black union picket swinging long wooden clubs (see "Charleston ILA Battles Racist Union-Busting Assault," *WV* No. 728, 28 January 2000). Workers defending their rights provoked the ire of South Carolina's bourgeois establishment, for whom the fight for unions is tantamount to terrorism. This was made clear by state attorney general Charles Condon when he said on TV following the attack on the World Trade Center: "I'm against forcing people to join unions in order to get a job. And so this whole idea of ends justifying the means, as we know these terrorists that killed so many people, that's exactly their argument."

At the heart of this case is that hard class struggle backed off a vicious union-busting attack, as Nordana replaced Winyah with a union stevedoring company, returning the jobs to the ILA. The defiant stand of the Charleston ILA inspired broad layers of the working class in "right to work" South Carolina, across the country and internationally. The Charleston *Post and Courier* (9 November) reported, "Bright yellow 'Free the Charleston 5' signs, billboards, and bumper stickers popped up across the region and ILA officials raised more than $400,000 for a legal defense fund from other unions around the world." Rallies and meetings have been held throughout the U.S. and in other countries.

The ILA bureaucracy has diminished the real story of what happened on the Charleston waterfront—class struggle against the employers and the capitalists' armed police thugs—while concentrating on lobbying so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. Nonetheless, this case was the first nationwide labor defense campaign in this country in decades, starkly illuminating the link between the fight against racial oppression, the cornerstone of American capitalism, and the interests of the entire working class.

Riley stated, "We will build on this victory to bring greater attention to the plight of working men and women in our state," which had the second-lowest percentage of union workers in the country. However, organizing the racist, "open shop" South will not be achieved by relying on the Democrats or any other capitalist politicians but through waging class struggle. The ultimate defense of the working class is the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation and racial oppression through proletarian revolution. This requires the leadership of a workers party that champions all the exploited and oppressed.

Today, the U.S. bourgeoisie cynically declares war on "Islamic terror" in order to impose its will on oppressed peoples around the world. While bin Laden and his ilk are plenty sinister, the most dangerous terrorists on the face of the planet are America's capitalist rulers. Indeed, mass terror to suppress any semblance of social revolution by the worker and peasant masses is integral to the defense of a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few. The task of revolutionaries is to oppose the bourgeoisie's "national unity" campaign, to fight for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home, to organize and build a workers party that fights for a socialist revolution to sweep away the entire system of capitalist imperialism.

Instead, the American reformist left, such as the Workers World Party and the ISO, has thrown itself into "coalition" building, which always means building a base for capitalist forces willing to profess support for peace, racial harmony or other good things. In this country, that means the Democratic Party. At this juncture, such "antiwar" Democrats are few and far between. But this hasn't changed the outlook of the reformists, who seek to build an "antiwar movement" ready and waiting for any class enemy of the workers who may apply. By pushing pacifism in the face of U.S. imperialism's war of terror against Afghanistan, the reformists sow illusions that capitalism can be rational, benevolent and peaceful—if only the right politicians were elected to administer that system!

Wars of aggrandizement and plunder are *inherent* to the capitalist system. Burgeoning interimperialist competition over markets, spheres of influence and natural resources—not least oil—will ultimately lead to a new world war and a nuclear holocaust if the proletariat does not first seize power. Thoughtful workers and youth already see that they are being asked to sacrifice in the interests of Bush and Wall Street. But what is lacking is a revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs are fighting to win students, youth and workers to build the revolutionary workers party under whose leadership the working class will sweep this system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder into the dustbin of history. Join us! ■

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Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

Matching the speed of their current military advances is the rapidity with which this makeshift "alliance" is splintering into mutually hostile tribal armies and regional warlords who have little love for each other and even less for foreign troops. Meanwhile, former Taliban commanders are now proclaiming their hatred for the "terrorist" Talihan and reverted to being simply Pashtun tribal leaders. Mazar-i-Sharif is the fiefdom of Abdul Rashid Dostum, an ethnic Uzbek. Logar Province has reportedly been claimed by the Pashtun Gulhuddin Hekmatyar, a fanatical woman-hater who got most of the U.S. largesse doled out to the *mujahedin* in the 1980s and has now returned from exile in Iran. Herat is in the hands of Tajik warlord Ismael Khan, who has warned the British to pull out of Bagram and declares, "People are very sensitive about the presence of foreigners in Afghanistan. We don't need them." Announcing that Britain may not deploy the 6,000 troops it was planning to send in after all, Blair government spokesman Geoff Hoon said of the looming chaos in Afghanistan, "It sounds pretty dangerous."

As correspondent Robert Fisk noted in the London *Independent* (19 Novemher), "Ethnic groups and tribes and villagers don't take orders from foreigners. They do deals." The imperialists think they can cobble together a "national" government in Kabul by putting enough *baksheesh* in the pockets of local khans and tribal chiefs. But Afghanistan is not a nation; it is a region of several nationalities and of little coherent economy. There is little likelihood of stability there in any case.

For Permanent Revolution in Central Asia!

Indeed, the imperialist military presence will only sow further instability throughout this volatile region. The horders separating Afghanistan from its neighbors, drawn by the imperialists in the 19th century to create a buffer state hetween British India (which included Pakistan) and tsarist Russia, also carved up the peoples of the region. Afghanistan has barely hall as many Pashtuns and Tajiks as Pakistan and Tajikistan, respectively, and only a small percentage of the number of Uzbeks living in neighboring Uzbekistan.

Afghanistan's bloody tribal and ethnic conflicts have always spilled over into the surrounding region. As Tim Judah noted in an article in the *New York Review of Books* (15 November):

> "Iran has helped the Hazaras. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have helped the Tajiks and Uzbeks, and still do. And of course Pakistan wants to support the Pashtuns. Russia too has its interests; its chief concern had been to stop the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. Iran has made it clear it wants a weak and divided Afghanistan which could not threaten it. Pakistan has wanted Afghanistan to have a strong central government, dominated by Pakistan of course, which would then ensure open trade routes to Central Asia and allow the building of valuable gas and oil pipelines across Afghanistan and then into Pakistan."

At the same time, it is the proletariat of countries like Pakistan and Iran that today holds the key to the social liberation of the peoples of Afghanistan, which has no working class and hence no possihility of social revolution from within. Pakistan, in contrast, has a proletariat numbering nearly ten million in manufacturing, transport and other industries, and millions more agricultural laborers. Iran, likewise, has a sizable proletariat that was, until the 1979 victory of the Ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," historically pro-Communist. The despotic bourgeoisies that rule these countries are beholden to the imperialist exploiters, whose dictates they enforce. To aehieve social and national justice requires the seizure of power by the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed and led by internationalist revolutionary vanguard parties. As Leon Trotsky stressed in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution, only proletarian revolution can break the imperialist yoke over such countries and, with the spread of workers rule to the advanced capitalist countries, end imperialism forever.

For Workers Revolution to Sweep Away Imperialist Rule!

In practice rejecting the struggle to render the proletariat in either the backward or advanced capitalist countries conscious of the need for socialist revolution, the centrist British Workers Power group and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International, in a 9 Octoher statement on the war, instead concocted fantasies of "united action of all Afghan forces—including Islamist forces—to repel the imperialist assault." Although refraining in print from explicitly echoing Workers Power's deranged proposal for "anti-imperialist" unity of the Talihan and the myriad U.S.-backed rival warlords who are now trying to slit each other's throats, the Internationalist Group (IG) has also conjured up the spectre of a U.S. military defeat in Afghanistan, pointing to the example of the defeat of French imperialism in its eight-year-long colonial war in Algeria (Internet posting reprinted in *Internationalist*, Fall 2001). But what does this have to do with a situation in which the U.S. is carrying out a military adventure largely from the air against tribal forces in one of the world's most backward countries?

In addressing the IG's fevered denunciations of our supposed "opposition to calling for the defeat of 'their own' hourgeoisie in an imperialist war," we wrote: "The call for a U.S. military defeat is, at this time, illusory and the purest hot air and 'revolutionary' phrasemongering—and one which derives from forsaking the mobilization of the U.S. proletariat with the aim of the conquest of state power" ("No to Bosses' 'National Unity'! For Class Struggle at Home!", *WV* No. 768, 9 Novemher). Pandering to "Third World" nationalists and all manner of alien class forces, the IG elevates military struggle against imperialism (including by former creatures of U.S. imperialism like the Afghan Islamic fundamentalists) over and above the political struggle to mobilize the proletariat to smash imperialist rule from within.

The "revolutionary" rhetoric spewed by such centrists is strictly for cyberspace. On the ground, the Australian Workers Power marched in an October 13 Melbourne protest with a placard pleading, "No to Ground Troops—Yes to Aid." Indeed, Washington is currently playing up its "humanitarian" food aid to Afghanistan as a weapon to win "hearts and minds." It was in the guise of distributing food to famine-stricken Somalia that the U.S. launched its bloody neocolonial adventure there in 1992. In pleading to the imperialist butchers who have presided over the starvation of over one and a half million Iraqis through the UN blockade, Workers' Power demonstrates that far from fighting for the defeat of imperialism, it has a touching faith in the imperialist rulers to act in the "humanitarian" interests of the oppressed.

We Trotskyists of the International Communist League recognize that every military defeat for imperialism weakens the class enemy; correspondingly, we warn that a victory for U.S. imperialism will mean even more intense racist oppression, union-busting and all-sided reaction at home. The social power to sweep away the imperialist system that breeds war and misery resides in the multiracial proletariat, which must be broken from the misleaders who tie it to the capitalist exploiters. That is why we have emphasized the political struggle to break the workers from the jingoist "national unity" promoted by the bosses and their labor lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy. Every national section of the ICL has raised the call: "For class struggle against capitalist rulers at home! Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!"

Some elemental labor struggles against the war have broken out, such as the one-day protest strike called by the COBAS unions in Italy earlier this month. Now Japanese dock workers at Sasebo Port in Nagasaki are refusing to load military goods onto Japanese warships as a protest against resurgent militarism. And in the U.S., there are some fissures in the front of "national unity," as the military adventure in Afghanistan is brought home in escalating attacks on the livelihoods of the working class and a domestic "war on terror" targeting immigrants, black people and labor. The crystallization of new "anti-terror" laws by the right-wing Bush administration, marking a sharp diminution in civil liberties, is aimed at regimenting and intimidating the population as millions more face unemployment, misery and hunger.

Unlike the "revolutionary" phrasemongers of the IG, we fight to awaken class combativity in the proletariat, to break the chains forged by the labor bureaucracy that currently shackle the workers to the parties of the class enemy, particularly the Democrats. Our task in the bastion of world imperialism is the construction of the multiracial revolutionary workers party that can, through education and in the course of class struggle, infuse the working class with the consciousness that it has the social power and historic interest to shatter the rule of American imperialism, expropriate the hourgeoisie as a class and establish proletarian rule as the first step toward the creation of an egalitarian socialist society. ■

New York Times map

Soviet...

(continued from page 3)

warships were positioned in the Persian Gulf in the fall of 1979 and reports appeared of preparations for a possible American invasion of Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran. In his 1995 book *The Tragedy and Valor of Afghanistan*, Russian general Alexander Lyakhovsky describes some of the concerns expressed at a Moscow leadership meeting in early December 1979 that finally convinced the Stalinist bureaucracy of the need to intervene in Afghanistan. Among these were U.S. plans "for creating a 'new Great Ottoman Empire,' which would have included the Southern republics of the USSR"; "the absence of a reliable air defense system in the South, so that in the case of stationing of the American missiles of the 'Pershing' type in Afghanistan, they would threaten many vital Soviet objects"; and the possible "establishment of opposition regimes in the Northern areas of Afghanistan and annexation of that region by Pakistan."

The Soviet military intervention cut against the grain of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The prolonged occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet forces opened up the possibility of social revolution through the integration of that country into the Soviet system, which would have represented a tremendous gain for the Afghan people. Moreover, a Soviet military victory there could have forestalled capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself, undermining the Stalinist bureaucracy's program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and pushing forward the struggle for proletarian political revolution.

Preoccupied above all with its vain pursuit of appeasing U.S. imperialism, in the late 1980s the Kremlin bureaucracy under Mikhail Gorhachev decided to pull out of Afghanistan even as a military victory over the *mujahedin* was within reach. This betrayal of Afghan women and leftists ultimately set the stage for the seizure of power by the Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan and for capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the USSR itself. In his 1998 interview, Brzezinski crowed, "What is most important to the history of the world? The Taliban or the collapse of the Soviet empire? Some stirred-up Moslems or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the cold war?"

A gamut of fake. Marxists marched in lockstep behind Brzezinski & Co. at the time of the Soviet intervention. The International Socialist Organization, Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party tried to justify their capitulation to imperialist anti-Communism by claiming that the Soviet degenerated workers state was itself imperialist (or "social-imperialist"). Can you imagine an imperialist ruler asking the sort of question Kosygin posed to Taraki in 1979: "Do you have support among the workers, city dwellers, the petty bourgeoisie, and the white collar workers in Herat?" Or making the sort of statement Soviet Politburo member Yuri Andropov did in opposing Soviet military intervention:

> "It's completely clear to us that Afghanistan is not ready at this time to resolve all of the issues it faces through socialism. The economy is backward, the Islamic religion predominates, and nearly all of the rural population is illiterate. We know Lenin's teaching about a revolutionary situation. Whatever situation we are talking about in Afghanistan, it is not that type of situation."

What comes through clearly in the recently published Soviet documents is the class nature of the Soviet Union as a workers state, albeit burcaucratically degenerated. The Stalinist bureaucracy was a contradictory caste whose whole outlook subordinated the interests of the international proletariat to the defense of its own privileged position as a parasitic layer resting on the collectivized economy. We fought to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution, stressing that to carry out what many in the Soviet Union rightly saw as their internationalist duty in Afghanistan required a political revolution to oust the Stalinist burcaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky. As opposed to the reformists and centrists who lined up hehind the CIA's reactionary "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan, we fight for new October Revolutions to liberate the working people and oppressed masses of the world. ■

Barricada...

(continued from page 7)

in the United States can succeed without understanding the strategic nature of the fight for black liberation, about which Barricada has basically nothing to say. Ever since the defeat of Reconstruction in the 1870s, U.S. capitalism has been based on the special oppression of black people, who today form a race-color caste, economically integrated into strategic sectors of the working class but socially segregated at the bottom of American capitalist society. This racist oppression of the black population is a foundation stone of capitalist exploitation, as the rulers have long played the race card to obscure the class divide between labor and capital. We agree with Marx that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." We call to finish the task of the Civil War through putting the working class in power: black liberation through socialist revolution. If labor is to free itself from the chains of capitalist exploitation, it must champion black freedom.

The capitalist rulers also seek to pit all "native" workers against their desperate immigrant brothers and sisters—we fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants as a basic democratic demand. Especially in the current climate, it is the duty of proletarian revolutionaries to oppose anti-immigrant repression. Many immigrant workers bring with them the class-struggle traditions of their homelands. Rather than being helpless victims, black and immigrant workers will be central leaders of the revolutionary fight for the emancipation of the working class as a whole and all humanity.

From Protest to Power

In "Lessons of Genoa," Barricada states of other "left" groups: "All others, being in authoritarianism and/or reformism are bound to sooner or later betray us, either due to pure ideological incompatibility or for political gain." By dismissing all parties as "authoritarian," they miss the key difference between Stalinists and reformists of all stripes on the one side and revolutionary Trotskyism on the other—which is implacable hostility to capitalist class rule. We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have never flinched from our duty to defend all leftists against state terror—from the Weathermen of the 1960s/1970s to Black Bloc activists today. In the immediate aftermath of the brutal police killing of Carlo Giuliani, the ICL issued an urgent call for "workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression," in contrast to reformist and centrist "left" groups who sold their souls to the rotten Social Democratic-run capitalist governments now ruling most of Europe and joined the capitalist state's vicious, deadly vendetta against the Black Bloc anarchists. We defended the Black Bloc because we understand that all such attacks are aimed at stifling any and all extra-parliamentary dissent and struggles on behalf of the oppressed.

Again in the "Lessons of Genoa," Barricada admits: "the anarchist movement lacks the collective strategy, organizational capacity, and structures to attempt anything beyond a massive riot on a large scale." Well, chaos and ineffectuality are the inevitable results of disdaining the need for an organized political movement to fight for state power. Barricada further writes: "The police presence [was] too large and the reaction too forceful" at Genoa to accomplish some anarchists' goals. Young protesters were deeply shaken by the murder of Carlo Giuliani, by the live ammunition fired at them in "socialist" Sweden, by the mass arrests and torture of militants, by the trail of smashed bones, teeth and blood left by police raids into supposedly "safe zones" in Genoa.

As Marxist communists, not idealists, we know revolution is no game, and we know we cannot create "autonomous" or "safe zones" in a world dominated by capitalism. Genoa revealed the murderously efficient force of the bourgeois state as an instrument of repression. That force is being shown in much bolder relief in Afghanistan today. Young activists today who are serious about prevailing against that might must break from petty-bourgeois individualist heroics that lead only to victimization. We Marxists offer a strategy for victory, through forging the most organized and disciplined vanguard party to mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule, the working class. Forward to the world socialist revolution! ■

WV Photo

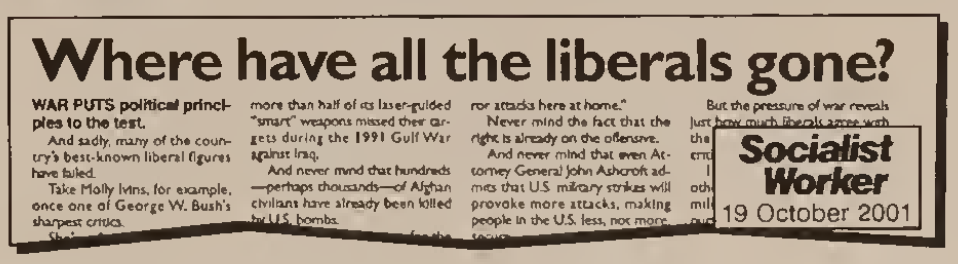
NYC, 23 October 1999: PDC/SL-initiated mobilization of integrated workers stopped KKK from marching. Fight for black liberation—a question generally ignored in Barricada's press—is key to socialist revolution.

ISO: When Will They Ever Learn? (Never)

"War puts political principles to the test," observes the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in an article titled "Where Have All the Liberals Gone?" (*Socialist Worker*, 19 October). The ISO has amply displayed just how far their principles are from socialism and how close they are to liberalism. In the weeks after the September 11 attacks, the ISO advanced the demand in meetings and through its coalitions for an international tribunal to bring the perpetrators to justice. The "San Francisco Town Hall Committee to Stop War and Hate," which includes prominent members of the ISO, wrote a leaflet stating that the U.S. should "work with the international community to identify & locate all responsible & bring them before a court of law."

This position so cravenly gives license to the imperialist rulers' war that it drew heat even from their fellow reformists of the Workers World Party (WWP), who at a meeting in New York ridiculed the ISO on this point by asking who the ISO looked to for "justice." This posture of WWP is utter hypocrisy coming from a party that for years has called for a "new trial" for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, pushing the lie that Jamal could find justice in the very capitalist courts that condemned him to death!

Under pressure, the ISO changed its line on the question of an international tribunal. Sharon Smith writes in *Socialist Worker*: "Those who rightfully reject an all-out war in Afghanistan but seek justice through an international tribunal of some kind must face the fact that no international body exists to impartially dispense justice" (12 October). But on the ground, the ISO continues to counsel the imperialists on how to achieve their purported aims. In the Bay Area on November 7, the ISO held a forum entitled "Alternatives to War—You Can't Fight Terror with Terror." They say "there have to be solutions other than war" and advise the bourgeoisie that "peaceful solutions are possible."



Where have all the liberals gone?

WAR PUTS political principles to the test.

And sadly, many of the country's best-known liberal figures have failed.

Take Molly Ivins, for example, once one of George W. Bush's sharpest critics.

more than half of its laser-guided "smart" weapons missed their targets during the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq.

And never mind that hundreds—perhaps thousands—of Afghan civilians have already been killed by U.S. bombs.

for attacks here at home."

Never mind the fact that the right is already on the offensive.

And never mind that even Attorney General John Ashcroft admits that U.S. military strikes will provoke more attacks, making people in the U.S. less, not more

But the pressure of war reveals just how much liberals agree with the

Socialist Worker
19 October 2001

The ISO's program has always been to court bourgeois liberals. A graphic case in point is their support to Ralph Nader. In an article in the October 19 *Socialist Worker*, the ISO's Todd Chretien expressed disappointment with Nader's praise of Colin Powell and his calls for a "constitutional way" of waging war on Afghanistan. However, Chretien says he found it fortunate that Nader "condemned the U.S. bombing" at a "super rally" the ISO helped build, declaring "'We can't just bomb our way to justice'." Nader's position is quite logical, given his defense of the capitalist system and its ruling class, but the purported socialists of the ISO have the same position, reinforcing Bush's own claims that the murderous rampage in Afghanistan is being done in the name of "justice."

The ISO has a gaping hole between what they nominally stand for as supposed "socialists" and their actual politics on the ground. They can't deal with the arguments of genuine Marxists so they substitute the fist for the brain—resorting to gangsterism and exclusion. At an October 11 public event at New York University, the ISO had an NYPD cop and a campus security official outside of the room *for the purpose of preventing the Spartacist League from entering*. They were on such good terms with the gendarmes that they just nodded at them to come over when our comrade attempted to enter. The cops are part of the capitalist state, which exists to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie against workers and the oppressed. Having cops patrol a leftist meeting only invites repression against the entire left—not to mention that any immigrant student would think twice about attending!

War does put political principles to the test, and the ISO has amply proven that their loyalty is on the wrong side of the class line. To end imperialist war, the exploitation of the working class and the oppression of the masses, only a workers revolution is the answer—building the revolutionary workers party that can lead it is what the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With "Maritime Security" Bill!

Bosses Target Dock Workers

SAN FRANCISCO—Wielding the deaths of thousands of innocent people in the World Trade Center attack as a bloody shirt, America's capitalist rulers are perpetrating imperialist butchery against the people of Afghanistan while attacking democratic rights at home in the name of a "war on terrorism." Targeting immigrants, especially those of Near Eastern descent, in the first instance, the government seeks to regiment the entire population and especially the working class. Alongside the recently enacted "USA-Patriot Act 2001," which allows for imprisonment of non-citizens without charges and defines as a "terrorist" anyone deemed an opponent of the government, a sinister new measure would specifically target port, maritime and rail workers for victimization and union-busting.

Introduced in July by Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, the "Port, Maritime and Rail Security Act" is now being speeded through the Senate in the wake of September 11. For years, the maritime bosses have tried to use the anti-drug witchhunt as a means of weeding out union militants and intimidating the workforce as a whole in order to push through speedup and attack hard-won union gains. Now they are using the pretext of "national security" to the same end; indeed the Hollings bill was initially proposed in the name of the "war on drugs." Whatever the pretext, the capitalists and their government are launching a frontal assault on the longshore unions, a historic bastion of labor power on the waterfront.

The capitalist battle cry against waterfront workers can't be separated out from the imperialist bombing of Afghanistan, as the crazed American behemoth asserts its intention to dominate the world. In their escalating rivalry with the German and Japanese imperialists, the American rulers are intent on reducing the cost of doing business at the ports, the gateway of world trade. Moreover, the bourgeoisie sees the ports as key to "national defense." Historically, the government has moved to "clean up" the docks as part of regimenting the waterfront for war. The 1936 Merchant Marine Act, passed just as the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) won the union hiring hall, was designed to prepare for World War II, which in the Pacific pitted the U.S. against Japan for control of the markets of the Pacific Rim. (The Maritime Security Act is in fact an amendment of the 1936 law.)

WV Photo

Port of Los Angeles: Latino truckers protest anti-immigrant Prop. 187 in 1994.

Racist "Profiling" on the Waterfront

The Hollings bill calls for "background checks" of waterfront workers, who could be fired on the basis of a conviction in the past ten years on any of 20 felony offenses, including minor drug charges like "distribution of, or intent to distribute, a controlled substance." To widen the swath of the bill's firepower, workers could also be fired on the basis of vague, catch-all "conspiracy" charges related to the above offenses or "any other offense" the Feds decide to add to the list. Local and federal task forces on "port security" are also debating industrywide ID systems and increased surveillance to police the docks, while the proposed bill stipulates a "credentialing process" for the purpose of limiting access.

Especially at risk on the West Coast are the largely immigrant port truckers, owner-operators who transport cargo to and from the docks. "Arab-looking" truckers are already being targeted for harassment by waterfront security. Recently, an army of cops from the California Highway Patrol, U.S. Customs Service and U.S. Coast Guard descended on cargo trucks at the Port of Oakland, where many truckers are of Near Eastern or South Asian origin, looking for "terrorists" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 October).

"Background checks" are a dagger aimed at anyone who grew up in the barrios and ghettos of this country. Given the systematic racist cop harassment carried out against minority youth, many a black or Latino man has gotten a police sheet. Throughout urban America, as many as one in three young black men is in the clutches of the criminal justice system—either in jail, on probation or on parole—at any given time. In California, census figures showed that as of 1 April 2000 one out of every 33 black people and one in every 122 Latinos was in jail or prison, compared to one in every 205 whites (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 August).

The "port security" measure is part of a direct attack by the capitalists on the union hiring hall, the heart of the longshore unions' power and the source of their strong control over job conditions. With the ILWU contract due to expire next year, the Pacific Maritime Association aims to scrap the hiring hall altogether in favor of a "call-in or Internet-based system they hope would boost productivity by 30 percent" (Associated Press, 3 September). The *Wall Street Journal* (9 July) calls outright for the elimination of "rigid union-labor rules" that have "hobbled" major U.S. ports and contributed to their "losing the battle to keep up with the brisk growth in world trade."

Macor/SF Chronicle Chiu/SF Chronicle

Customs agents stop Latino truck driver at Port of Oakland for ID check. Proposed legislation would mean increased victimization of port workers.

In his column in the ILWU *Dispatcher* (September 2001), International president James Spinosa makes clear the union's opposition to the proposed waterfront legislation, as well as the broader "anti-terror" law. But the only strategy he puts forward is to raise the union's "serious concerns...in the halls of Congress." Spinosa as much as admits that the ILWU tops will not fight to stop the proposed union-busting law, writing, "Some kind of bill will pass and the best we can do is to blunt the targeting of longshore workers as much as possible." What he offers is the promise of a union vote at the polls for the Democrats in exchange for a few paltry amendments.

Waterfront labor *can* prevail against this all-out anti-union onslaught, but only to the degree that the longshore unions, in alliance with the Teamsters, mobilize labor's social power in an across-the-board fight to defend *all* workers at the ports—union and non-union, black and white, Latino and Asian, "legal" and undocumented immigrant. Such struggle has to start from the understanding that, far from the "national unity" jingoism being promoted by the U.S. capitalist class, the interests of the bosses and the workers are irreconcilably counterposed.

In this fight, indisputably, union rights and black and immigrant rights will march forward together or fall back separately. This is underlined by the fact that the author of this bill is a Senator from racist, "open shop" South Carolina, where the Charleston Five, members of the International Longshoremen's Association, were kept under house arrest for *one and a half years* on trumped-up charges for defending their union against the use of scab labor (see "State Drops Vendetta Against Charleston Five," page 9).

Government Hands Off the Unions!

There is a long history of government persecution of union militants as "criminals." As Bay Area ILWU Longshore Local 10 secretary-treasurer Clarence Thomas told the *Oakland Post* (4 November), "This is not the first time the government has gone after longshoremen. It happened during the 1950s Red Scare—which many who [sic] are too young to remember—that saw anyone affiliated with the Communist party not being able to work government cargo." The government repeatedly tried to deport former ILWU International president Harry Bridges, an Australian national and Communist Party supporter.

While rightly recalling the use of anti-Communism against the unions, the ILWU brass has *ignored* the racist content of the bosses' current attacks targeting the largely immigrant port truckers and black and Latino longshoremen. For the ILWU tops, such racism is no doubt a "hot potato." But to not take up the defense of black and Latino workers effectively demobilizes the union rank and file in the face of the Maritime Security Act, which attempts to insert the federal government into the hiring process and drive minority workers out of their jobs. It is particularly poisonous that in their recent statements on the Maritime Security Act, the longshore union tops—including left-talkers like ILWU Local 10 executive board member Jack Heyman—ignore the critical question of the defense of the port truckers.

The Teamsters have officially launched a drive to unionize the country's 40,000

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 770

7 December 2001

Immigrants, Blacks, Labor in the Cross Hairs

Jane Therese

Kraft/Gamma

"Anti-Terror" Law: Shredding Your Rights

As hundreds of non-citizens are rounded up in "anti-terror" witchhunt, Attorney General Ashcroft pushes through massive assault on rights of all.

DECEMBER 2—For a capitalist government ever intent on tightening the screws of repression, the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center was an early Christmas gift. America's capitalist rulers are using the fear born of the horrendous slaughter of thousands of innocent people in New York City to sell the American people the lie that more cops and more restrictions on democratic rights are for their own "protection."

The new Office of Homeland Security will coordinate spying and repression by dozens of federal agencies, including the CIA and others nominally restricted from operating domestically. The USA-Patriot Act signed into law in October by President Bush mandates a massive expansion of FBI and CIA powers and broadens the definition of "terrorist" to include just about anybody deemed an opponent of the government. Then came the November 13 presidential directive allowing non-citizen "terrorism" suspects to be tried by secret military tribunals. Now Attorney General John Ashcroft has announced plans to eliminate formal restraints imposed in the 1970s on FBI spying on political and religious organizations, threatening a return to COINTELPRO-style provocation and terror.

Using their military adventure against backward, impoverished Afghanistan and their open-ended "war on terrorism," Bush and Ashcroft have pushed through a series of "war measures" that represent a crystallization of repressive new rules marking a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. Just about every bombing raid on Afghanistan has been accompanied by a new assault on civil liberties in the U.S. The breathtaking sweep of this barrage can be gleaned from a quick glance at recent headlines in the bourgeois press: "FBI Considers Torture as Suspects Stay Silent" (London *Times*, 22 October); "Ashcroft Plan Would Recast Justice Dept. in a War Mode" (*New York Times*, 9 November); "Disappearing in America" (*New York Times*, 10 November); "Seizing Dictatorial Power" (*New York Times*, 15 November).

More than 1,200 immigrants, predominantly Near Eastern and South Asian, have been rounded up. Over 600 continue to be held for nothing more than minor offenses like overstaying their visas. Now Ashcroft has announced that the government will not release people arrested on immigration violations even if ordered to by immigration judges. The FBI has ordered "interviews" of 5,000 young men of Near Eastern descent. According to Ashcroft, the meetings will be "consensual," i.e., those interrogated in the course of this fishing expedition will not be given Miranda warnings about self-incrimination. Over 200 colleges and universities have turned over names and records of foreign students to the Feds. As illustrated by the legislation "federalizing" airport security, which bars non-citizens from these jobs, immigrants are now presumed enemy "fifth columnists."

Dr. Ahmed Jaber, chairman of the Islamic Mission of America, spoke to the pervasive fear among Muslims in the U.S.: "If they're going to tap your phone, watch your e-mail, knock on your door, question you without legal representation, that reminds me of going back to the Middle East again, because that's how the Middle Eastern governments operate" (*New York Times*, 18 November). Particularly in the weeks following September 11, the government witchhunt also encouraged a wave of anti-immigrant terror on the streets.

Even right-wing *New York Times* columnist and Bush supporter William Safire wrote of the military tribunals in a November 15 piece: "Misadvised by a frustrated and panic-stricken attorney general, a president of the United States has just assumed what amounts to dictatorial power to jail or execute aliens.... We are letting George W. Bush get away with the replacement of the American rule of law with military kangaroo courts." And this is coming from a man who was a speechwriter for Nixon when he was ordering FBI and military investigations of black militants and tens of thousands of protesters against the Vietnam War. Perhaps it dawned on Safire, who is Jewish, that there are anti-Semitic elements in the Bush administration and correspondingly there may be a place for civil liberties after all. Safire continued:

> "[Bush] seizes the power to circumvent the courts and set up his own drumhead tribunals—panels of officers who will sit in judgment of non-citizens who the president need only claim 'reason to believe' are members of terrorist organizations.
>
> "Not content with his previous decision to permit police to eavesdrop on a suspect's conversations with an attorney, Bush now strips the alien accused of even the limited rights afforded by a court-martial.
>
> "His kangaroo court can conceal evidence by citing national security, make up its own rules, find a defendant guilty even if a third of the officers disagree, and execute the alien with no review by any civilian court."

The purpose of the tribunals is to make sure that nobody brought before them gets off. Pointing to the acquittal by a Scottish court early this year of one of two Libyan defendants charged with the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, an administration spokesman sneered that it was "not an outcome we would want here." Never mind that there was *no evidence* for the conviction of either of them. As governor of Texas, Bush ordered the execution of over 150 men and women (among them Shaka Sankofa [Gary Graham], a manifestly innocent black man) but in eleven months as president has only been able to send two men to the death chambers. With his new powers to designate who gets tried and executed without what passes for "justice" even in Texas, Bush is like a little boy locked in a candy store overnight. As they proclaim a new "crusade," Bush, Ashcroft & Co. appear to be guided by the injunction of the 13th-century Roman Catholic commander who ordered Crusaders against the Albigensian "heretics" in southern France: "Kill them all! God will look after his own."

Capitalist State: An Instrument of Organized Violence

The military tribunals are merely the most spectacular of a panoply of newly minted laws, orders, directives and government agencies to be wielded by the ruling class against the proletariat and all the oppressed. The capitalist state—cops, courts, prisons and army—is nothing but an instrument of organized violence to

continued on page 8

French Trotskyists Say:
For Class Struggle at Home!
Defend Afghanistan!

SEE PAGE THREE

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Free Los Angeles May Day Protesters!

For the "crime" of participating in an anarchist "Carnival Against Capital" march in Long Beach, California last May Day, several activists last month received harsh sentences, including *three years' imprisonment* in one case. The youthful demonstrators had been attacked, without provocation or warning, by police in riot gear who hit protesters with billy clubs and sprayed others with beanbag rounds and rubber bullets, hospitalizing one. Ninety-five people were arrested at gunpoint.

To justify the police riot, arrestees were hit with various misdemeanor charges and felony charges of resisting arrest, conspiracy to commit a crime and assault on a police officer. On May 7, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to L.A. County District Attorney Steve Cooley, calling for the immediate release of all those in jail and dropping all the charges.

In June, Javier Perez, held in jail on $100,000 bail for several weeks after the march, was told if he pled guilty to two charges he'd be sentenced to 30 days and be released on time served. But when he did so, he was handed over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, intimidated into signing a "voluntary deportation" paper and deported in the dead of night. In a letter posted on the Web, Perez wrote, "I was literally dropped off at the border with nothing but the clothes I had on and the few bucks I had when I was arrested. It is as if I was given the death penalty. I came to the United States when I was 3 months old, I am 22 now and I don't have any family here in Mexico. How do they expect me to survive."

While most of the other protesters' cases were settled between May and August, with the defendants receiving sentences of a year's probation, community service and fines, 37 remaining protesters had planned on fighting the charges. But after September 11, correctly fearing that they would not get a fair trial in the capitalist courts amid the government's "anti-terrorist" hysteria, most accepted plea-bargains.

Among these was Robert Middaugh (a/k/a Ruckus), who on November 15, after being held for months on $50,000 bond, was sentenced to *three years* in prison in a plea-bargain deal after pleading guilty to felony assault on a police officer. Middaugh, who has a history of political activism, was previously arrested last year at the Democratic convention protests in L.A. and for his involvement in protests against the 1998 police killing of black teen Tyisha Miller in Riverside, California. Under California's "three strikes and you're out" sentencing laws, Middaugh faces 25 years to life if convicted again after his release.

Another demonstrator, Alec Schwarz, who was also sentenced November 15, got one year in county jail and three years' probation after pleading no contest to the felonies of resisting arrest and conspiracy to commit a battery as well as a misdemeanor rioting charge.

The repression against the Long Beach May Day protesters is part of the capitalist state's assault on the workers movement and all those who would protest against the crimes of capitalism and its international system of exploitation. Although we do not share the same political perspective as these protesters, we defend them against the capitalist state's repression. We say: An injury to one is an injury to all! Drop all remaining charges against the May Day demonstrators! Free the May Day protesters! ■

Hartford, Connecticut: Drop Charges Against Antiwar Protesters!

The following letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to Hartford, Connecticut mayor Mike Peters on November 6.

We demand the dropping of all charges against the 18 people arrested in Hartford on October 25 for protesting the American government's war of terror against Afghanistan, and that any who remain behind bars be released now. For doing no more than exercising their right to free speech and assembly, protesters were attacked and pepper-sprayed by police. Some were hit with outrageously trumped-up felony charges carrying stiff prison sentences, with bonds of up to $50,000.

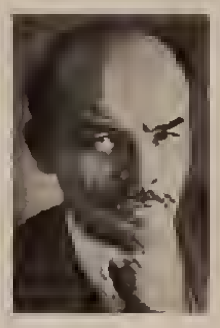
The U.S. rulers' "war against terrorism" is not limited to bombing the desperately impoverished and benighted people of Afghanistan. It is also a war against working people at home, as the government wields the pretext of "terrorism" to assault civil liberties, further the racial subjugation of the black population, round up immigrants and target any perceived opponents of the capitalists who rule this society.

Drop all charges against the Hartford protesters!

* * *

The PDC has made a financial contribution for the defense of the protesters. Send your contribution to: Free Speech Defense Fund, 13 Fairview Avenue, Danbury, CT 06810.

TROTSKY



LENIN

Trotskyists Fought World War II Smith Act Prosecution

Indicted by the federal government on 15 July 1941, 29 members of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 became the first victims of the 1940 Smith Act. Charged with "seditious conspiracy," 18 of the 29, including SWP leader James P. Cannon, were convicted and ultimately sent to prison. But as Cannon made clear in response to the indictment, the Roosevelt administration's frame-up prosecution would not stop the SWP from maintaining its revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism.

As he plunges toward total war, Roosevelt would like first to destroy all leadership and potential leadership of the antiwar forces. Roosevelt and his war party understand very well that an honest workers' party like ours, with firm principles and cadres steeled and tempered in the class struggle, can tomorrow become the accepted spokesman for the great masses in the struggle to put an end to the war. The Roosevelt war party would destroy us before that tomorrow comes.

We have adhered to the Bolshevik tradition of struggle against war ever since 1917, as every politically literate person knows. But not since the notorious Palmer raids of 1920 has any government official pretended that we could be indicted for that....

We are no pacifists. We Trotskyists have shown, in China, in Loyalist Spain, in the Red Army, that we are ready to fight on behalf of a just cause. But Roosevelt's war is an imperialist war and we shall oppose it, and nothing shall stop us.

We are no pacifists. We shall not turn the other cheek to Roosevelt's attack on our party. On the contrary, we shall see to it that every worker and farmer in this country hears our true views and learns how Roosevelt has engineered this vile frame-up against us. This case will be tried by the government in a courtroom in Minneapolis and we shall defend ourselves there. Far more important, however, we shall defend ourselves before our true judges—the workers and farmers of this country. It is their verdict, above all, that concerns us.

—James P. Cannon, "Why We Have Been Indicted," *Militant*, 26 July 1941; reprinted in *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* (1975)

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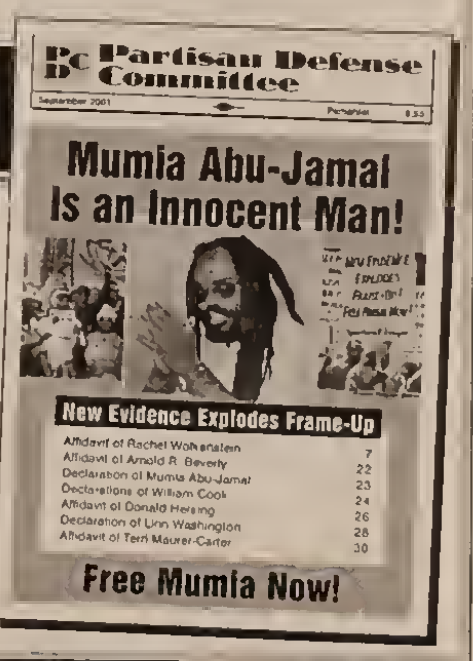

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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French Trotskyists Say:

For Class Struggle at Home! Defend Afghanistan!

December 3—After two months of massive terror bombing of Afghanistan, in which hundreds of civilians have perished and tens of thousands have been driven into starvation-plagued refugee camps, Washington has sent in more than a thousand Marines to help the Northern

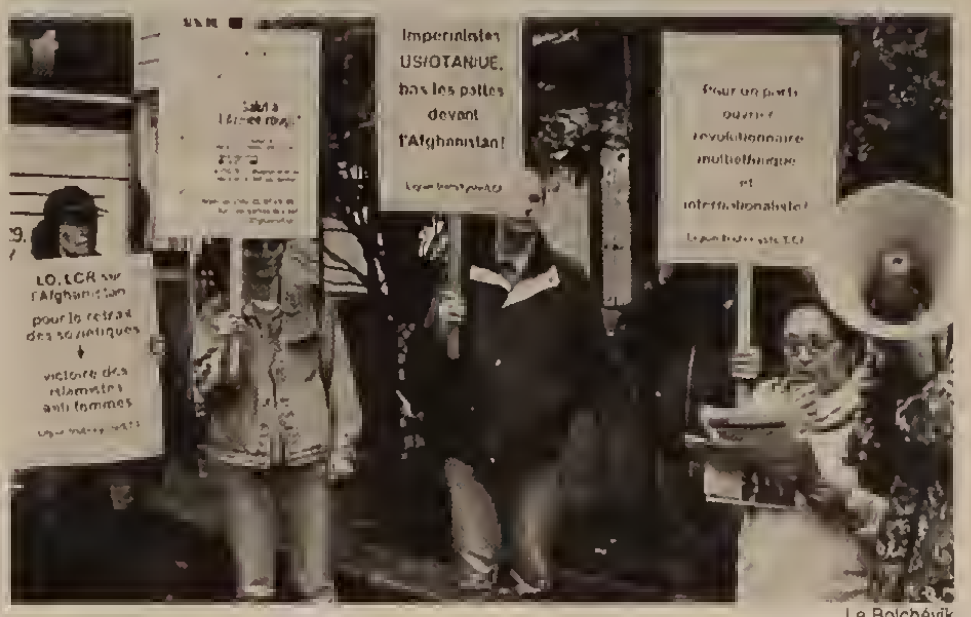
LE BOLCHEVIK

Alliance, particularly in their drive against Kandahar, the last stronghold of the Taliban. The U.S. imperialists gave full vent to their bloodlust last week when they oversaw a massacre of hundreds of Taliban POWs near Mazar-i-Sharif, raining bombs on the prison and pouring burning oil into basements where prisoners were hiding.

We reprint below a supplement to *Le Bolchévik* issued on November 14 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the International Communist League. French commandos—along with British special forces—are participating with U.S. forces operating inside Afghanistan. While a small French force is now in Mazar-i-Sharif, for weeks French troops in Uzbekistan had been blocked from entering Afghanistan. The *International Herald Tribune* (26 November) quoted a French government official saying, "The message from Washington is: 'We'll do the cooking and prepare what people are going to eat, then you will wash the dirty dishes'." Meanwhile at home, the Socialist-led coalition government has ratcheted up the so-called "Vigipirate" campaign of racist police terror, particularly targeting North Africans and other minorities. As in the U.S., the French rulers' war on immigrants and minority populations in the name of "anti-terrorism" is a harbinger of increased state repression against everyone, aiming to regiment the working class and the rest of the population behind the defense of imperialist interests.

* * *

The imperialists' bloody war against Afghanistan has already claimed more than a thousand victims and created hundreds of thousands of refugees. B-52s have just destroyed one of the country's few electricity generators and the destruction of a dam brings the direct threat of death for tens of thousands of people. The world's biggest imperialist power, having taken hits on its own territory during the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, is lashing out to assert its unchallenged supremacy. The U.S. has



Le Bolchévik

Paris, September 29: LTF stages counterprotest as feminists, fake left rally to support Afghan Northern Alliance, lackeys of imperialism. Placard in center reads: "U.S./NATO/EU Imperialists, Hands Off Afghanistan!"

Down With Racist State Terror!

established a military presence in Central Asia (a thousand soldiers are already stationed in Uzbekistan) for the first time since the Civil War waged against the young Soviet workers state born out of the 1917 October Revolution. This will redouble U.S. appetites to seize whatever they can in this oil-rich region and increase the imperialist military threat against the Chinese deformed workers state.

As we go to press, the media has announced that Kabul and Jalalabad have fallen to the Northern Alliance and that Kandahar is under siege. The imperialists, who armed and financed the Taliban, only to then arm and finance the Northern Alliance to overthrow the Taliban, are now afraid that their puppets of today will unleash a bloodbath. French president Chirac has proposed sending French troops in the framework of a multinational force under UN auspices to "keep the peace." This is the height of imperialist hypocrisy. The "peace" of French imperialist troops thunders from the graves of Vietnam and Algeria. The UN is a fig leaf for the terror and destruction by U.S. imperialism and its allies throughout the world, from Iraq to Somalia and the Balkans. The Ligue Trotskyste de France demands: *All UN troops and those of France and other imperialist powers out of Afghanistan!*

Pakistan and the other Muslim countries are destabilized; even the most pro-American regimes face mass demonstrations led by fundamentalists, from Egypt to Indonesia. The U.S.'s imperialist rivals have declared that they will make a bloc with America "against terrorism." In reality, they have seized on the opportunity to launch in their own countries a campaign of racist and chauvinist mobilization against immigrants and to profoundly call into question democratic rights. The attacks against the working class at home are intended to allow the imperialists to sharpen the competitiveness of their own capitalist trusts on the world market, in the context of an increasingly serious economic recession. These rivalries have been reinforced and intensified since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The U.S. is today dominant because of its military power, but behind the facade of unity, every imperialist bourgeoisie seeks to defend its own interests.

The fissures in the imperialist bloc have become so manifest that Kofi Annan warned that "the longer the conflict is prolonged, the more likely it is that tensions will come to light, while it is important to maintain a united front against terrorism" (*Le Monde*, 3 November). German Social Democratic [SPD] chancellor Schröder explained in the same newspaper that he is pushing for a military intervention as an opportunity to legitimize the use of German combat troops for the first time since 1945. President Chirac, who is working harmoniously with [Socialist] Prime Minister Jospin on the international crisis, insists that "military action is not enough.... It is necessary to do more through the accompanying political and diplomatic means" (*Le Monde*, 3 November).

In France, the social situation is volatile and the consensus around the imperialist war is fragile. Revulsion rises at the sight of the bodies of children massacred in the bombing and the imperialists' cynicism in air-dropping peanut butter in between fragmentation bombs. This offers an opportunity for Marxists to intervene in the growing uneasiness in order to *broaden* the political consciousness of workers to communist consciousness. Marxists must struggle here to transform the justified anger against an American-led war against a poor country into an understanding of the need to put an end once and for all to the capitalist system which produces war, layoffs, racism and poverty. The beginning of this fight must be recognizing that the main enemy of workers in France is the French capitalist class. The so-called "far left" prevents this raising of consciousness by pushing anti-Americanism, thus tying the working class to the French bourgeoisie.

Bin Laden and the Taliban: Bitter Fruit of the Anti-Soviet Cold War

To find the means to end this war, it is necessary first of all to understand its context and its origin. We condemned the criminal slaughter of thousands of innocent men and women in the attack on the World Trade Center and wrote that "terrorist bombings tend to be carried out by nationalist or religious forces because they are at best indifferent or at worst hostile to the entire population they consider to be the enemy" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 157, Autumn 2001). As for the Pentagon, it is the quintessential administrative and command center of the American Army and thus represents a real military target, but that does not make this attack an "anti-imperialist action." There is still no proof as to who committed the attacks, but if it is bin Laden, he is a Frankenstein's monster created by the imperialists themselves: they bought and paid for his services in the "holy war" against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan beginning in 1979.

We hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan and passionately desired the Soviet commandos to take care of the Islamic fanatics who threw acid in the faces of

continued on page 4

AP photos

French troops heading for Afghanistan. Family in Kabul outside home devastated by U.S. bombers.

France...

(continued from page 3)

unveiled women and killed those who dared to teach young women. As we said at the time:

> "This was probably the first instance of a shooting war in modern history which was ignited specifically by the question of women's liberation.... Revolutionists in this conflict must stand on the side of the Red Army, because a victory for the mullah-led rebels means a victory for the bride price, it means a victory for the veil, it means a victory for usury, for feudal serfdom and the continuation of the enslavement of women....
>
> "[The Soviet Union] intervened in Afghanistan to protect its flank from stepped-up military threats.... But in this particular case the Soviet state's concern for its own security happens to coincide with the interests of proletarian internationalism. If Afghanistan is transformed into anything resembling Soviet Central Asia, this would be an enormous leap forward—especially for women. So the bourgeois press talks about the treachery of the Soviet Union invading Afghanistan, and the Spartacist League says the treachery would be pulling out, if they do it, under pressure and abandoning those people to the perpetuation of the slavery under which they live."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik* No. 17 (May-June 1980)

The goal of Massoud, bin Laden and the Islamic fundamentalists—supported by the CIA, Mitterrand and Bernard Kouchner (who went on his counterrevolutionary mission to Afghanistan under the cover of "humanitarian aid" with Doctors Without Borders)—was to perpetuate barbarism and enslavement in Afghanistan and to kill the largest possible number of Soviet soldiers.

Today the French fake left wants to hide its shameful history of support to its own bourgeoisie and to the *mujahedin* at the time. Lutte Ouvrière (LO) compared the Soviet intervention to the French imperialists' and later the American imperialists' bloody war against the Vietnamese people, and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) officially came out for Soviet withdrawal in 1981. We, on the other hand, warned at the time of the possibility that the Kremlin would make a deal with the imperialists and withdraw.

The Stalinists committed this counterrevolutionary crime in 1989 (with cheers from LO, etc.) when Gorbachev withdrew the Soviet forces, even as they were winning on the ground against the CIA-backed *mujahedin*. Gorbachev thought this could buy a new lease on life for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. But in fact this was the prelude to counterrevolution in East Europe and in the USSR, and the victory of the mullahs in Afghanistan. While denouncing the Soviet betrayal, we did not give up in 1989. On the international level, the International Communist League continued the fight to defend and extend the gains of the 1917 Revolution, threatened from outside by the imperialists and from within by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Over Afghanistan, when the Afghan government declined our offer to organize an international brigade to fight to the death against all the bin Ladens and Massouds, we waged an international fund-raising campaign on behalf of the people of Jalalabad, besieged by the *mujahedin* of Bush Senior and Mitterrand.

AP

Police, military patrol Paris airport. Jospin government has unleashed thousands of cops to terrorize minorities.

Afghanistan today is one of the most backward countries on earth, with no industry. It has no proletariat, which is the only historically progressive class in the capitalist epoch, since it is the only class which has both the historic interest to overthrow the capitalists and the social power to do so because of its role in the economy, producing the profits. There can be no solution there for the oppressed and especially for Afghan women apart from an internationalist perspective. It is workers revolutions in the countries of the region that have a working class, like Iran, India and Pakistan, and above all in the imperialist centers themselves, that will allow Afghanistan to emerge from the Middle Ages.

Today as well we take a side against imperialism: we defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack, without giving the slightest political support to the Taliban reactionaries. Any defeat of imperialism facilitates class struggle here. And the converse is equally true: to put an end to wars of imperialist depredation, it is necessary to break down the "sacred union" here and to overthrow the capitalist class in the imperialist countries that dominate the world, like the U.S. and also France. As one of our comrades said on October 10 in San Francisco during a support meeting for the "Charleston Five," longshore unionists in the American South prosecuted for having defended a picket line against a cop attack:

> "The labor movement must wage class struggle at home and defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! The ruling class is using this patriotic fervor to vastly increase the apparatus of state repression against workers, immigrants and the oppressed.... 'National unity' means attacks on jobs, wages and hard-won civil rights, and it means workers are to bear the brunt of the deepening economic crisis."

Beware of Centrist Impostors!

Some other groups claiming to be Trotskyist have declared like us that they "defend" Afghanistan. There is first of all an international declaration by the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI, which Pouvoir Ouvrier in France is part of) along with the Trotskyist Faction-International Strategy group (FT, centered on the Argentine "ex"-Morenoite PTS) and Workers Power of Greece. Their declaration capitulates simultaneously to Third World anti-Yankee bourgeois nationalism (they don't even denounce the criminal attack on the World Trade Center!) *and* to the bourgeois chauvinism of the Western European countries governed by social democrats. Thus they concentrate their fire against American imperialism and—in virtually their only reference to their own governments—call on the [British] Labour Party or social-democratic parliamentarians of the French Socialist (SP) and Communist (CP) Parties and the German SPD not to vote for war credits for the "Americans' war."

These are "*rrr*evolutionaries" of the English pub, the Argentine *peña*, the Parisian café or the Greek *taverna*, whose activity comes down in practice to putting pressure on bourgeois parliaments, notwithstanding some bravado expressed in calls, for example, for "workers in the munitions factories to boycott and sabotage imperialist war production." One should know that during the Balkans War two and a half years ago, the LRCI marched in demonstrations in London where slogans were prominently displayed like "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO, Now or Never." As for the Morenoites, in 1980 they were dreaming of "the possibility of extending the Iranian revolution [the obscurantist, anti-woman regime of Khomeini] within the borders of the USSR" (*Avanzata Proletaria*, 12 January 1980)! The LRCI's only guiding principle is always voting for the social democrats who rule capitalist Europe today.

With the same politics as the LRCI/FT but more sophisticated (they accuse us of "Kautskyism" because in their eyes we don't proclaim loudly enough that we are for the military defeat of imperialism) is the Internationalist Group (IG), composed mainly of renegades from Trotskyism who left our organization in the last few years. The fraudulent character of their "international" cannot but be evident when we see that since September 11 their French "section" has given no sign of its putative existence except by the cyberspace publication of the French translation of its American organization's declaration, without the slightest comment against French imperialism.

In *L'Internationaliste* No. 1, their only publication in French in three years, dated June 2001, they call us "defeatists" because our International Declaration of Principles says: "The 1979 'Iranian Revolution' opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world." As we said in *Le Bolchévik* No. 157 (Autumn 2001): "The IG obscures the danger of religious reaction the better to capitulate to the 'mass movement' under its existing leadership. Denying the enormous impact capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union had in setting back the consciousness of the proletariat internationally, the IG instead adapted to that lower level of consciousness, willfully misidentifying the will of the workers to struggle with the ***revolutionary consciousness*** needed to triumph over the bourgeoisie. In practice, this leads to prettifying and tailing forces hostile to the working class."

These demagogues even talk about "socialist revolution" in Afghanistan, although it has no working class. In reality, the IG isn't interested in the proletariat. It peddles its wares to a variety of petty-bourgeois nationalist audiences. On its Web site, the IG sneers that "the SL presents itself as the vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism." Its contempt for our intransigent opposition to Islamic reaction is a tacit rejection of our call for a Red Army victory against the mullahs in Afghanistan in the 1980s. It is also a promissory note to nationalists from those parts of the planet where Islam is dominant to forswear, in the name of a "united front" against American imperialism, the struggle for proletarian power in those countries. It is, in embryo, an abandonment of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which holds that in the backward countries the proletariat is the only force capable of leading the struggle for social and national justice. As Trotsky stressed, only proletarian revolution can break the imperialist yoke over such countries and, with its extension to advanced capitalist countries, end imperialism forever.

Down With Vigipirate!

Cop minister Vaillant brags about having set up a "tougher Vigipirate" in the 90 minutes following the collapse of the World Trade Center towers. We were the only ones who denounced Vigipirate immediately. Today's Vigipirate plan is not like the one carried out during the Gulf War or in 1995, when the railroad and subway stations were patrolled by the army and the CRS riot cops. The feeling of living under a brutal military dictatorship in some banana republic, or under a Nazi regime, was certainly disagreeable for the petty bourgeoisie, which believes that France is the country of the Enlightenment and the "rights of man." What has been set up by the bourgeois popular front of Jospin and [CP minister] Gayssot is a lot more dangerous and a lot more targeted. Today in plebeian neighborhoods people are being stopped and having their papers checked by plainclothes and uniformed cops, *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] are increasingly being deported (deportations have increased by at least 30 percent), and above all youth—mainly those of North African origin—are being terrorized in the working-class neighborhoods, none of which is talked about on TV or in the press.

The government has declared in chorus that one must not confuse Islam and terrorism and that not all Muslims are terrorists. In other words, your neighbor or your Algerian co-worker *might* be one. This insidious campaign aims to pit "French" workers against their "immigrant" class

no credit

Sygma

French colonial troops carried out torture and slaughter of Algerians in war against independence struggle. Right: Hundreds of Algerian protesters in Paris were killed by police in October 1961.

brothers (and among the latter, blacks against North Africans), including those who were born here, to weaken all workers against the capitalists. The North African-derived population is under enormous pressure, often keeping quiet in fear of being suspected of sympathies for bin Laden.

The face of the "war against terrorism" at home is also the popular-front government's new law on "daily security," adopted with the benevolent abstention of the CP (only one Green deputy voted against it, in addition to the right, for whom the repression doesn't go far enough!). The new measures especially target refugees trying to get to England, and they strongly encourage racial profiling. "Gathering" in the corridor of your own apartment building is now banned (the curfews for minors in towns run by the right almost seem like small potatoes compared to this) and body searches by security guards are authorized, not to mention searches of vehicles by the cops. Any serious strike could find itself redefined as a "terrorist act" that destabilizes the state.

We struggle against Vigipirate not simply because we solidarize with the oppressed against the bourgeois state, but because such struggle is crucial for the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, which has a strong component of workers of immigrant origin in numerous strategic sectors of industry. White workers cannot make a revolution if they accept the idea that their "immigrant" class brothers are enemies. That is why a Bolshevik vanguard party undertakes to mobilize the working class against the racist terror of the bourgeois state. Down with the special powers for the capitalist state under the "daily security law"! This is a dangerous attack against everybody's freedoms.

In the U.S. and throughout Europe the governments have set up similar measures. In Germany, a Turkish militant was fired because he refused to stop work during the five minutes of silence in solidarity with the U.S. decreed by the SPD government with the enthusiastic support of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]. The European Union envisions systematic extradition between states on simple demand: Basque nationalists find themselves threatened with immediate extradition to Spain; the same for Italian leftist militants; and perhaps even Irish women who have abortions.

In France, the popular front and the right are waging their presidential election campaigns on domestic questions, essentially trying to top one another's "security" quotient. For the first time, Lutte Ouvrière has a chance to outpoll the Communist Party and to replace it at least at the electoral level. But LO is far from presenting the slightest opposition to the racist security campaign. They have not said a word about Vigipirate in more than two months: for them, this is an embarrassing question that divides workers between racists and anti-racists. On the contrary, in her big autumn speech at the Mutualité on October 12, [LO leader] Arlette Laguiller complained of bin Laden's attractiveness to youth in minority neighborhoods, thereby joining in the government's racist campaign to criminalize them and depict them as apostles of bin Laden.

Le Bolchévik

June 1989: Fund collection in Paris as part of international PDC campaign to aid civilian victims of *mujahedin* siege of Afghan city of Jalalabad.

Following the sinister mobilization of 8,000 cops in the streets for the right to unlimited imprisonment of "suspects," LO denounced the "lack of means of justice which leads to the incredible lengthening of jailing before trial and, generally, the lack of social means to cope with a rise in petty crime" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 October). They want to prove that they are responsible vis-à-vis the capitalist state. Giddy over its electoral score, LO wants to "rake in the votes" and win respectability: now is not the time for "revolutionary" rhetoric, which could also endanger the huge financing that they receive from the bourgeois state (see the *Official Journal*, which every year publishes the figures on the millions of francs distributed to the various political parties).

The Reformists and Centrists Are Obstacles to Class Struggle, Not Partners in Struggle

The reformists and centrists, who in 1997 all voted for the popular front, whether low-key (LO) or not (LCR, Pouvoir Ouvrier), represent an obstacle to class struggle. Nothing sums it up so well as the three separate demonstrations of October 11, 16 and 17 in Paris. In the space of one week there was an antiwar demonstration where opposition to the French bourgeoisie was practically nonexistent, a workers demonstration to accompany economic strikes where the question of the war was dumped, and a protest demonstration against the 17 October 1961 massacre [of pro-independence Algerians in Paris] where the *current* Vigipirate repression was notably disappeared. We were the only ones to intervene in these three demonstrations with our proletarian internationalist program, denouncing the Vigipirate plan set up by the SP-CP popular-front government and defending Afghanistan against imperialist attack.

A railway workers strike against layoff plans and against the imperialist war would begin to break the "sacred union" here. In Italy, the COBAS unions organized a general strike against the war on November 9: this is the beginning of a political opposition to the war with class-struggle methods. The obstacle is the reformists who deform working-class consciousness and lead social struggles into support for the popular front, as well as militant trade unionists who reject the need for a revolutionary Marxist party and who, based on a narrow section of the working class, fight to bring struggles back to the level of economism.

Workers Hammer

London, April 1999: Workers Power joined pro-NATO protesters pushing imperialist war cry of "poor little Kosovo" during bombing of Serbia.

In France, on October 11 Lutte Ouvrière had a banner against imperialist intervention and explicitly opposing the CP's calling on the UN (of course without going so far as to defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack). They started criticizing French imperialism. But for them this is an entirely separate question which has nothing to do with class struggle at home. It is precisely in their editorial following the trade-union demonstration of October 16 (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 October), in which they challenge the call for "national unity," that their reformism is most clearly revealed. All that they propose is to channel working-class struggles into seeking reforms from the bourgeoisie: "The unity we need is not 'national unity' with our exploiters, it's the unity of the whole working class to impose on the government another policy, like banning all layoffs." In the same vein, spreading the illusion that the imperialists could rationally administer capitalism, they explain (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 2 November) that: "The interest of the people, everywhere in the world, in Afghanistan as well as in the U.S. and here, is to rise up to force the imperialist leaders to stop this shameful war!"

But layoffs, wars and racism are an integral part of the capitalist system based on private ownership of the means of production and on profit. You can't reform capitalism to make it work in the interests of the workers and oppressed. What's needed is a socialist revolution, led by a multiethnic vanguard party, to create a workers state based on collectivized property and a planned economy to satisfy human needs.

The LCR and the Liquidation of the Revolutionary Party

As for the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of Krivine/Besancenot, at least it indicates some discomfort about Vigipirate. At bottom, their criticism is no different from that of the bourgeois liberals of the League for the Rights of Man, because like LO they do not seek to mobilize the working class in revolutionary struggle against the racist bourgeois state of Chirac/Jospin.

The LCR was even more openly pro-imperialist than LO. On September 29, they were the backbone and the marshals squad for a Paris demonstration supposedly for Afghan women, which in reality displayed enormous color portraits of the anti-Communist and anti-woman Islamic reactionary Massoud. His regime between 1992 and 1996, when he controlled Kabul, was so horrible that many Afghans welcomed the Taliban victory with relief. The Northern Alliance serves as the "ground troops" of imperialism in Afghanistan today. When the LCR contributes to promoting it under the cover of a "neutral" slogan—"neither Taliban nor bombing"—they provide a left cover for the schemes of French imperialism, which supports the Tajiks of ex-Commandant Massoud, including the secret agents who have been officially in place at least since last March, when the popular-front government and the European Union rolled out the red carpet for Massoud. For our part, we held a picket line on September 29 counterposed to this pro-imperialist demonstration, with our slogans "Imperialist Hands Off Afghanistan!" and "Down With the Anti-Woman Northern Alliance!" [see *WV* No. 766, 12 October].

The LCR congratulated itself on signing an "appeal to opinion" which was so grotesque that it caused a stir even in its own ranks. Yvan Lemaitre, leader of the former Voix des Travailleurs [Workers Voice] tendency that came out of LO and liquidated into the LCR last year, published in the LCR's *Rouge* (11 October) a statement denouncing this "appeal": "There it is asked 'that everything be done to identify, arrest and try those responsible for the bombing,' of course 'within the framework of international law and the UN Charter'." Lemaitre quite rightly notes that "international law, such as the UN Charter, is nothing other than judicial—which doesn't mean democratic—justification for the relations of domination that the great powers impose." He adds at the end that the LCR should not "disavow our ideas" for a conjunctural alliance. As if the LCR had principles! A year ago, their entire Central Committee passed a motion (see *Rouge*, 7 December 2000) for a "political battle directed at the European Union and the French government, so that they will respond positively to the urgent demands of the Palestinian national movement," which as everyone knows means sending a UN "intervention force"!

In fact, the LCR published the Lemaitre document not for the purpose of changing the organization's pro-imperialist line but to show its own members that there can be various opinions in the LCR. The JCR [LCR youth group] fundamentally shares the conception that the construction of a Leninist vanguard party is completely outmoded, not to say basically wrong, even if that means renouncing Lenin's Bolsheviks. Under the pressure of our revolutionary propaganda, they made declarations against Vigipirate, with a banner at the end of their contingent at the October 11 demonstration saying no to racism and Vigipirate, another world is possible. But no other world is possible with the LCR/JCR's politics of putting pressure on the bourgeoisie. They occasionally make ringing statements that "there is no other way than to prepare the revolution" and "we must progressively, methodically prepare for a social revolution on a world scale" (*RED*, October 2001). But since they are opposed to the struggle for a Bolshevik party to lead such a revolution, they find themselves instead with the perspective of raising "social and democratic demands," which means within a capitalist framework. The LCR expresses this more crudely in campaigning to reform the police, demanding that they hunt down the real criminals like the prostitution networks and those trafficking in women or committing white-collar crime (*Rouge*, 13 September). In fact the police, like the army, are the guard dogs of capitalist property who have the monopoly on violence to crush the revolts of the workers and the oppressed.

Always looking for a "third force" other than the proletariat led by a Leninist party, the LCR in 1978 found itself tailing the Iranian mullahs who managed—with the complicity of the Stalinists and the local pseudo-Trotskyists (including the sister organization of the LCR)—to subjugate a combative workers movement (which included an oil strike that brought down the Shah of Iran) and to install an obscurantist theocracy that continues to rule ruthlessly. We were the only ones in 1978 to declare ourselves against the Shah and the mullahs, and for workers revolution in Iran. Shortly thereafter, with the election to the presidency of its anti-Soviet candidate Mitterrand, the LCR came out for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from

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Banquet for Seaweed

Islamist Furor in Egypt Over "Heretical" Novel

BBC

Al Hayat

Cairo, Egypt: Mobs led by Islamic fundamentalists rioted in May 2000 against publication of *Banquet for Seaweed*, available only in Arabic, by Syrian author Haydar Haydar (right).

The U.S. terror bombing of Afghanistan has triggered massive reverberations throughout the Muslim Crescent. Tens of thousands have taken to the streets in Pakistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Jordan and elsewhere in protest, targeting their anger not only at the American imperialists and their allies, but also at the bonapartist cronies and monarchs who run the local regimes in the interests of their imperialist masters. What is noticeable about these protests is that they have been dominated by Islamic fundamentalists, with nary a peep uttered by the petty-bourgeois nationalists or the Stalinists, both of which were once formidable political forces in the region and peddlers of anti-imperialist rhetoric. The dominance and growth of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism is a direct result of the manifest bankruptcy and failure of the bourgeois nationalists to deliver on their post-independence promises and of the betrayals of the Stalinists who tailed and capitulated to them.

A Review
By Salah Shami

Walimah li-A'shab al-Bahr
(Banquet for Seaweed)
by Haydar Haydar
5th edition, 2000
House of Waves, Beirut, Lebanon

The enormous power that Islamic fundamentalists have in shaping the social, political and cultural discourse in the Near East was in full display in Egypt in April and May of last year. Some months after the Ministry of Culture reprinted *Banquet for Seaweed*, a 1983 novel by the Syrian writer Haydar Haydar, an unprecedented wave of fundamentalist-led protests, drawn heavily from university students, erupted across the country. The bonapartist regime of Hosni Mubarak responded with riot police, armored cars, tear gas and rubber bullets.

The People, newspaper of the Islamist "Labor Party," opened the campaign with a rabid, sermon-like front-page article headlined "Who Pledges to Die with Me?" Seizing particularly on a phrase in the book that followed the word "Koran" by "shit," it pronounced Haydar "sinful, obscene, lewd," called on Muslims to rise in defense of their faith and demanded the Minister of Culture's head along with the heads of those responsible for publishing the novel. Succumbing to pressure, the Minister of Culture pulled the book from the shelves and appointed a committee of critics to investigate the charges against it. Despite the acquittal of the book and its author by the critics' committee, and under pressure from parliament, the Minister of Culture referred the book to the head of Al-Azhar, Egypt's central religious authority and censor, which issued a five-point condemnation: the Ministry of Culture did not check with Al-Azhar before publication; the novel included phrases scornful to Islam, Allah, the Prophet and the Koran; it was erotic and full of blatant sexuality; it insulted Arab rulers; it violated "divine laws" and "moral values."

Seizing on the opportunity to extend its grip on cultural life, the head of Al-Azhar demanded that he oversee all the ministry's future publications. In 1994, following an attack on the Ministry of Culture by an Islamic fundamentalist in parliament for translating "blatantly sexual and offensive foreign books," it was agreed that all such translations would first be run by Al-Azhar for review. Condemning the "intellectual terrorism" of the fundamentalists, Egyptian writer and Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz issued a furious statement, declaring: "The censor in Egypt is no longer just the state. It's the gun of the fundamentalists."

In a powerful piece titled "The Novel, Politics and Islam" on the *Banquet for Seaweed* controversy, professor Sabry Hafez captured the hysteria that grew around the book. Contrasting it to Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, Hafez wrote in *New Left Review* (September/October 2000):

> "*Banquet for Seaweed*, on the other hand, is a political novel about communism and nationalism, the Iraqi and Algerian Revolutions—themes which, two decades after its publication, in a context so reactionary that even the memory of these great movements has largely disappeared, were all but completely displaced by a grotesque fixation with an exclamatory aside of no structural significance for the work, as if religion is now the only issue left in Arab public life."

In response to Al-Azhar's verdict, Haydar's book was banned. The State Security summoned the editor and managing editor of Literary Horizons, which published *Banquet for Seaweed*, and formally charged them with blasphemy. To maintain its hold on power, the Mubarak regime has cracked down on the Islamists when they pose a challenge while at other times turning to them when challenged by secular opponents. Around the time of the protests against Haydar's book, Egyptian writer and humanist Salah-al-Din Muhsin was arrested for publishing a book, *Flickers of Enlightenment*, which openly advocated atheism. His earlier verdict of six months' suspended imprisonment was revoked and under pressure from Islamic fundamentalists, Muhsin was retried and sentenced last February to ***six years' hard labor***.

The atmosphere of fear that followed in the wake of the violent protests and the subsequent state intimidation of liberal intellectuals was aptly captured by the testimony of Hamdi Abu Gulayyil, a writer and Ministry of Culture employee, after his interrogation by the State Security:

> "Since that day I have tried to evade ambushes. I reread any story I write several times. Given the number of prohibitions and my inability to determine them I have resorted to a legal adviser, a young lawyer who is my neighbor. He reads every story I write and every book I publish especially when written by a naive writer. My agony begins as soon as the book enters the print shop: the book contains a scene of a woman sitting with a man, the book contains someone who thinks, the book contains someone eating with appetite, the book contains people, and wherever there are people, there is sin. I dream, I hallucinate, and I am drowned in nightmares. Once my wife caught me completely dressed, at four o'clock in the morning, at the door of our apartment. I had imagined that one of the books in the print shop contained an indecent scene and was on my way out to stop the printing before morning."
>
> —*Middle East Report*, Summer 2001

Feeding off the despair and anger that grew out of the dire misery and degradation of the masses and capitalizing on the ineptitude and corruption of despotic capitalist regimes, in the absence of a viable communist alternative, Islamic fundamentalism emerged in the last two decades as a mass movement posturing as the only anti-imperialist force, the savior from mass poverty and the promoter of social justice through upholding the "word of god" and application of Islamic law. "It's easy for the average Egyptian to say, we tried modernity but it didn't take us anywhere and we didn't become Europe," Tarek Heggy, an Egyptian political analyst, told the *New York Times* (14 October). "It's easy for him to say, we tried pan-Arabism and it didn't work. And, if he's a simple-minded person, he might say they didn't work because God wasn't with us."

The witchhunt of writers and liberal intellectuals that intensified in the aftermath of the spring 2000 events was not confined to Egypt; it spilled over its borders, in the same way that Islamic fundamentalism, originally an Egyptian phenomenon, spread to engulf much of the Near East. From Morocco, Algeria, Jordan and Yemen to the Gulf sheikdoms, Arab writers are being assailed and hunted by fundamentalist zealots for "disseminating blasphemy." The Yemeni writer Abd al-Karim al-Razihi was forced to seek asylum in Holland; legal charges were launched against the Kuwaiti women writers Layla al-Uthman and Afaf Shu'aib, as well as against the Jordanian poet Musa Hawamidah. In Algeria, Wasinin al-A'raj's novel, *The Hostess*, was banned for "impiety."

When *Banquet for Seaweed* was first published in 1983, it barely got the attention of the fundamentalists. At the time they didn't have the power they wield now. Today they are already in power in two countries, Iran and Sudan, and vying for state power in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Jordan. The fact that they could mobilize tens of thousands of students against a work of fiction, 17 years after its publication, which most of them hadn't even read, is a measure of how much sway fundamentalists hold over the minds of youth. It is also a measure of the abysmal depth of obscurantism and regression of mass consciousness in the post-Soviet era. For over 50 years, Naguib Mahfouz grappled with god and wrote passionately about prostitutes and homosexuals. Yet fundamentalists had never made an attempt on his life until 1994, when he was eighty-two years old. Similarly, they were not able to assassi-

New York Times

Baghdad, July 1958: Revolutionary upsurge that brought Iraqi proletariat to brink of power was derailed by Soviet bureaucracy and Iraqi Communist leadership.

nate Faraj Fawdah, a radical liberal intellectual and a lifelong crusader against zealotry and obscurantism, until 1992.

We print below a review of *Banquet for Seaweed*, which is still only available in Arabic, by Salah Shami, a supporter of the International Communist League.

* * *

> "The city is beautiful, surrounded by the sea and the forest, but like any Arab city, it is dreary; ruled by tyranny, hunger, bribery, corruption, religion, hatred, ignorance, cruelty and murder."

With this bleak portrayal of the Algerian town of Buna, Haydar Haydar opens his remarkable novel, *Banquet for Seaweed*. Through two love affairs that take place in Buna during the 1970s, and moving between Iraq and Algeria, Haydar tells with anger and indignation the unwritten history of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) and its disastrous destruction, and the grim realities of daily life in Algeria under the military regime of Boumédienne.

An intelligent blend of fiction and historical events written between 1974 and 1983, in a fine mix of classical Arabic and local dialects, and published to great acclaim in 1983, the novel details the series of betrayals committed by the ICP and the lost revolutionary opportunities in the period from the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958 to the defeat and bloody annihilation of the party at the hands of the Ba'athists following their 1963 coup. In four chapters devoted to the ICP, Haydar captures the sense of betrayal among its ranks and the militant cadre who split, forming a faction determined to seize power through a strategy combining urban uprisings, guerrilla warfare and military support of Communist officers.

Seething with anger and disgust, militant ICP cadre rail against the "traitorous, revisionist and cowardly leadership who deviated from Leninist practices, tailed the bourgeoisie and refused to seize state power, which was at hand more than once, and erect a revolutionary proletarian dictatorship...supporting instead the dictatorship of the great leader [Qassim]" and who, "heeding the godfatherly advice of Khrushchev, opted to follow the example of the Egyptian Communist Party which dissolved and joined Nasser's revolutionary democratic party." In collusion with the regime, the ICP leadership purged the army of militant communist elements who, "afflicted with the infantile disorder of ultra-leftism, dream of erecting a communist regime in that sensitive area of the Near East, ending the alliance with the revolutionary national bourgeoisie that is blessed by the big brother in the Kremlin, bringing to an end the policies of détente and peaceful coexistence and pushing the world to the brink of nuclear war." Haydar describes in great detail the bloody massacres of communists, workers and peasants in the aftermath of the Ba'athist coup. Tens of thousands were killed, jailed, tortured or forced into exile. He also devotes a chapter to the short-lived guerrilla uprising in the southern marshes of Iraq and its crushing by the Ba'athists in 1968.

Haydar paints a gloomy picture of Algeria in the 1970s, so remote from the glorious war of independence that monuments for the martyrs of that war are buried under layers of sand. The Boumédienne regime doesn't even make a pretense of belonging to that era. The streets are teeming with gangs of unemployed and homeless youth whose "source of food is garbage dumpsters and leftovers from fancy restaurants patronized by-the thieves of the new class." The city "is ringed by cardboard and tin shanties, infested with swarms of flies, crawling insects and lice, dysentery and bilharzia." The dreams that were born in the crucible of the war for independence, of "achieving a democratic revolution in the land of the million martyrs, were thwarted by the generals who handed the country on a silver platter to themselves, the merchants, the bureaucrats and the imperialist exploiters."

Bankruptcy of Bourgeois Nationalism

Born in 1936, Haydar belongs to the generation of writers and intellectuals whose political consciousness was shaped by the social upheavals and ferment of the 1950s and '60s. The victories of the Red Army were a recent memory; the salvos of Stalingrad echoed in Dien Bien Phu and the Atlas mountains of Algeria; revolution triumphed in China and Cuba; liberation movements seemed to have been successful in driving out the colonial powers from most of Africa and Asia; the monarchies were overthrown in Iraq and Egypt; millions of workers, students, radical intellectuals and peasants were flocking into the ranks of Communist parties from Indonesia to Iraq to Iran; nationalist leaders—from Sukarno to Nasser to Nkrumah to Lumumba—filled the airwaves with anti-imperialist rhetoric and promises of egalitarian societies free from oppression. Aspirations were high and expectations boundless.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, the masses saw their hopes thwarted one after another as the bourgeois-nationalist regimes, installed with the aid of Communist parties, crushed workers organizations, leftists and national minorities. Revolutionary opportunities were sacrificed on the altar of the Soviet bureaucracy's futile pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists and the workers were tied through the dogma of "two-stage revolution" (bourgeois national revolution now, socialist revolution later, i.e., never) to the bourgeoisie. In spite of their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric and "socialist" pretensions, these bourgeois-nationalist regimes were tied by a thousand threads to imperialism. Acting as agents of imperialist domination, they perpetuated the social and economic backwardness of their countries. Vast shantytowns ring the cities of Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus and Khartoum, inhabited by millions of landless peasants driven off their lands by wealthy landlords. The streets of these cities crawl with millions of unemployed youth and lumpen elements. Desperate, disappointed and failed by both bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists, they turn to Islam as a kind of consolation and hope. Among these elements and among students with no visible future, Islamic fundamentalists found an inexhaustible recruiting pool.

Henissart

AP

Above: December 1960 protest in Algiers against French colonial rule. Left: 1974 commemoration of independence struggle included veiled women. Bourgeois nationalists in power promoted reactionary Islamic law.

The main character in the novel is the militant Iraqi Communist Mahdi Jawad, who rebelled against the ICP leadership when it refused to overthrow the regime of Abd al-Karim Qassim, paving the way for the Ba'athists to take power. Once in power, the Ba'athists unleashed an unprecedented terror against the Communists. After spending a few years in jail, Mahdi managed to escape and found his way to Algeria, working as a teacher in a country where he thought "the Arabs have surprised themselves and made a genuine revolution." He dreamed of being part of that country's egalitarian society, "where a commune was erected...where nobody is oppressed or exploited." To his disappointment, he would soon discover that life in Algeria was not different from that in Iraq. "The revolution lost its fertility and reached its menopause; Boumédienne rules the country with tyranny and murder"; Communists, leftists and intellectuals are being tortured and raped in prison; gangs of unemployed youth roam the city streets. He is "always walking hurriedly; always apprehensive; always on the alert fearing someone will attack him at the next corner...and there are many dark corners in this dreary city that has lost its sense of security."

Mahdi would soon fall in love with Assya, his student, and the relationship offers him an emotional release from the melancholy of his time in Algeria. Daughter of an FLN fighter who was tortured to death by the French, Assya lives with her mother, Fadila, and her younger sister Manar. Her mother was forced by her family to marry a merchant, Yazid, as his second wife. Yazid, who played no part in the war of independence, realized that marrying the widow of a martyr would enhance his prestige and increase his opportunities with the regime. He spends his days pursuing shady deals in the black market. He regularly beats Fadila and oppresses her daughters. He detests Mahdi, who has begun giving Assya extracurricular lessons in Arabic. He opposes the girls' education, telling their mother that to protect the family's honor "your daughters should stay home. The city is full of wolves."

In a chance encounter, Mahdi meets his compatriot Mihyar, an "intellectual who is infatuated with the glory of the Commune and Che Guevara." Mihyar also works as a teacher and, like Mahdi, once belonged to the militant wing of the ICP. He participated in the brief guerrilla uprising of 1968. Captured by the army, he spent several years in prison but was able to escape. Mahdi and Mihyar find intellectual support in each other, venting their anger at the ICP and the Algerian regime.

Mihyar lives in a boarding house owned by Fullah, a former militant FLN fighter. She was a victim of rape by French officers. As a woman in post-independence Algeria, she has to submit to the traditional Islamic order imposed by the new regime. However, Fullah is very defiant; she takes lovers among the Arab teachers who lodge in her house, drinks alcohol and smokes in public. When she is scoffed at, she explodes, "Men are allowed everything...the only thing women are allowed is to open their legs!", giving them the finger and emphasizing her disgust with a powerful spit. She constantly expresses her bitterness toward the "pimps who strangled the revolution and stole its fruit...they didn't even participate in the fighting." Fullah is drawn toward Mihyar because he is capable of seeing her personal predicament as an FLN fighter denied her share in the gains of independence, as a victim of women's oppression and because he identifies with her sense of defeat as he sees the social deterioration engulfing the country.

Along with these characters the narrative includes a group of expatriate teachers from Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Their presence gives the novel a wider scope, implying that the dimensions of misery and the sense of failure and defeat extend beyond the boundaries of Iraq and Algeria. "By 1977 [Cairo] was bursting with more than five million exuberant Cairenes. Brightly painted carts of garbage collectors, herds of goats and sheep competed with the city's 250,000 private cars," writes Mary Anne Weaver in *A Portrait of Egypt* (1999). "I was told that it was a difficult, if not impossible, place in which to live. There were recurrent power failures; food shortages were sometimes acute.... It was often impossible to telephone an apartment downstairs. Cairo specializes in a state of total pandemonium.... I remember one evening in particular as I watched with friends the flickering lights of a funeral procession passing through Imbaba. The next morning, we read in the newspaper that two children had been eaten alive by rats."

In *Banquet for Seaweed*, Haydar succeeds not only in capturing the palpable sense of failure, bitterness and defeat as expressed by the characters of Mahdi, Mihyar and Fullah, but also foreshadows the coming upheavals that exploded in the late 1980s: "The times of civil wars

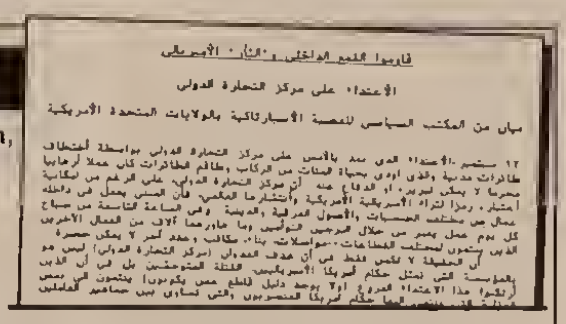
continued on page 11

Available in Arabic

Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist "Retaliation"

The World Trade Center Attack

Translation of 12 September 2001 Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.



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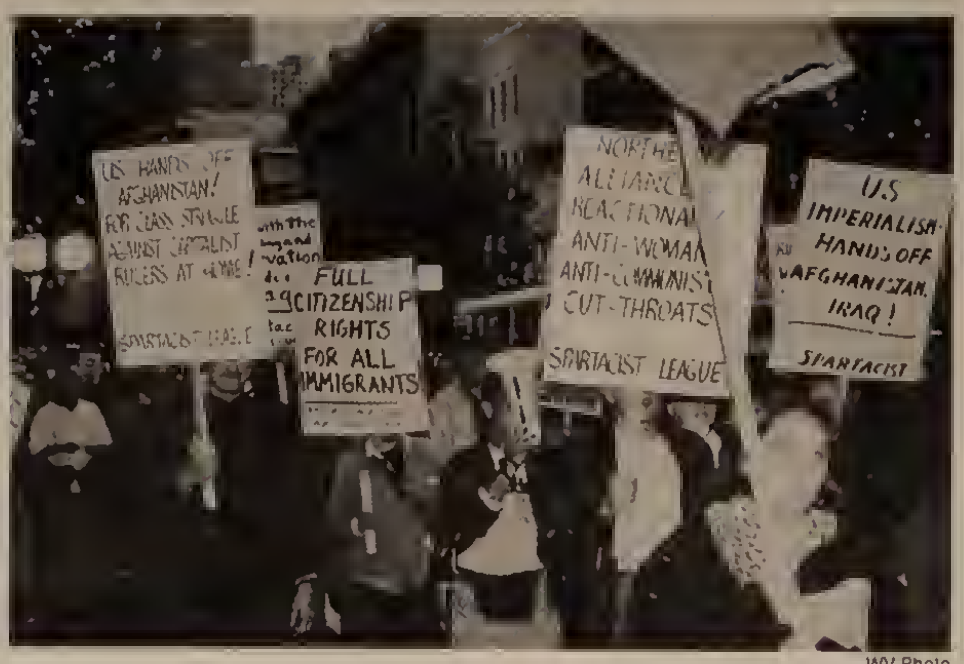
"Anti-Terror"...

(continued from page 1)

protect the interests of the filthy-rich capitalists against the workers who produce the wealth of this society. Having secured a fabulous increase in their riches and profits over the past two decades through increasing the exploitation of the working class and slashing virtually all social programs benefiting the poor, particularly the black ghetto masses, America's rulers are quite cognizant that they have been sitting on top of seething discontent among the masses at the bottom of this society. And with the economy reeling into recession, they fear that the flame under that cauldron is rising.

The purpose of the new measures is to revive and deepen the broad-ranging repression and intimidation that marked the Cold War McCarthyite witchhunt of 50 years ago. The aim today as then is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity, with the government wielding the spectre of seemingly pervasive "Islamic terrorism" as a surrogate for Communism. In the 1950s, schoolkids were instructed to turn their parents in if they were reds. Now, in calling for a "volunteer civil defense service," Bush lectures that the "terrorism alert" is "a call to be vigilant, to know that your government is on high alert and to add your eyes and ears to our efforts to find and stop those who want to do us harm" (*New York Times*, 9 November).

When the anti-Communist Cold War consensus of the 1950s was shattered by the mass struggles for black equality and protests against the imperialist war in Vietnam, the government took its secret police operations against leftists and black activists underground. This was exemplified by the COINTELPRO operation against leftists and black militants, in which 38 Black Panther Party members were assassinated and hundreds more railroaded to prison. At the same time, well before Ashcroft's latest proposal the government had sought to undermine the legal restraints imposed on its secret police operations. For nearly 30 years, legislation and court decisions have chipped away at the rights of labor, black people and immigrants. A series of Supreme Court decisions whittled down the Fourth Amendment proscription against unlawful search and seizure by allowing for the use of evidence illegally obtained by the cops in an ever-expanding number of circumstances. Thanks to Clinton's 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, the right of *habeas corpus* for death row prisoners has been virtually gutted. And local police forces in a number of cities have openly resurrected red squads in recent years.



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at October 7 SF protest on eve of U.S. bombing of Afghanistan. Defense of immigrant rights is crucial to class struggle against imperialist rulers.

The rapidity with which the government rammed through the new laws and executive orders was made possible by the illusion that they were intended for a specific small and vulnerable sector of the population—immigrants from Muslim countries. In the government's gun sights, however, is just about everyone perceived as an opponent by the capitalist rulers—from those who oppose U.S. imperialist wars abroad to those who speak out against racist oppression or fight to defend their unions and livelihoods against attacks by the employers.

As sinister as the new "anti-terror" measures are, what the government is actually able to get away with will be determined by the level of social struggle. That was seen not only in the 1960s but in the tumultuous labor battles of the 1930s that, in the wake of an extended period of right-wing reaction in the 1920s and early '30s, won many of the union rights workers have today. By the same token, militant class struggle today would throw a monkey wrench into the government's draconian moves. And it is in the direct interest of the working class to fight these moves.

The new laws and directives that today target immigrants will ultimately be used against black people and the whole working class. The danger that the anti-immigrant witchhunt poses to the labor movement as a whole can be seen by the fact that the Arab American community of Dearborn, Michigan, which includes many members of the United Auto Workers, has been targeted for investigation of supposed "terrorist sleeper cells." Postal strikers who mobilize to stop scabs or who disable a scab truck could fall under the USA-Patriot Act's definition of "terrorists" as those who commit unlawful acts that "appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or "to influence a policy of a government by intimidation or coercion."

The capitalists' campaign of "national unity" must be punctured by the struggle of the working people and the oppressed in defense of their rights and livelihoods against the bourgeoisie's onslaughts. This requires a fight for the class independence of the proletariat from the capitalists and their political parties. Particularly through its support to the Democratic Party, the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, led by John Sweeney, obstructs class struggle by pushing the lie that the interests of the workers are compatible with those of the capitalist exploiters.

Critical to a class-struggle perspective is the mobilization of labor's social power to defend immigrant rights and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. In this country, the raw exploitation of labor has always come wrapped in the envelope of racial and ethnic-religious hostilities fomented by the capitalist rulers. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. Black and immigrant workers are not just victims of capitalist repression but a vital component of the multiracial working class. We seek to forge the workers party that will lead the fight not merely for more crumbs from the capitalists but to overthrow the entire profit system.

Various reformists who sometimes masquerade as Marxists raise the call: "No to war! No to racism!" Even when such calls are cloaked in verbiage about class struggle, implicit in them is the view that the capitalist state is fundamentally "democratic" and can be pressured to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. As Lenin noted in *The State and Revolution*, "A Marxist is solely someone who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*." All historical experience has shown that the working class cannot reform the capitalist state and use it in its own interests but must create its own state, a workers state where the tremendous resources of this society are used to serve the needs of the many as opposed to the profits of a few.

Imperialists' Blitzkrieg on Civil Liberties

In their rush to bolster the forces of repression, Bush & Co. are not only trampling on the Bill of Rights but walking over the constitutional "separation of powers" as well, increasingly ruling by executive fiat. Cashing in the blank check given him by Congress to prosecute the "war on terrorism," Bush exercised his powers as Commander in Chief of the armed forces to authorize the military tribunals without even informing the Congress. This has caused some anger among Congressmen, but Bush's actions only deepen a longstanding trend.

As the U.S. emerged as an imperialist power with the end of the 19th century, much constitutional power originally given to Congress has been transferred to the imperial presidency. The increasing concentration of power in the presidency corresponds to the needs of the U.S. imperialist rulers to assert themselves as the world's top cop, without having their wars and military adventures held up by the bother of seeking the approval of Congress, much less that of "the people." The invasion of Somalia, repeated bombing raids on Iraq, the terror bombing of Serbia were all carried out without anyone in Washington raising the need for a formal declaration of war.

The deepening worldwide recession, which began before September 11, not only means even harder times ahead for millions of workers and others, but a sharpening of antagonisms between the world's leading capitalist powers. That's why the rulers of the capitalist "democracies" internationally are cracking down on workers and immigrants, to regiment the populations as the bourgeoisies intensify exploitation in an attempt to ensure competitiveness on the world market.

Though they are likewise stepping up domestic repression, America's European allies have bridled against assisting the U.S. in enforcing its military tribunals. Spain initially declared that it would refuse to extradite eight people held on suspicion of assisting the September 11 hijackers without a guarantee that they would not be tried in Bush's star chamber military courts; other European Union countries have made similar noises. Not that the U.S.' imperialist "coalition" partners have been slouches in the "war on terrorism."

Both France and Spain have escalated their attacks on the Basque nationalist ETA, and the French parliament has authorized wider search powers for the police, including body-searches at airports, stadiums and stores. In Germany, Social Democratic Party interior minister Otto Schily proposed dismantling restrictions on wiretaps, monitoring e-mails and bank accounts. In Canada, Bill C-36 would allow for indefinite detention of anyone the cops claim has "information" relating to an "investigation" and would eliminate the "right to remain silent" by forcing so-called "material witnesses" to give evidence in closed hearings.

In Britain, Tony Blair's "New" Labour government is proposing legislation declaring a "state of public emergency" and calling for detention without trial of immigrant "terrorism" suspects. Those who are charged would be tried in secret courts, denied the right to see the "evidence" against them and denied virtually any means of appeal. The proposed measure comes atop laws enacted earlier this year that severely restricted the right of asylum and outlawed nearly two dozen mainly refugee and immigrant political groups—threatening even British citizens who financially supported these groups with imprisonment.

Vast Expansion of Police Powers

Apart from his sartorial tastes and choice of prophet, U.S. top cop John Ashcroft shares an outlook not far from that of the *mujahedin*, including the Taliban, bankrolled by Washington in its war against "godless Communism." A devout evangelical Pentecostal, he declared in a speech at the rigidly segregationist Bob Jones University that the U.S. has "no king but Jesus." According to the *New York Times* (18 November), one of Ashcroft's favorite maxims is, "For every crucifixion, a resurrection is waiting to follow." They could easily have added, "So, let's get on with the crucifixions." Ashcroft keeps in his barn a seven-foot replica of the Statue of Liberty made out of *barbed wire*, fitting for the man who just ordered a reorganization of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to make it an even more effective deportation machine.

Ashcroft is an open admirer of the Confederacy and an opponent of desegregation, abortion, contraception and gay rights. Heretofore a strict proponent of "state's rights," the segregationists' battle cry, Ashcroft has no qualms about employing federal powers to enforce the dictates of the religious right. Extending the war against infidels to the medical profession, Ashcroft has tried to nullify an Oregon law allowing physician-assisted suicide for the terminally ill by ordering that doctors who assist in such suicides have their medical licenses revoked. He has also, despite a California referendum allowing marijuana for medical use, ordered raids of medical offices that prescribe it. During his Senate confirmation hearings in January, the *New York Times* (12 January) pointed to Ashcroft's efforts as a Senator "to streamline the process of altering the Constitution" to make it easier to undermine protections codified in the Bill of Rights.

Though there was broad bipartisan support for some kind of "anti-terrorism" legislation following September 11, there was a fair bit of opposition to Ashcroft's original bill. Coming from quite different directions, liberals like black Detroit Congressman John Conyers and right-wing Republicans like Robert Barr from Georgia offered alternatives to certain

UPI

Chicago Tribune

FBI COINTELPRO terror, 1969: Body of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. He (left) and Mark Clark were gunned down in their beds by Chicago cops.

provisions in the law. In authoring a compromise that allowed non-citizens to be detained for seven days instead of indefinitely and imposing a two-year "sunset clause" on certain provisions, Conyers helped push the legislation through the House.

But after six weeks of deliberation, the final version of the bill was far closer to Ashcroft's original proposal than the House compromise. Revised by Ashcroft and his cronies in the middle of the night, the bill was given to House members the next morning, and passed a few hours later. Many Congressmen did not even read it and no debate was allowed. In the end, 66 House members (including Conyers) voted against, while Wisconsin Democrat Russell Feingold cast the lone opposing vote in the Senate. Seeking to maintain the image of the Democratic Party as a "friend" of labor and black people, liberals like Conyers and Feingold are positioning themselves to get ahead of and contain the increasing discontents that the capitalists' war at home and abroad will generate among workers and minorities.

Expanding upon proposals first put forward by Democratic president Clinton and the Reagan/Bush administrations that preceded him, the new law represents a vast expansion of police powers:

- It provides for indefinite detention of non-citizens declared to be a threat to "national security";
- It expands the legal ability of the FBI to break into homes and offices to conduct secret searches;
- It eliminates formal restrictions on CIA spying within the U.S.;
- It gives the government power to designate domestic organizations as "terrorist" and deport any non-citizen who is a member or provides financial support;
- It opens up to government scrutiny the financial records of such organizations without requiring even a scintilla of evidence that a crime has been committed;
- It authorizes broad wiretapping and Internet surveillance, allowing the government to monitor what Web sites an individual visits (similar to forcing a librarian to turn over a list of books a "suspect" reviewed).

This will mean a vast expansion of the forces of repression overall—more cops with greater powers and immensely greater restrictions on the right and means of protest. The law will be used against labor, blacks and immigrants on issues far removed from the pretext of fighting "terrorism." The 1940 Smith Act, ostensibly passed to go after Nazi sympathizers in the U.S., was first used to imprison Trotskyists and later leaders of the Communist Party. The 1980s RICO "anti-racketeering" laws, which supposedly targeted "organized crime," were used to break strikes and exert total government control over unions like the Teamsters. The "war on drugs" has meant a war on the ghetto poor—with black people making up more than half of a skyrocketing prison population of over two million—and the transformation of police departments into small armies outfitted with high-tech military weapons.

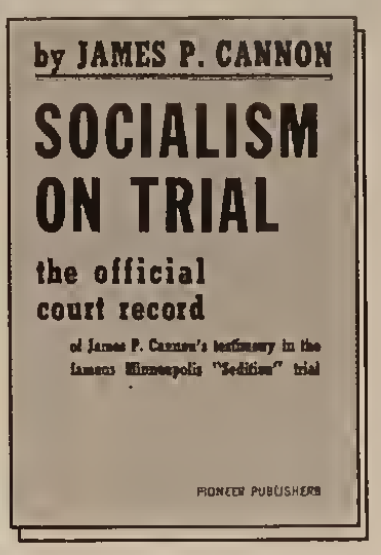
What the FBI and CIA used to do surreptitiously is now utterly legal. Criminal investigations and prosecutions will be based on what you read on the Internet, whom you communicate with, where and how often you travel. To trip the anti-terror wire you need only hold political views and engage in activities displeasing to the ayatollahs now running Washington. To trigger the law's wiretaps, searches, detentions, etc., the Feds need only "certify" to a judge that there is reason to believe the target is involved in terrorism—and in most instances the judge *must* grant the order. Get your picture taken at an antiwar or anti-Klan demonstration, protest the mistreatment of Arab Americans, demonstrate for Nike to stop using sweatshop labor in the Third World, and you too can be in the government's vise.

According to the *New York Times* (9 November), "Some senior career officials at the Justice Department and the F.B.I. have privately complained that Mr. Ashcroft, in his insistence on cracking down on terrorists, may go too far to weaken rules that bar investigations of people and groups based solely on their political leanings." Ashcroft has now also authorized federal prison authorities to listen in on attorney-client conversations involving people suspected of posing a threat to "national security." This recalls FBI director J. Edgar Hoover's declaration in the 1960s that the Black Panther Party represented "the greatest threat to internal security."

Well before the September 11 attacks, then-FBI director Louis Freeh declared at a May Congressional hearing that among those deemed "domestic terrorists" are Puerto Rican nationalists and "left-wing" groups which "generally profess a revolutionary socialist doctrine and view themselves as protectors of the people against the 'dehumanizing effects' of capitalism and imperialism" (FBI "Congressional Statement," 10 May). By Freeh's terms, this includes just about any leftist political organization:

> "Anarchists and extremist socialist groups —many of which, such as the Workers' World Party, Reclaim the Streets, and Carnival Against Capitalism—have an international presence and, at times, also represent a potential threat in the United States. For example, anarchists, operating individually and in groups, caused much of the damage during the 1999 World Trade Organization ministerial meeting in Seattle."

Pathfinder



SWP leader James P. Cannon addresses 1941 New York meeting protesting Smith Act convictions of 18 Trotskyists.

Bloody Trail of Capitalist State Terror

The only rights sacred to the bourgeoisie are the right to own property and exploit labor. The rights cherished by working people and the oppressed were never freely granted by the capitalist rulers, but were won through hard and often bloody struggle. In his 1935 treatise *The State in Theory and Practice*, Harold Laski noted

> "how accidental was the union of capitalism with democracy. It was the outcome, not of an essential harmony of inner principle, but of that epoch in economic evolution when capitalism was in its phase of expansion.... It would offer social reforms so long as these did not jeopardize the essential relations of the capitalist system. When they did as occurred in the post-war [World War I] years, the contradiction between capitalism and democracy became the essential institutional feature of Western civilization."

Thousands of socialists, anarchists and other opponents of the U.S. entry into the first interimperialist world war were imprisoned under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Among them was Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs, imprisoned for telling workers the truth: "You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder." After the war, fearing the spread of Bolshevism following the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Democratic Wilson administration rounded up thousands of foreign-born radicals (including American citizens) and dumped them overseas during the 1919-20 Palmer raids.

Emerging from World War II as the pre-eminent imperialist power, the U.S. aimed its guns (and nuclear weapons) at its erstwhile ally against Nazi Germany, the Soviet degenerated workers state. An anti-Communist witchhunt was launched to regiment the "home front," as America's rulers erected a whole edifice of laws targeting reds, union militants, Hollywood screenwriters and just about anyone else perceived to hold views contrary to the stultifying ideological consensus of the Cold War.

Some 25,000 union members, many of them key leaders of the CIO organizing drives of the 1930s, were purged from the labor movement, leading to the destruction of whole unions in some cases. Thousands of others were tracked down by the FBI and driven from their jobs, only to continue to be hounded and witchhunted due to secret employer blacklists. Augmenting the 1940 Smith Act, the McCarran Act of 1950 legitimized secret FBI record-keeping on "subversive" individuals and called for the registration of organizations and individuals who purportedly "advocated violent overthrow" of the government. It also provided for the deportation of non-citizens who had been Communists at any time in their lives. Hundreds of Communists were jailed. American citizens who were "or had ever been" members of the Communist Party were barred from obtaining passports—even the act of applying for one carried a penalty of five years in prison! Nearly 12,000 people were listed on a "Security Index" kept by national FBI headquarters and another 17,000 on the "Communist Index," while FBI field offices held lists of an additional 200,000 considered to constitute a danger in times of "national emergency."

The government's current call for preventive detention has evoked the World War II incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps under Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt. For decades, liberals considered this an aberration that could never happen again. But it is notable that the Supreme Court has never overturned its wartime decision endorsing that heinous crime. In fact, the capitalist rulers have always prepared plans for mass roundups of immigrants and leftists in times of "national emergency."

Furthermore, immigrants have been subjected to massive state repression also in "normal" times when their labor is considered economically superfluous by the capitalist class. Thus in the mid-1950s, ***over one million*** Mexican men, women and children (some born in the United States and therefore legally American citizens) were rounded up and deported in "Operation Wetback," a military-style operation commanded by a retired U.S. army general.

A direct precedent to the current schemes for "homeland security" and preventive detention was a 1984 plan by the Reagan administration empowering the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to appoint military commanders to run state and local governments in the event of a "national emergency." Drawn up as the U.S. sponsored a death squad regime in El Salvador and the CIA's *contras* waged a war of terror in Nicaragua, the FEMA plan established ten "military detention camps" for jailing 400,000 Central American "aliens" as well as some 28,000 U.S. citizens. A similar plan following the 1986 bombing of Libya called for INS roundups of thousands of Arab immigrants, for which a concentration camp was prepared in Louisiana. Since September 11, FEMA has played a prominent role in the government's domestic "anti-terror" operation.

Trotskyists in World War II

In our fight to build a revolutionary workers party that will act as a tribune of the people, we Marxists are intransigent in our opposition to any infringement on democratic rights. Not least, we have resisted every effort by the government to criminalize Marxist political activity. We stand in the tradition of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of James P. Cannon, which fought tooth and nail to defend its right to function legally when it came under government attack for its opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II.

The SWP's Marxist line stood in sharp contrast to the social-patriotism of the AFL and CIO labor bureaucracies, the Stalinist Communist Party and the Socialist Party, all of which lined up behind U.S. imperialism when it entered the war in December 1941. Months before that, in July 1941, the federal government had indicted 28 Trotskyist leaders, including Cannon and other prominent SWPers as well as leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. While fighting for unconditional military defense of the USSR, the Trotskyists made clear their revolutionary opposition to all the imperialist powers and especially to U.S. imperialism.

Cannon and 17 others were ultimately convicted of "seditious conspiracy" and sentenced the day Roosevelt declared war on Japan, serving prison terms of up to 18 months after a series of appeals. In November 1942, the Post Office seized and burned two issues of the SWP newspaper, the *Militant*. Four months later, as part of its ongoing effort to silence the party, the government invoked the wartime Espionage Act to cancel the SWP's second-class mailing permit, restoring it only after a yearlong legal battle. But the SWP persevered, recruiting widely on the basis of its revolutionary defeatist line during World War II, including through the distribution of Cannon's court testimony, published under the title *Socialism on Trial*.

Facing the government prosecutor, he forthrightly upheld the stand taken in the 1940 "Manifesto of the Fourth International":

> "Independently of the course of the war, we fulfill our basic task: We explain to the workers the irreconcilability between their interests and the interest of bloodthirsty capitalism; we mobilize the toilers against imperialism; we propagate the unity of the workers in all warring and neutral countries; we call for the fraternization of workers and soldiers within each country, and of soldiers with soldiers on the opposite side of the battlefront; we mobilize the women and youth against the war; we carry on constant, persistent, tireless preparation of the revolution—in the factories, in the mills, in the villages, in the barracks, at the front and in the fleet."

Cannon effectively rebutted the government's bogus charge of "conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." While explaining that for Marxists "the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully," he said that "it is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence" because "the outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority." He added, "We don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority."

An ultraleft critic within the Fourth International named Grandizo Munis subsequently denounced the defensive formulations used by the SWP leader as "decidedly opportunist," particularly

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"Anti-Terror"...

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chastising Cannon for not stressing the need for the "organized violence of the poor masses." Cannon derided Munis for his radical phrasemongering, explaining: "We had to address ourselves to the workers not in general, not as an abstraction, but as they exist in reality in the United States in the year 1941. We had to recognize that the forms of democracy and the legality of the party greatly facilitate this propaganda work and must not be lightly disregarded. It was not our duty to facilitate the work of the prosecuting attorney but to make it more difficult, insofar as this could be done without renouncing any principle." Moreover, as Cannon wrote:

> "Defensive formulations prepare and help to create genuine mass actions, while 'calls to action,' not so prepared, usually echo in the void. It is not by accident that those revolutionists who understand this are precisely the ones who have shown the capacity to organize actions when the conditions for them are present. The ultraleft sectarians, meantime, who do not understand the best mechanism for the organization of actions—that is, precisely, defensive formulations—always remain alone and isolated with their impatient slogans and their self-imagined intransigence."

The Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!

The Spartacist League has likewise fought every attempt by the capitalist government to brand Marxists as "terrorists." When we discovered in 1981 that the California attorney general's office had listed us as "left-wing terrorists" in a "Report on Organized Crime," we waged a legal battle that forced them to retract the terrorist smear and distribute a statement to that effect to police and FBI offices nationwide. We subsequently filed a lawsuit against the FBI's 1983 Domestic Security/Terrorism guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. It was speech, "advocacy" and political program rather than criminal acts which were the targets of the FBI, as FBI director William Webster made clear in arguing that groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982).

WV Photo

San Francisco, July 1981: Protest against California attorney general's attempt to witchhunt Marxist SL as "terrorist."

In announcing our court suit, we wrote (*WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983):

> "We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution. A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"

As a result of our lawsuit, the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism. The FBI and attorney general agreed to change their former definition of our organization, which read in part that the SL "does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government *at this time*" (our emphasis). That definition maliciously attributed to us conspiratorial putschism (if not "openly" then secretly) wholly at variance with our Marxist principles, aims and then 20-year history of political activity in the U.S. Noting that only "a group of suicidal psychopaths" would fit that conspiratorial definition, we wrote in the above article: "In fact, the capitalist government is not 'overthrown' violently or non-violently. The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to 'overthrow' and surely not this government in its present form."

The FBI's new definition described the SL as what we are—a Marxist political organization—and stated, "The SPL [sic] was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution." That stipulation was a modest but genuine blow to the government's new efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. But as we wrote at the time (*WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984):

> "We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state power, their police agents will continue their dirty work against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule."

Today, the very right-wing Bush administration avails itself of the frenzy of bipartisan "national unity" to crystallize a new set of rules and regulations to police the population. We fight to forge the necessary instrument to lead the socialist revolution that is the only means to ending this system of racism, repression and war, a workers party that champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed as part of its fight for an egalitarian socialist society. ■

Japan...

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a deep strain of pacifism in broad segments of the population. He looks to the Japanese constitution imposed by the American occupiers after World War II, which is referred to as the "peace constitution" by the reformist left and liberals, as the only way to prevent Japanese participation in wars.

Many workers and youth distrust imperialism and hate war but are led by the fake left into wrongly believing that Japanese imperialism, unlike American imperialism, can be pressured to pursue a peaceful road. In the mouths of the reformist left, this argument is an attempt to divert the struggle against war away from class struggle and into parliamentary channels. Such "pacifism" is a mask for imperialism, as the reformists line up with those in the bourgeoisie who argue that it is important to put forward a more "gentle" face for Japanese imperialism so as not to irreparably damage "Japan's relations with its Asian neighbors" and its investment opportunities. No bourgeois constitution can stop imperialist war—imperialism is not the product of the appetites of a particularly bloodthirsty set of capitalist rulers but rather the highest stage of capitalism. Japan has the second most technologically advanced military, with the second largest military budget in the world. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) says: Not one person, not one yen for the imperialist military! Smash the counterrevolutionary military alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!

The Japan-U.S. security treaty codifies an anti-Communist alliance which was initially directed against the former Soviet Union. Today, the Japan-U.S. military alliance targets the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China and North Korea. The reformists express their opposition to this alliance by denouncing what they consider to be Japan's subordination to U.S. imperialism and calling for a stronger, more independent Japan. The SGJ stands for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution.

On November 28, only two days after U.S. president Bush singled out Iraq and North Korea as the next targets of the "war on terrorism," police arrested a 40-year cadre of Chosen Soren on allegations of financial malfeasance. The next day, more than 400 ethnic Koreans battled with police to prevent the raiding of Chosen Soren's central headquarters for the first time since its founding in 1955.

Spartacist Japan

SGJ placard (at right) at October 7 Tokyo antiwar demonstration reads: "Down With Imperialism! For Class Struggle at Home! Against Imperialist Retaliation! Not One Person, Not One Yen for the Imperialist Japanese Military!"

Hands off Chosen Soren! For full citizenship rights for everyone who lives here!

Acting as loyal advisers to Japanese imperialism, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) has been the main organizer of the bourgeois-pacifist demonstrations in Tokyo, seeking to pressure the ruling class not to participate in "Bush's retaliatory war." This appeal for "peace" is addressed to the imperialists responsible for the 1937 Rape of Nanjing and the enslavement of the "comfort women." We have intervened into these rallies to win workers, minorities and youth to the Marxist understanding that economic crisis, chauvinist repression of minorities and war are integral to capitalist society and cannot be combatted outside of and apart from the class struggle. The way to end the threat of a third imperialist world war is to fight to end the social system that breeds war, through socialist revolution.

The Japanese Communist Party (JCP), a mass reformist workers party, has joined in the bourgeoisie's terror scare, issuing an October 11 letter to heads of state calling for "sanctions with the United Nations at the center and bringing the perpetrators to justice." The United Nations is a den of imperialist thieves, their henchmen and their victims. It was under the UN flag that three million Koreans were killed during the 1950-53 Korean War. For more than a decade, UN-sponsored sanctions have killed over 600,000 children in Iraq.

Much of the left resorts to cheap anti-Americanism to cover its loyalty to "its own" bourgeoisie. The Kakumaru group grotesquely praises the attack on the WTC as an "epoch-making act." In fact, it was an indiscriminate act of terror that resulted in the deaths of several thousand ordinary people of all races, religions and nationalities. The ostensibly Trotskyist Japan Revolutionary Communist League, whose main slogan at antiwar demos has been "Make Peace, Not War," writes: "Around the world the fight against the Bush regime's retaliatory war must be strengthened" (*Kakehashi*, 24 September), burying any opposition to "its own" bourgeoisie at the end of the article. And the 22 October issue of its paper uncritically reprints an interview with an "Afghani leftist" who supports the Afghan king returning to power!

At a November 27 antiwar demonstration in Tokyo, whose core was trade-union contingents from all three federations, *Spartacist* salesmen found that the dock workers action was immensely popular among those who knew of it. Many agreed with our explanation of the necessity to spread the hot-cargoing action—from Okinawa to Hokkaido, from the docks to the warehouses, from truckers to maintenance workers. Unfortunately, this action has been isolated to the port of Sasebo, which sets up the longshoremen for state repression and limits the effect of their labor action. The reformist trade-union leaders are incapable of waging a fight against imperialist militarism because they accept the capitalist system, acting as the political police of the bosses inside the labor movement. What's necessary is a political struggle in the unions against the reformists and the forging of a class-struggle leadership that would mobilize the social power of labor, not only against imperialist war but also against chauvinism at home directed against ethnic Koreans, the *burakumin* caste of "untouchables" and immigrant workers.

The proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia, holds the key to the fate of this region. Japanese workers must join with their class brothers and sisters from Indonesia to the Philippines in the struggle for a socialist federation of Asia and in class solidarity with the U.S. proletariat. Key to a revolutionary perspective is the defense of the deformed workers states and the struggle for proletarian political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies that undermine the gains of those revolutions. It is the task of the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party whose goal is to sweep the bloodsoaked Japanese imperialists into the dustbin of history. ■

Banquet...

(continued from page 7)

whose fodder will be the hungry, the orphans, the workers, the peasants and the unemployed," and predicted the rise of Islamic fundamentalists who were able to channel the anger of the unemployed urban youth into religious obscurantism.

The novel ends tragically with the death of Mahdi. With his hopes shattered by the defeat of the revolution in both Iraq and Algeria, faced with the increasing hostility of Algerian society and tailed by agents of the Iraqi regime, "he could see only darkness and death." Consumed with despair, he committed suicide by flinging his body from a cliff into the sea to become a "banquet for seaweed."

Contrary to the claims of the former Egyptian Stalinists, bourgeois liberals and Arab leftists who came to Haydar's defense, *Banquet for Seaweed* is revealingly blasphemous and Rabelaisian in character; this is what makes it powerful. Unlike the Arab Stalinists who long ago capitulated to the Muslim bourgeoisie and its reactionary ideology, Haydar is uniquely and profoundly irreligious. His heroes are advocates of a secular society based on "science and not on religion."

The famous passage which Islamic fundamentalists used to ignite the riots in Cairo against the book in the spring of 2000, no matter how it is punctuated by apologists, is an unambiguous cry against religion: "In the age of the atom, space exploration and the triumph of reason, they rule us with the laws of the Bedouin gods and the teaching of the Koran. Shit." On several occasions, Mahdi talks Assya, who is soft on religion and tends to abide by the traditional family rules, into "breaking with religion, god, marriage sanctioned by Islamic laws, traditional values, the fairy tales of heaven and hell and all the centuries-old myths." One of the reasons why the novel is so popular is its anti-religious theme. And, contrary to claims by Max Rodenbeck in the *New York Review of Books* (16 November 2000) about Haydar's obscurity, his books generally run seven or eight editions, in spite of the ban imposed on them in most of the Arabic-speaking countries. According to *Middle East Report* (Summer 2001), *Banquet for Seaweed* is in its eleventh edition as of March of this year.

Egyptian Stalinists, who remained silent during the Salman Rushdie affair, perpetuated Islam as a "progressive revolutionary force that throughout history helped to galvanize the masses." Abd al-Rahman al-Sharqawi's books, *Mohammed, the Prophet of Freedom* and *Al-Husain: The Martyr* (about the prophet's cousin), were their bibles. Algerian Stalinist leader Baschir Haj Ali once told his audience: "We will uphold the Koran with the right hand and *Capital* with the left hand."

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Against the array of ruling cliques sustaining the "carcass of this sacred world and protecting the temple of the desert monster floating on oil wells and incantation of Islam," Haydar evokes images of historical events and names—the Paris Commune, the Quarmatians, the Zanj and Ibn Rushd (Averroës)—that send shudders down their spines and whose significance should be explained.

The Quarmatians were egalitarians who broke with the Ismaili sect and rose against the Abbasid state at the end of the ninth century. They established a secular state based on communal property in what is today Bahrain. They abolished the religious rites of fasting and Haj. Their elected government included a woman. It took the central government in Baghdad over 70 years to subdue them, killing over 60,000. Official history textbooks never mention them.

The Zanj were the black slaves brought from East Africa to work the plantations of Basra in southern Iraq. Led by a Persian peasant, they also took up arms against the Abbasids in the ninth century, seizing the plantations and establishing their own state. They were crushed after surviving for 20 years.

Ibn Rushd (Averroës), the great chemist, astronomer and materialist philosopher of Muslim Spain, was one of the sources of atheism during the Renaissance. In his treatise titled *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, a polemic against the theologian and defender of dogma Al-Ghazali's *Incoherence of the Philosophers*, Averroës professed the eternity of the world, implying the existence of uncreated matter, and affirmed the primacy of reason over faith. He was exiled to the North African desert and his books were burned. His followers were condemned and persecuted during the Inquisition.

Against the prudish and pious self-image presented by Islam, Haydar presents profane sexual love themes, in contrast to the abstraction of religion, with its hostility to the senses and its supposed happiness in the afterlife.

What adds more strength to *Banquet for Seaweed* is the unique way Haydar presents the woman question, threading its text with issues that the Stalinists, who pay no more than lip service to the oppression of women and whose ranks teem with wife-beaters, wouldn't deal with. Through Mahdi, Haydar rages against the family, its traditions and Islamic laws. The novel opens with Mahdi and Assya strolling on the beach. They are accosted by a gang of louts who taunt them for walking together: "Decent women don't mix with strangers." The "stranger" is anyone other than a husband or a close relative and a woman in the company of a stranger is up to no good.

Both Mahdi's and Assya's mothers are widows who were forced into remarriage. According to tradition, a young widow, without a man watching over her, will bring shame and dishonor to the family. This not only frees the family from the terrible responsibility of having to protect her but of having to be in charge of her economically for the rest of her life. Both mothers suffer from constant beating and oppression by their second husbands.

Yazid is opposed to the education of his stepdaughters, Assya and Manar. He complains to their mother about their talk on the phone and watching Western soap operas which are corruptive and against religion. He imposes a 7 p.m. curfew on them because "the city is full of wolves." One of the reasons for the high illiteracy rate among women in the Muslim world is that young girls, before reaching the dangerous age of puberty, are pulled out of schools and kept in the confines of home as the only way to save them from scandal and a lost life until they are forced to marry the men whom they didn't even get the chance to know.

One of the characters in the book who took part in the failed guerrilla uprising in Iraq is Abu Sabri, who was the military organizer. He was recruited in prison while serving a short term for slaying his young cousin, who shamed the family by having sex outside marriage. He has to wash the family's shame in blood and restore its honor. This is what is called "honor killing," a heinous crime committed against tens of thousands of women throughout the Muslim world every year for the "crime" of having sex, eloping, insolence or disobedience. Even raped women should die; they are a dishonor and a disgrace to their families. They asked for rape by leaving the house without the company of a relative or by the way they dress. Recently a young woman was killed in Jordan by her younger brother for kissing a neighbor. He was released from jail after serving only six months. The Jordanian parliament voted down a bill that would criminalize "honor killing." In countries where it is illegal, it is a socially acceptable act. A former Palestinian official told UNICEF that "honor killings" constitute 70 percent of all murders in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Soap operas glorifying the heroes who "wash the family's shame in blood" are regularly broadcast on national television. In Assia Djebar's novel *Children of the New World*, the revolutionary hero fighting the Algerian war of independence must kill his "loose" sister before the *maquis* would admit him to their ranks: a man who cannot restore his honor cannot defend the honor of the country!

In the *Manifesto: Towards a Free Revolutionary Art*, signed by André Breton and Diego Rivera, Leon Trotsky wrote, "The artist cannot serve the struggle for freedom unless he subjectively assimilates its social content, unless he feels in his very senses its meaning and drama and freely seeks to give his own inner world incarnation in his arts." For doing this, from the artist's independent standpoint, Haydar got his book banned. However, the uniqueness of the book, its power and its literary merit will compel it to be read by young Arabs, especially women. ■

France...

(continued from page 5)

Afghanistan. The JCR adds to that today, writing that "during this period [1979] some Afghan women wore the veil as a sign of resistance" to the "totalitarian regime" that the Soviets protected (*RED*, October 2001)! Today the LCR and all the French pseudo-"left" are shedding crocodile tears over the terrible fate of Afghan women, but they were all opposed, including LO, to everything that 20 years ago opened up a way out for these Afghan women. And in this they bear their part of the responsibility, on their minuscule scale, for the hell that these women have suffered for ten years.

The pseudo-"left" tailed the mullahs who reduced women to slavery. We were on the other side. Today we defend Afghanistan, a small country attacked by imperialism. The anarchists of the CNT, on the other hand, put the Afghan regime and the imperialists on the same plane. Their leaflet (6 October) was titled, "No *War* Between Peoples—*No Peace Between Classes*." They say, in between two anti-American tirades:

> "Their war will not be ours! In this anti-militarist struggle the CNT reaffirms its support to the deserters who, often risking their lives, refuse to participate in the massacres perpetrated by the armies, the armed groups and the police who will participate in the conflict. The struggle to be waged is not situated on any moral plane, it is not a struggle between 'good' and 'evil,' but between two sides, the side of the exploited and the side of the exploiters. Bush and bin Laden are both in the latter camp...we are not."

In the 1930s, Trotsky answered this type of argument when he explained that Ethiopia under the Negus, a reactionary monarch, had to be defended against Italy:

> "When war is involved, for us it is not a question of who is 'better,' the Negus or Mussolini; rather, it is a question of the relationship of classes and the fight of an underdeveloped nation for independence against imperialism."

We have a side. We defend Afghanistan against imperialism without giving any support to any of the Afghan factions created and supported by the imperialists. The hypocrisy of a "war against terrorism" led by the biggest terrorists on the planet, well known for their acts of genocide from the war in Algeria to the war in Vietnam, is obvious. The "terror" the imperialists are worried about is resistance to their domination and their class prerogatives. Defense of Afghanistan against the imperialist attack is entirely related to the defense of the working masses against intensification of oppression and exploitation. This defense requires overthrowing the imperialist order through workers revolution. Our task is to educate and mobilize the proletariat for this goal by breaking the workers' loyalty to their social-chauvinist leaders and their class-collaborationist politics.

During the First World War, Lenin explained in "Socialism and War":

> "Today *unity* with the opportunists *actually* means subordinating the working class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means *splitting* the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."
>
> —"Socialism and War"
> (July-August 1915)

And he added:

> "To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism—such is the task of the day." ■

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CORRECTION

In our article "No to Bosses' 'National Unity'! For Class Struggle at Home!" (*WV* No. 768, 9 November), we incorrectly reported that "both the ILWU [International Longshore and Warehouse Union] on the West Coast and a lash-up of more than 400 New York City trade unionists, including 12 local presidents, have come out in opposition to the war" against Afghanistan. In fact, the ILWU has not to our knowledge publicly opposed the war.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

State Judge Rejects New Evidence

WV Photo

For the third time in five months, a judge has ruled that a court of law is no place for evidence that Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. On November 21, one day before Thanksgiving, Pennsylvania State Court judge Pamela Dembe threw out Jamal's Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, which contains a wealth of evidence confirming beyond the shadow of a doubt that he did not shoot Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in December 1981.

That evidence—centered on the sworn testimony of Arnold Beverly that it was he, not Mumia, who shot Faulkner—blasts through all the cover-ups and lies used by the state to put Jamal on death row for a crime he did not commit. Beverly's confession is accompanied by a series of affidavits powerfully corroborating his account (see the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* [September 2001]). Yet it has been ruled out of order by Dembe, and twice earlier by federal district court judge Yohn, including in October, when Yohn claimed Mumia could not present the evidence in federal court because he had not yet submitted it in Pennsylvania state court.

These outrageous rulings come from the same capitalist courts that framed up Jamal, barred him from his own trial, forced on him an incompetent lawyer who didn't even want the case and sentenced him to death on the basis of his political beliefs. For years, liberal and reformist defenders of Jamal have focused their efforts on appeals for a new trial, claiming that notorious lynch law judge Albert Sabo, who presided over Mumia's original 1982 trial and 1995-96 PCRA, represented an aberration in an otherwise fair justice system. But as Dembe and Yohn's rulings make clear, the entire capitalist "justice" system is one of frame-ups and racist victimization.

WV Photo

Revolutionary Contingent in August 18 SF Jamal rally. For mass mobilizations centered on labor's social power to fight for Mumia's freedom!

In her decision, Dembe wrote: "It is hornbook [text] law that witnesses...who mysteriously appear long after trial are regarded with suspicion by the courts." Only two years ago, Anthony Porter, a black man who had been wrongfully convicted of murder in Illinois, was released after 16 years on death row when Northwestern University students produced evidence exonerating him; the real killer then came forward with a confession. Nationwide, 21 people have been released from death row in the past three years after new evidence put their convictions in doubt.

What sets Mumia's case apart is that he is a defiant and outspoken opponent of this racist system, an award-winning journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman. That is why the FBI targeted Jamal, like other Panthers, for COINTELPRO surveillance, frame-up and terror, and why the Philly cops stalked him and finally railroaded him to death row.

The latest ruling brings Mumia an ominous step closer to the legal lynching that for two decades the forces of racist "law and order" have been screaming for. It also underscores that fighters for Jamal's freedom can place no reliance in this racist capitalist "justice" system. Mass mobilizations centered on the power of the working class to demand freedom for Mumia are all the more urgent in the face of the barrage of new "anti-terrorist" laws aimed at stripping away the rights of all. *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

* * *

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.■

In Protest Against Resurgent Militarism

Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships

We print below an article submitted by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan.

TOKYO—Some 200 dock workers at Sasebo port in Nagasaki Prefecture have been refusing to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan. This type of class-struggle action by members of Zenkowan (All Japan Dockworkers Union) has more potential to thwart Japanese imperialism's military ambitions and plans for increased domestic repression than all of the dozens of "antiwar" demonstrations held recently across the country. The Sasebo dock workers have vowed to continue this "hot-cargoing" indefinitely and have expanded their activities to include a one-hour strike every morning against Japan's participation in the war on Afghanistan and the enactment of domestic "anti-terrorism" laws.

These actions by the Sasebo longshoremen challenge the "national unity" appeals of the Japanese bourgeoisie, which seeks to bind workers to the interests of their bosses under the banner of the "war against terror" and "aiding refugees." The attack on the World Trade Center was a "gift from the gods" for the Japanese rulers, providing an excuse to speed legislation through the Diet [parliament] to expand the scope of the military and increase the state's power to repress domestic dissent. Six naval vessels, eight aircraft and 1,600 personnel have been dispatched to the Indian Ocean region to engage in a military conflict for the first time since World War II, when Japan invaded and brutally conquered much of Asia. In late September, even before revising the coast guard law allowing the use of weapons against "suspicious" ships, a Japanese maritime patrol boat rammed and sank a South Korean fishing vessel.

The Japanese rulers are seeking to bring back imperialist militarism under the cover of bogus "humanitarianism." As the state prepares to deport five Afghanis who have lived here since 1998 and raids offices of the pro-North Korean Chosen Soren [Chongryon in Korean] organization, many people who live in this deeply racist and segregated society understand that the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces, as the military is called, has nothing to do with "humanitarianism" but is intended to accustom the population to seeing the *hinomaru* [rising sun] battle flag flying around the world. Meanwhile, 700 troops are preparing for their tour of duty in East Timor, which starts at the beginning of next year.

The bourgeoisie is pushing nationalism to deflect social discontent caused by the ever-worsening economic recession, which has left more than four million unemployed. The visit by right-wing nationalist prime minister Junichiro Koizumi this summer to the Yasukuni shrine—a memorial to Japanese militarism—was a deliberate provocation against the working people of Japan and all of Asia. That visit—together with the Education Ministry's approval of history textbooks that blatantly cover up the crimes of Japanese imperialism and attempts to revise the constitution, which bans the use of the military overseas—is a message to Japan's former colonies and to its imperialist rivals: Japanese imperialism is on an aggressive campaign to overcome the "defeated nation" syndrome, the World War II chapter of Japanese history.

This revanchism comes in the context of heightened competition between the Japanese, U.S. and West European imperialists, which will only intensify as the world economy sinks deeper into recession. By denouncing the evils of *American* imperialism in Afghanistan and elsewhere, the reformist left tails a section of the Japanese imperialist ruling class which seeks more independence from Washington.

The Sasebo hot-cargoing is a concrete example of our slogan "Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! For class struggle at home!" In an interview with Japanese *Spartacist*, Katsuyoshi Hayami, chairman of the executive committee of the Nagasaki branch of Zenkowan, which is independent of Japan's three major labor federations, explained that he and his members are deeply worried about the militarization of the ports and more generally about a return to Japanese imperialism's aggressive past. Saseho is sandwiched between Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and Hayami noted that the atomic-bombing of Nagasaki has left

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 771 | 28 December 2001

Jamal Death Sentence Reversed

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now!

We publish below a statement issued on December 18 by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Federal district court judge William Yohn today reversed the death sentence that has been hanging over the head of Mumia Abu-Jamal since his 1982 frame-up conviction for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Although Yohn rejected the mountains of evidence demonstrating Jamal's innocence—including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly testifying that he had been hired to kill Faulkner—this ruling represents the first crack in the state's 20-year legal vendetta against Jamal. And the forces that have worked overtime to ensure Jamal's execution are literally screaming bloody murder. Maureen Faulkner, who has headed this campaign on behalf of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), condemned Yohn as a "sick and twisted person." Democratic Party District Attorney Lynne Abraham, who has done more than her share to see that more black people are sentenced to death in Philadelphia than any other city in the U.S., immediately convened a press conference to announce that the prosecution will be appealing Yohn's ruling.

The F.O.P. and the Philly D.A.'s office fear that the explosive new evidence of Jamal's innocence, which the capitalist state and the press have worked hard to bury, could finally be heard in a court of law. Prosecutor Hugh Burns made that clear when he declaimed today, "If there was a new sentencing hearing, it would probably entail the empaneling of a jury...and whatever evidence the defendant wanted to review again would be presented to the jury." Yohn has also worked assiduously to ensure that the

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COC Productions

Against Washington's Green Light to Zionist Butchers

Defend the Palestinian People!

DECEMBER 18—Over the last two weeks, the government of Ariel Sharon has devastated what remained of an "autonomous" Palestinian Authority (PA) established in the Occupied Territories by the U.S.-sponsored 1993 Oslo accord. Israeli bombs and missiles have slammed into PA government buildings, police posts and radio transmitters. Israeli troops and tanks have stormed into one West Bank and Gaza town after another, ruthlessly mowing down any Palestinian perceived to be standing in their way. The Zionist butchers' trail of death and destruction includes hundreds of demolished homes and dozens of Palestinian corpses. And virtually every funeral results in yet another, as mourners are subjected to gunfire by Israeli occupation forces.

Having assured its patrons in Washington that it is not (for now) seeking the physical elimination of PA leader Yasir Arafat, the Sharon government is nonetheless—in a blood-drenched tradition dating back to the original Zionist colonization and the 1948 expulsion of 700,000 Palestinians—"creating facts" on the ground. As Arafat and his immediate coterie are confined to an office surrounded by Israeli tanks, little is left of the PA infrastructure or the trappings of Palestinian "sovereignty" proclaimed with much fanfare on the White House lawn eight years ago.

The pretext for the latest escalation in Zionist butchery is Arafat's alleged failure to crack down on the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas after a number of suicide bombings in Haifa and Jerusalem in early December. These indiscriminate terror attacks, aimed at killing as many Israeli civilians as possible, were a crime from the standpoint of the proletariat. A week later, Hamas attacked a busload of West Bank "settlers," even gunning down Israeli children as they fled. Such terrorist attacks only add grist to the mill of the Israeli rulers to wield their far more massive arsenal of terror against Arab men, women and children.

Beyond the immediate pretext lies U.S. imperialism's unexpectedly rapid and easy victory in Afghanistan. Intent on including many of the Arab regimes, and even Arafat's PA, in its "global coalition against terrorism," the Bush administration had sought to restrain Sharon. In early October, Bush even voiced support for a Palestinian state. But as the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance forces began seizing Taliban positions in Afghanistan, a mood of imperialist triumphalism swept over the American ruling class and especially the Bush White

continued on page 10

Reuters

Mourners at December 12 funeral in Gaza for Palestinian killed by Israeli occupation forces.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persian Guif, Near East!

7 25274 81030 7 52

Islam and Science

Bay Area
8 December 2001

Dear *WV*,

I very much enjoyed the review of *Banquet for Seaweed* in the latest *WV* (No. 770, 7 December) sketching the reactionary impact resulting from the "enormous power that Islamic fundamentalists have in shaping the social, political and cultural discourse in the Near East." The fundamentalists have moved into a tremendous vacuum created by the "failure of the bourgeois nationalists" and the "betrayals of the Stalinists." I would only add some details on how the growth of Islamic fundamentalism has undermined the pursuit of science.

Pervez Hoodbhoy, a secular-minded Pakistani nuclear physicist, published a book in 1991 called *Islam and Science*, documenting the lamentable impact of fundamentalism on the scientific community, and delving into some central historical questions. When General Zia ul-Haq came to power in Pakistan in a 1977 coup, he introduced the "Islamization" of education, allowing the religious authorities to enforce "Islamic values" in all areas of education. A series of measures were introduced, such as "alteration of the definition of literacy to mean religious knowledge," "the grant of 20 extra marks for those applicants to engineering universities who have memorized the Qur'an" and "introduction of religious knowledge as a criterion for selecting teachers of science and non-science subjects."

Hoodbhoy gives one horrific example of the result at the prestigious Quaid-e-Azam University, where in the late '80s the selection board interviewed highly qualified scientific specialists who applied for faculty positions with questions like, "What are the names of the Holy Prophet's wives?" and "Recite the prayer Dua-e-Qunoot." Candidates who refused such questions were generally disqualified. Meanwhile the scientific curriculum itself has been undermined by the "principles" laid down by the influential Jamaat-e-Islami party and its Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), such as this one described by Hoodbhoy:

> "Effect must not be related to physical cause. To do so leads to atheism. For example, says the IPS recommendation, 'there is latent poison present in the subheading Energy Causes Changes because it gives the impression that energy is the true cause rather than Allah. Similarly, it is unIslamic to teach that mixing hydrogen with oxygen automatically produces water. The Islamic way is this: when atoms of hydrogen approach atoms of oxygen, then by the will of God water is produced'."

Hoodbhoy notes with revulsion that "even in the present day, the traditional curriculum of Muslim universities teaches Ptolemaic astronomy, embedded in a frame of geocentric cosmology and philosophy. A modern system is available as an option but presented as a 'hypothesis'."

But it was not always this way: even Western bourgeois scholars have made note of the fact that 1,000 years ago the leading centers of science were in the Muslim world. From the 9th to the 13th centuries, notes Hoodbhoy, the Muslim centers such as Baghdad were the repositories of scientific knowledge:

> "The Dark Ages were the dark ages of Europe, not all humankind. In fact, at the time when Europeans were preoccupied with burning witches and disemboweling heretics, Islamic civilization was at its brilliant best."

So why did the Muslim world after the 13th century descend into darkness, allowing Western Europe to leap ahead into mastery of the world? "Over the last 200 years—and continuing to this day with undimmed vigour—identifying the causes of civilizational decline has been a major preoccupation for Muslims right across the ideological spectrum," writes Hoodbhoy. The Taliban and Osama bin Laden use this needling question to argue for turning the clock back 1,000 years. But those who want to advance the cause of humanity look for a materialist explanation.

"Asking why the Scientific Revolution did not occur in Islam is practically equivalent to asking why Islam did not produce a powerful bourgeois class," Hoodbhoy writes in a nod to Marxism. He sketches some possibilities, including this:

> "Two important elements militated against the growth of an indigenous bourgeois class—the existence of an urban ruling class based on a stable system of extraction from the peasantry, and the absence of autonomous cities and trade guilds which played such an important role in the development of European capitalism.... Caliphs and kings appointed local governors and officials who ensured that peasants would continue to supply revenue and food [to the cities].... The parasitic dependence of the city on the villages, and the assured supply of food and revenue, substantially reduced the incentive for technological advances in production."

The heavy hand of the Muslim ruling dynasties in city life precluded independent development, whereas "most European cities in the middle ages were legally autonomous, maintained garrisons, and were internally cohesive in the face of external challenges."

Adler Planetarium

Achievement of Arabic science: the astrolabe, one of the most important instruments used by early astronomers.

Needless to say, this is a subject which cries out for further Marxist analysis. Without a materialist approach to history, many bourgeois scholars lapse into racist biological explanations for the differences in development of cultures. Jared Diamond wrote his excellent book *Guns, Germs and Steel* as an antidote to such racism, giving a convincing and sweeping account of the development of world civilization based on environmental factors. Ultimately, only a socialist society can rationally and consistently apply scientific principles to the study of human development, and liberate us from the dead weight of religious obscurantism.

Mark K.

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Birth of the Zionist State

The Zionist state of Israel has been premised on the national oppression of the Palestinian Arab people since its creation in 1948. As the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party emphasized, the 1948 War between the Zionist forces and the surrounding Arab bourgeois regimes was reactionary on both sides. Then as now, the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking Jewish peoples, which both lay claim to the same territory, can be equitably resolved only through proletarian revolution throughout the region, leading to a socialist federation of the Near East.

The present Jewish-Arab war, far from enhancing reactionary Zionism or imparting to it a progressive mission, exposes in glaring manner that the program of a Jewish state in Palestine and the Jewish war for this end—is reactionary and bankrupt from beginning to end. Zionism, far from solving Jewish difficulties, threatens to provoke new pogroms against the Jews and involve them in new calamities. Zionism and the tiny Jewish state must inevitably become a tool of American imperialism and the agency to facilitate the entrance of the Wall Street brigands into the Near East. Furthermore, it is precisely Zionism, which constantly solidifies the position of the reactionary Arab rulers, and enables them to pervert the social struggle in their own countries into a communal struggle between the Arab and Jewish peoples....

Haven't the Jewish people the right to self-determination and statehood as other peoples? Yes—but even if we abstract this question from its aforementioned social reality, the fact remains they cannot carve out a state at the expense of the national rights of the Arab peoples. This is not self-determination, but conquest of another people's territory....

Neither are the Arab rulers conducting a progressive struggle for national independence and against imperialism. The are, by their anti-Jewish war, trying to divert the struggle against imperialism, and utilizing the aspirations of the Arab masses for national freedom, to smother the social opposition to their tyrannical rule. That is why their war against the Jewish state lacks the progressive characteristics of a national war against imperialism and does not deserve the support of the class conscious workers.

—"The Arab-Jewish War in Palestine," *Militant* (31 May 1948)

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 18 December.

No. 771 **28 December 2001**

Support Local 32B-J WTC Victims Fund

We reprint below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee on November 8 to Service Employees International Union Local 32B-32J, which represents 70,000 building maintenance workers in New York City.

The Partisan Defense Committee extends condolences to members and families of SEIU 32B-J. We enclose a check in the amount of $200 to the 32B-J Relief Fund to aid the families of the 350 union members working in the World Trade Center at the time of the September 11 attack who were either injured or among the 24 union brothers and sisters killed. The members of your union along with countless restaurant, construction and transit workers who survived this horror and worked to rescue those they could are the real unsung heroes barely mentioned in big-business press accounts.

The attack on the WTC which took the lives of thousands of innocent people was a criminal act in the eyes of the working class. Now the ruling class here in America is carrying out a series of escalating attacks both domestically and abroad. At "home," savage layoffs and cutbacks combined with the earlier shredding of welfare and social programs are wreaking havoc on hundreds of thousands of workers. Draconian laws supported by both Democrats and Republicans alike are being implemented under the rubric of "national security" to severely limit the rights of immigrants, labor and the oppressed. And for us it is an outrage that the bloody acts of September 11 are being used by the imperialist rulers for barbaric reprisals—lashing out against the peoples of impoverished Afghanistan. Certainly many members of 32B-J, having come from countries like El Salvador, Chile, Haiti, Serbia, Bosnia and Iraq, know the horror of being on the receiving end of murderous intervention by the U.S. and forces it has backed.

As we mourn those killed on September 11, we also defend the victims of this bipartisan war of aggression.

* * *

Those wishing to contribute to the Local 32B-J fund can send contributions to: SEIU September 11th Relief Fund, 101 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013.■

IAM Workers Strike Military Contractor Pratt & Whitney

Defying the current hysterical war propaganda pushed by the government, 5,100 workers at Connecticut defense contractor Pratt & Whitney went on strike December 2. Represented by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) District 91, Pratt workers battled against the largest manufacturer of jet engines in the Western world in order to save their jobs and increase pensions for a workforce whose average age is 49. Besides commercial engines for Boeing, Pratt supplies engines and parts for the military's F-15 and F-16 fighters, B-52 bombers and C-17 transport planes, and has a contract to produce jet engines for the new generation of supersonic fighter jets. Pratt's parent company, United Technologies, also owns Connecticut's Sikorsky Aircraft, manufacturer of Black Hawk helicopters.

The 11-day strike was the first statewide strike against Pratt & Whitney in over 40 years, and virtually no strikers crossed the picket lines, while management scabs worked 12-hour shifts vainly attempting to maintain production. On December 13, the striking workers accepted the company's revised contract offer in what was basically a stand-off, with no significant pension gains.

"People may have voted to accept this, but in their hearts they don't," one union negotiator remarked (*Hartford Courant*, 14 December). As a 36-year veteran of Pratt's Middletown plant told the *Middletown Press* (14 December), "We didn't get what people like me were looking for, retirement." On job security, the company's promise to keep current jobs in-state is only good for the three-year life of the new contract (which includes the usual pro-company loopholes like allowing layoffs in case orders drop). For a workforce rapidly approaching retirement age, these are literally life-and-death issues.

WV Photo

IAM strikers picket Pratt & Whitney, December 10.

The highly skilled workers at these plants have enormous social power, but decades of layoffs, union concessions and collusion by the top AFL-CIO bureaucracy with the bosses' government have obviously taken their toll, as you see middle-aged veterans out on the lines, with few younger workers in the workforce. The strike shows that a lot of workers aren't buying AFL-CIO head John Sweeney's line that "no sacrifice is too great" in the U.S. capitalists' reactionary "war on terror."

One striking IAM tube maker and Vietnam veteran told the press, "I have lived in poverty. I refuse to retire in poverty" (*Hartford Courant*, 9 December). With growing bitterness and anger, workers have already seen Pratt & Whitney wipe out 60 percent of the union's jobs in Connecticut in the past decade by shifting production to non-union, low-wage areas like the American South and overseas to Singapore and Taiwan. It's called "job creep," but it's out-and-out union-busting. As the recession deepens, another major Connecticut employer, Aetna insurance, just announced a new round of 6,000 layoffs.

Key to the fight against job losses and layoffs is aggressive union organizing in the South and international solidarity in struggle with workers abroad. What's needed to build real solidarity is a class-struggle leadership in the unions that can break the influence of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which supports the Democratic Party and promotes reactionary protectionism, pitting workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters abroad. We aim to win the working class to the understanding that the only way forward is to break from capitalist politics and fight for a workers party and a workers government.

"Anti-Terror" War at Home

228 NJ Teachers Jailed for Striking

Striking teachers in the posh suburb of Middletown, New Jersey got a taste of what the "war on terror" means. For courageously defying a back-to-work order, 228 members of the Middletown Township Education Association—teachers, secretaries, nurses and social workers—were hauled out of court in handcuffs and thrown in jail, *the largest mass jailing of striking teachers in over 20 years*.

When the teachers finally walked out on November 29 after working without a contract since June 30, school board member Britt Raynor denounced New Jersey Education Association spokesman Karen Joseph as "the representative of the Taliban." This should be an alarm bell to the entire labor movement about what the bosses' jingoist "national unity" means. Bush's "war on terror" means raining down thousands of bombs and missiles on impoverished Afghan civilians, and at home it means shredding immigrant rights and the rights of all working people.

While the Bush administration subjects hundreds of immigrants to indefinite detention and sets up military tribunals to try non-citizens accused of "terrorism," Judge Clarkson S. Fisher Jr., who presided over the ramming through of the 1998 contract, methodically summoned the teachers in front of court alphabetically by name and sentenced each striker to jail indefinitely—i.e., imprisoned until each agreed to break ranks and return to work.

Additional judges had to be brought in, and county jail officials announced they were preparing "temporary housing" in case the jail cells overflowed. Judge Fisher proclaimed he was prepared to impose "more onerous" sanctions, including the mass firings that the Board of Education was pushing. The Board lawyer said of the school staff, "You can't let a mob simply say they want to do what they want to do." Karen Joseph told *WV*, "They had one goal: to break the union." On December 7, the teachers returned to work, with contract negotiations still continuing.

Anness/Record

Middletown, NJ: Striking teachers defiant as they're dragged off to jail in handcuffs.

The rapacious American capitalist class has been amassing phenomenal wealth in the past two decades on the backs of working people—slashing benefits and increasing workloads. When teachers, health care workers and other government workers are under attack, working people and the poor suffer from the cutbacks in the social services that these workers provide. In New Jersey as in most states, public employees who strike to defend their jobs immediately come up against the state's no-strike laws and court injunctions, and the cops and other agencies of the capitalist state that enforce them. What's necessary to win these battles is to mobilize the broad power of labor in defiance of these anti-labor laws.

The striking teachers received hundreds of messages of support from U.S. unions and from Canada and Britain. But workers need more than messages of support. While the teachers were sitting in jail, the AFL-CIO brass were wining and dining in Las Vegas at their biennial convention, mouthing hollow words about opposition to the government's ripping up of civil liberties but doing nothing to mobilize the power of labor to defend the Middletown teachers. The Sweeney bureaucrats hosted Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton, who supported the use of the New York State Taylor Law—which bans all public employee strikes—against a threatened strike by NYC transit workers two years ago. This is a perfect illustration of why labor must break the shackles forged by the union leadership that tie workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and build a workers party.

The worldwide recession which started before September 11 continues to deepen and thousands of layoffs are announced almost daily in virtually every sector of the economy. Meanwhile, the labor misleadership has called off several strikes since September 11 for "patriotic" reasons, including New York City teachers and janitors.

Teachers and other public employees in alliance with the powerful industrial proletariat could strike a blow against the government's increasing repression. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership in the unions to replace the pro-capitalist bureaucrats, as part of the struggle for a workers party and a workers government.■

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Defend Immigrant Rights—For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!

Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

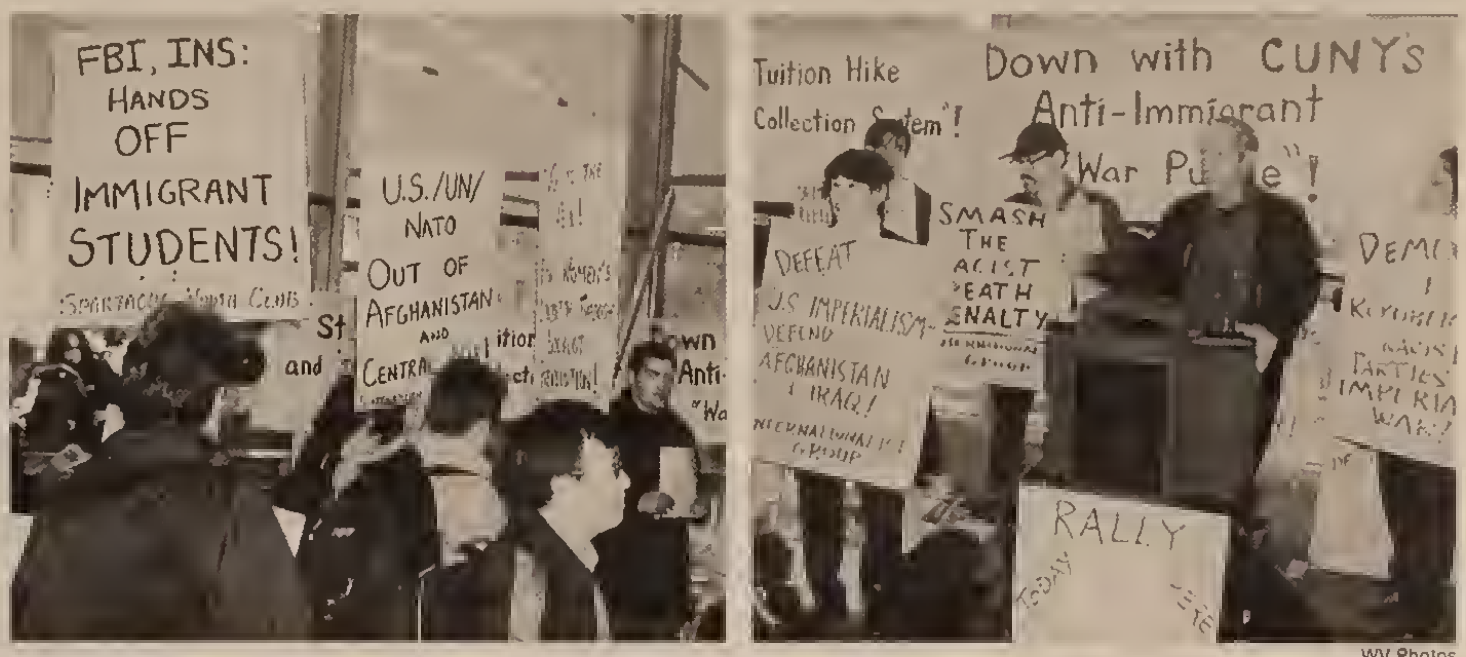
Some 300 people, including left groups and a number of student groups from various City University of New York campuses, turned out for a November 28 protest at Hunter College in defense of immigrant students. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club endorsed, had a contingent and spoke at the demonstration, which was initiated by the Internationalist Group. We reprint below a New York SL/SYC leaflet issued on November 27 and distributed at the protest.

The American ruling class has cynically seized on the deaths of thousands of ordinary people in the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to extend its military power internationally and sharply diminish civil liberties, aiming to regiment and intimidate the population as millions more face unemployment and hunger due to the deepening recession. As they continue the war against impoverished Afghanistan, the capitalist rulers have taken particular aim against immigrants in their "war on terrorism" at home.

Some 1,200 people, overwhelmingly of Near Eastern and South Asian origin, have been detained without charges; over 5,000 more are targeted for "questioning." Any non-citizen labeled a "terrorist suspect" by the president or his agents may now be tried in secret military tribunals. Under the "USA-Patriot Act," passed with overwhelming bipartisan support, any non-citizen the government deems "may endanger the national security" can be deported without a hearing. Virtually all restrictions on wiretapping and Internet monitoring have been removed.

Administrators at more than 200 campuses, including Columbia University, have handed over foreign students' files to the FBI and INS. Now the CUNY administration aims to drive out so-called "illegal" immigrants by charging extortionate out-of-state tuition fees to those who can't prove their legal status. The New York Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club have endorsed the November 28 united-front protest around the demands: "Down with CUNY's anti-immigrant 'war purge!' Stop racist tuition hike and 'Student Data Collection System'!" Unlike opportunist leftists who wallow in "unity"-mongering to pursue liberal-reformist politics, we Trotskyists join in common *action* around necessary demands while fighting for our distinct, revolutionary proletarian politics. In this way, we seek to further the political debate necessary for the development of revolutionary consciousness.

We say that anyone who makes it to this country has the right to stay here with full citizenship rights. *For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For open admissions and no tuition!* Taking



WV Photos

New York City, November 28: Spartacist contingent (left) at Hunter College protest in defense of immigrants, initiated by Internationalist Group.

first aim at immigrants and foreign-born students, the government's deadly new measures use the spectre of "terrorism" in order to strengthen the machinery of its consummately violent state against millions of workers, black people and any perceived opposition to capitalist class rule. A small taste of this can be seen on college campuses. Walter Daum, a supporter of the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), and other CCNY professors were rabidly witchhunted for opposing the war. Meanwhile, the right-wing "American Council of Trustees and Alumni" headed by Lynne Cheney, wife of the vice president, is spearheading the drive nationally against professors "short on patriotism."

Mercer/Record

Paterson, New Jersey, December 5: Feds raid Islamic charity as part of anti-Arab witchhunt.

Against the jingoist "national unity" promoted by the bosses and their labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, we say: *Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! U.S./UN/NATO out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East! For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home!* Black and immigrant workers are not just victims of capitalist repression but a vital—and in the case of black workers, strategic—component of the working class that has the power to shatter the rule of American imperialism from within. Our task is to break the chains forged by the labor tops that bind the working class to the parties of the class enemy, particularly the Democrats. Those black workers and youth who have been drawn into supporting "racial profiling" of immigrant "terrorist suspects" should understand that this plays right into the hands of the capitalist rulers who target black people in particular for racist state terror. We seek to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of immigrants, black people and all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), an endorser of this protest, starts from the opposite vantage point, one of appealing to the U.S. imperialist butchers for a "peaceful" alternative to war. An article in *Socialist Worker* (12 October) argues, "The U.S. could sharply reduce terrorism by tempering its own thirst for blood." But imperialism is not the product of the appetites of a particularly bloodthirsty set of capitalist rulers, nor is it a question of "bad" policies. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, one marked by increasing competition among the advanced capitalist countries for control of markets and spheres of exploitation and influence.

The ISO has always been guided by its faith in the fundamentally "democratic" nature of imperialism and corresponding anti-Communist hatred for the Soviet Union—which it falsely labeled "state capitalist"—and every other country where capitalism was overthrown. The ISO *hailed* the woman-hating, CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan who fought against the Soviet Army after its entry in 1979 in defense of a modernizing nationalist regime. Likewise, the LRP joined with the imperialists in denouncing the Soviet Union's "imperialist invasion of Afghanistan." In contrast, we Trotskyists declared: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

Although bureaucratically degenerated, the USSR was a workers state, based on collectivized property forms which represented real gains for the working class internationally. It was the elementary duty of revolutionaries to unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as it is necessary today to defend the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea. The Soviet Army's presence in Afghanistan, necessary for defense of the USSR's southern border against a reactionary Islamic insurgency and its U.S. imperialist sponsors, posed the possibility of emancipating women in that miserably backward society. The Kremlin bureaucracy's withdrawal of military forces in 1989 was a betrayal that set the stage not only for the coming to power of the barbaric *mujahedin* cutthroats but for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself, which has brought enormous misery to the working people there and an anti-immigrant, anti-labor onslaught internationally.

The centrist Internationalist Group (IG), which initiated this protest, raises the call over Afghanistan to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" This is empty rhetoric. The IG elevates military struggle against imperialism over and above the political struggle to mobilize the proletariat to smash imperialism *from within*. Thus they attack our slogan for "class struggle against capitalist rulers at home," writing in the *Internationalist* (Fall 2001) that "the emphasis on 'at home' is counterposed to the call to defeat the imperialists *abroad*." The IG deliberately muddles the question of a military defeat in a particular war with the proletarian defeat of one's bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. Conjuring up the spectre of a military defeat of the U.S., the IG compares the war in Afghanistan with the defeat of French imperialism in the Algerian war of independence. That eight-year-long struggle against colonial occupation bears no resemblance to the current military adventure carried out by the U.S. largely from the air against tribal forces in one of the world's most backward countries.

Magnifying the possibility of a U.S. military defeat in this context, the IG downplays the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material

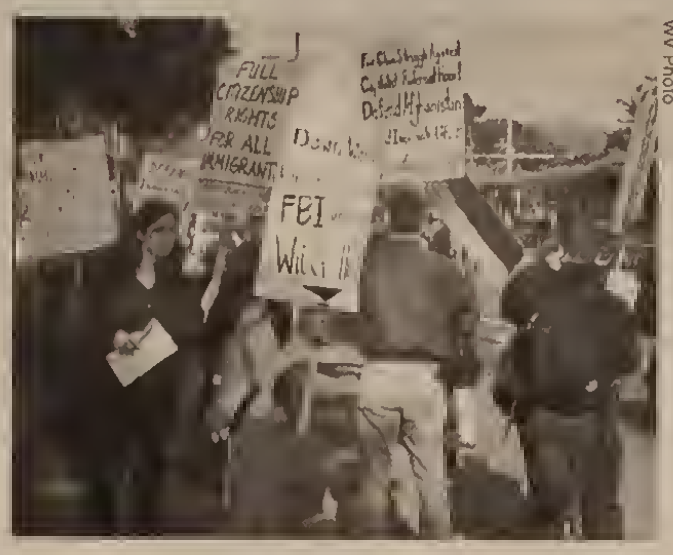
SYC Initiates Protest at San Francisco State

Defend Immigrant Students!

Some 30 demonstrators gathered at the campus of San Francisco State University (SFSU) on December 12 to demand: Down with SFSU collaboration with the FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights! The united-front protest was called by the Spartacus Youth Club in defense of immigrant students, who are threatened by a nationwide witchhunt in the wake of the criminal September 11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York.

The administrators of the California State University system have agreed to hand over confidential files of foreign students to the FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), as have their counterparts at more than 200 campuses nationwide. The San Francisco State administration has already begun complying with this. Meanwhile, INS agents have inaugurated a national sweep by arresting ten Middle Eastern students in San Diego for "visa violations."

Protesters chanted: "Down with *la migra*! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" As the SYC leaflet building the protest declared: "We say that anyone who makes it to this country has the right to stay here with all the rights accorded to those born here." The government's targeting of immigrants and the panoply of new repressive laws are the domestic face of the "war on terror," in which U.S. imperialism savagely rains bombs on impoverished Afghanistan. The leaflet highlighted the demands: "*Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! U.S./UN/NATO out of Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Near East! For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home!*"



WV Photo

SF State protest demanded: "Down with SFSU collaboration with FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights!"

The protest was endorsed by the campus General Union of Palestinian Students, a number of whose supporters attended. In building the demonstration, the SYC underlined defense of the embattled Palestinians. The Spartacist League speaker at the rally declared: "In the Near East, nuclear-armed Zionists are stepping up their threats of a bloodbath of unprecedented scale against the entire Palestinian population. The call is vitally urgent: *Defend Palestinians against Zionist terror! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!*"

A representative of the campus group Committee for a New Colombia spoke to the crowd, pointing out that the U.S. rulers' "war on drugs" means a war of terror against the peasants of Latin America. At least seven high school students from the nearby School of the Arts joined the rally, which the school's principal endorsed, and a young black counselor read a flow (hip-hop-style poem) in solidarity. Other endorsers included Dwight Simpson, an SFSU professor who has received death threats for opposing the war, José Cuellar, professor of Raza Studies, and the Associated Students Women's Center.

The SYC initiated the demonstration in the spirit of the united front, so that diverse political currents are mobilized in a common action, while marching under their own political banners. Several reformist left groups endorsed the demonstration, including Radical Women/ Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Socialist Workers Organization and the liberal-reformist UC Berkeley Stop the War Coalition, which the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and other left groups actively work in. At SFSU, however, the ISO vehemently refused to endorse and worked to prevent the ISO-led liberal campus coalition, Students for Peace, from endorsing or attending. On the day, the ISOers on campus boycotted the rally, revealing that their sectarian hatred of communists ranks higher than their paper position of "Stop Racist Scapegoating."

The FSP, which like the other left endorsers did not attend the protest, sent a statement of solidarity. Although laced with increasingly rare (for them) rhetoric about "socialist revolution," it demands that the SFSU administration, whose function is to run the university in the interests of the capitalist ruling class, "immediately enact a policy of non-cooperation" with the Feds. Giving backhanded support to the capitalist Democratic Party, their statement does not even mention the Democrats, referring only to "Bush's obscene 'war on terrorism'."

In contrast, the SYC speaker at the rally raised the call, "Break with the Democrats! For a multiracial workers party that fights for all the oppressed!" and denounced the reformists' "false notion that this state, the capitalist state, can be pressured through the Democrats to stop war. This is a dangerous lie!" As the SL speaker declared: "An independent, multiracial, revolutionary workers party fighting here in the belly of the beast that champions the causes of the oppressed is vital in the fight for an egalitarian socialist society! For class war against the imperialist war! Join us!"

economic reality. Thus the IG dismisses the danger of the rising influence of political Islam among the oppressed masses of South Asia and the Near East, including among the Palestinians. The IG's *Internationalist* sneers that "the SL presents itself as the vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism." Absolutely, and that goes for the fight against Christian, Jewish, Hindu and all other religious obscurantism as well. During the anti-Soviet Cold War, U.S. imperialism consciously encouraged the growth of political Islam as a weapon against "godless Communism." With the demise of the USSR, the rise of political Islam as a mass movement reflects both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest dead end of nationalism.

The social and national liberation of the working class and oppressed masses from the Near East to South Asia requires the seizure of power by the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed and led by revolutionary internationalist parties. The IG's minimizing of the struggle against Islamic fundamentalism is a measure of its despair of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, either in the backward or the more advanced capitalist countries. And this has been the measure of the IG since its inception. Under the pressures of imperialist "death of communism" triumphalism, those who formed the IG defected from the International Communist League in 1996 in search of forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than an internationalist Leninist vanguard party to serve the cause of the emancipation of humanity from the depredations of the world imperialist order.

Early on, the IG fused with a Brazilian organization that ran an ex-cop for president of a cop-infested union and then dragged that union through the bourgeois courts in order to hold onto their bureaucratic positions. In Mexico, the IG panders to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, which serve as the central ideological vehicles for tying the working class to its "own" capitalist rulers, who are themselves beholden to the imperialists. For weeks following the World Trade Center attack, the IG's co-thinkers in Mexico adapted to the anti-American nationalism dominant on the left there, handing out the IG's U.S. statement without a single word against the *Mexican* ruling class. In contrast, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México distributed a statement sharply polemicizing against a local nationalist organization that heralded the destruction of the World Trade Center as a blow against U.S. imperialism. The GEM statement called for internationalist solidarity with the U.S. proletariat and for class struggle against the right-wing government of Vicente Fox, which has launched its own attacks on Near Eastern immigrants, rebellious peasants and UNAM student activists.

The IG screams that the Spartacist League opposes independence for Puerto Rico. This is a blatant lie, as any perusal of our propaganda would demonstrate. We are uncompromisingly for the right to independence for Puerto Rico. But we are not for imposing this on the population of Puerto Rico which, while seething with opposition to its national subjugation by U.S. imperialism, is very contradicted over the question of independence, fearing that this would simply mean sinking to the level of poverty that defines their independent Caribbean neighbors. As to the IG's stance on national oppression, how about Chechnya? Unlike Puerto Rico, the Chechens have been waging a war to fight for independence from oppressive Russian rule. The ICL has raised the call: "Defend Chechen Independence!" The IG has recently announced a fusion with a group in the Ukraine. Yet nowhere in their fusion declaration do they say a word on this question, which is rather central to combatting Great Russian chauvinism among the substantial Russian-speaking population in the Ukraine. This is all the more important in the context of the "war on terrorism," as the U.S. drops its hypocritical criticisms of the bloody massacres of Chechens by the Putin regime in Moscow.

Unlike the revolutionary phrasemongers of the IG, we fight to awaken class combativity in the proletariat, and through patient education and in the course of class struggle to imbue the working class with revolutionary class consciousness. Addressing a rally for the Charleston Five at San Francisco's ILWU Longshore Local 10 hall last month, a Spartacist League supporter stated: "The labor movement must wage class struggle at home and defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" Against attempts to silence her by "left"-talking Local 10 bureaucrat Jack Heyman—a favorite of the IG—who was chairing the meeting, she continued: "We believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for black freedom, for immigrant rights and for our class brothers and sisters abroad against U.S. imperialism. Such a party will lead the fight to get rid of the capitalist order and create a workers government and a new society without exploitation. This is the only road to end racism and war forever. Those who labor must rule!"

To that end, the Spartacus Youth Clubs work on campuses across the country to win youth to take a side with the working class and to develop the next generation of leaders in the revolutionary fight against capitalist imperialism. Join us!■

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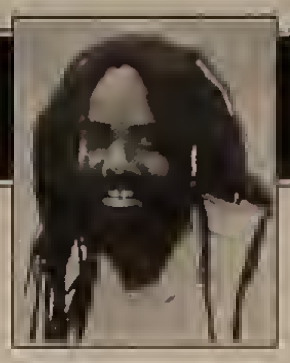
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



The Enigma of Allies and Enemies

What a difference a month makes!

As the United States continues to bombard the feudal state of Afghanistan, with the gleeful (yet anxious!) connivance of a bevy of assorted junior partners, the playlist of who's who seems to get rewritten by the hour. Unperturbed by the Churchillian axiom that a nation has no permanent friends, nor permanent enemies, but only permanent interests, the U.S. has cast a wide, imperial net, to scoop up a bucket-full of buddies.

The resultant quasi-"Coalition" is a reflection of the wide and deep contradictions that emerge, when one considers what the U.S. announces is its foreign policy, and what it is in *realpolitik*. If the U.S. is the target of the "terrorists" because of "its wonderful democracy" (as non-majority-elected President Bush suggests) why is it bundled up with nations that see democracy as a bad word?

Pakistan and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are many things, but democracies they ain't!

Only one person voted for Gen. P. Musharraf to become President of Pakistan—himself! Because he was General, his was the only vote that counted. In clear, unalloyed terms, Pakistan is a military dictatorship. Worse, it is an unstable state where upwards of 80% of its population support the Taliban of Afghanistan—which exists, in part, because of the machinations of Pakistani military intelligence!

The Saudi Kingdom is, in essence, a theocracy, where the Royal Family rules with an iron hand, and where women aren't even allowed to drive! The Bin-Laden clan is one of the First Families of the kingdom, builders of many of the structures in the Islamic holy places of Mecca.

The Wahabbi sect of Islam promoted by the Royal House is but a variant of that practiced by the Taliban.

The madrassas in Pakistan (of which there are over 10,000) were, for the better part of two decades, training schools for the Taliban, and, in fact, educated perhaps 75% of its leadership. Pakistan, being a desperately poor, post-colonial nation, cannot afford public education for its teeming young population. The madrassas therefore, being the only free schools in the region, are plush with students, who learn a thorough Koranic education, with history from an Islamic perspective.

The backers of the madrassas? Saudi Arabia.

"OK, Jamal—What's the point?", the thoughtful reader asks.

The point is that the two best buds of the USA—Ally No. 1—Pakistan; and Ally No. 2—Saudi Arabia.—are the prime movers, backers, supporters, and sustainers of the so-called "enemy": the Taliban.

If *80%* of Pakistanis support the Taliban (in a region where one's ethnicity or tribal allegiances may go deeper than religion!) what can any government—even a military dictatorship—do to suppress that expression?

The American bombing campaign is sowing the pregnant seeds of civil war in Pakistan, and rolling instability in the whole region.

For the closer the U.S. nestles to Pakistan, the more nervous the (democratic!) Republic of India gets. The two nations are already involved in an on-again, off-again, shooting war over the northern Indian (or is it western Pakistani?) province of Kashmir.

Kashmir, with its overwhelmingly Muslim population has been agitating for homerule, and national independence for decades. To the Indians, Kashmiri militants are "terrorists." To the Pakistanis, they look a lot like "freedom fighters." (Isn't that the same thing that was said about the Taliban when they were *mujahadeen* fighting the Soviets?)

The U.S. charges into a thicket, knowing neither its enemies, nor its real friends.

It is a time of danger, that holds dangers not just for the U.S., nor even the region: but the world.

8 November 2001

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal," to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

overwhelming evidence of Jamal's innocence is buried. His decision affirms the original frame-up murder conviction, which was secured on the basis of "eyewitness" testimony coerced by the police through the promise of favors and outright terror, a manufactured "confession" and completely concocted ballistics "evidence." Yohn's ruling only allows for a new sentencing hearing within 180 days which would at best consign Jamal to life behind bars.

As Mumia himself said of life imprisonment in one of his writings from death row: "'Life' is thus but a grim metaphor for death, for only death releases one from its shackles. 'Life,' it might be said, is merely slow death." ***Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man!*** An award-winning journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, Mumia's only "crime" is that he is an outspoken champion of the oppressed and exploited. And he has continued to speak out, unbowed and unbroken, from his death row cell. ***Don't let them bury Mumia alive!*** Workers, minorities and all opponents of racist capitalist repression must now redouble their efforts to mobilize mass protest centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal's immediate freedom.

From the time the Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal's case 15 years ago, we have insisted that the fight to save this innocent man cannot rely on the capitalist courts but must be based on social struggle. What has kept him out of the clutches of the executioner is mass protest and publicity, in this country and internationally, especially by trade unions representing millions of workers. Now more than ever the PDC says: No confidence in the capitalist courts, all confidence in the power of the working people and oppressed!

Jamal's case throws into stark relief the whole nature of racist American capitalism. His prosecution and conviction were an extension of the COINTELPRO terror campaign by the FBI in which dozens of Black Panthers were assassinated and hundreds more sent to prison. Among them was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who was finally released in 1997 after 27 years in prison hell for a crime the state *knew* he did not commit. Jamal's case is a demonstration of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few, which in America is rooted in the forcible subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society.

As ever more death row and other prisoners are exonerated of false convictions through DNA evidence, popular support for the death penalty has waned and America's imperialist rulers have faced growing diplomatic embarrassment around the world. And Jamal's case shows what the racist, barbaric death penalty in the U.S. is all about. On December 2, the Paris city council voted to make Mumia an honorary citizen of the city, an indication of the breadth of support for his cause around the world. This new court ruling comes even as the right-wing Bush administration, invoking the need for "war measures" as it bombs the people of Afghanistan, is gearing up a new COINTELPRO-style campaign of terror and provocation. Targeting people of Near Eastern descent in the first instance, the government's "war on terror" is aimed at all immigrants, minorities, labor, leftists and all perceived opponents of the government.

What is needed is a massive struggle centered on the social power of the multiracial working class to fight for Jamal's freedom! Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and the potential to become battalions in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and racial oppression, to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system and ultimately topple it. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement at the forefront, the fight to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty would be a first, giant step in that direction and would strike a significant blow against the draconian new repressive measures being implemented by the Bush administration with bipartisan support. To that end, labor must break the chains with which the trade-union misleaders have shackled the unions to the political parties—centrally the Democrats—and the state agencies of the enemy class. *No illusions in the capitalist courts! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

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New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

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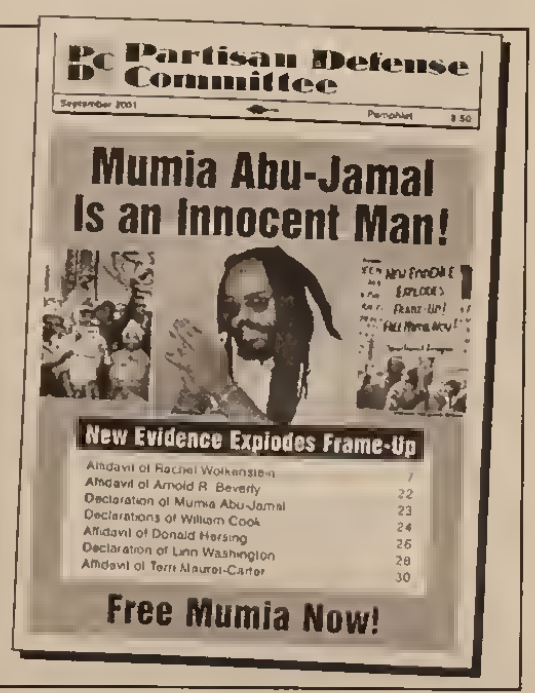


Down With Racist Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

NYC Holiday Appeal Speech

Some $10,000 was raised at the Partisan Defense Committee's 16th annual Holiday Appeal benefits held recently in New York City, San Francisco and Chicago and at smaller gatherings elsewhere. The funds will help sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners—black activists, labor militants and members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune—and provide holiday gifts for them and their families. We print below the speech of New York Labor Black League spokesman Ed Kartsen at the November 30 benefit in Manhattan.

* * *

In the post-September 11 period, the labor movement faces new dangers. Most of the working people in this country were rightly angered by the destruction of the World Trade Center by people who must have equated the thousands of innocent victims, most of whom were working people, with the bloodthirsty rulers of this country.

So the bloodthirsty rulers who had been seeking to attack democratic freedoms and carry out a crusade against countries like Iraq seized the opportunity provided by the September 11 attacks to marshal the legitimate rage over the killing of thousands of innocent people into a national chauvinist and racist anti-immigrant campaign. A campaign to provide political cover for the massacre of Afghanis in bombing raids abroad and the gutting of civil liberties at home. The recent rulings in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal indicate that they intend to use this political environment of anti-terror hysteria to carry out his legal lynching.

The anti-Arab hysteria that exploded after the September 11 attacks parallels the racist terror that black people have historically been subjected to in this country. The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee has confirmed 520 cases of violent attacks on Arab Americans or those perceived to be Arabs since 9/11. Arab Americans have been expelled from aircraft after or during boarding based solely on the way they look. There have been hundreds of cases of discrimination against Arab Americans in employment since September 11, including terminations, and there have been numerous cases of Arab Americans being searched and questioned by police for no apparent reason other than looking Arab.

This anti-Arab bigotry has been seized on by the government to enact a law targeting the civil liberties of Arab Americans and all immigrants. This law allows for the trial of non-citizens accused of terrorist-related charges in military tribunals, bypassing all legal and constitutional protections. It allows for government eavesdropping on defense lawyers' conversations with defendants. College advisers have basically been deputized to conduct investigations of foreign students. Thousands of Arab students are targeted to be rounded up for questioning on the basis of their ethnicity and national origin. Roughly 1,200 people have already been rounded up and imprisoned. Some 5,000 others are being asked to report for interrogation!

While the immediate targets of the "USA-Patriot Act" are immigrants, this law poses a threat to everyone who challenges capitalist rule. It is a threat to the postal workers who have to conduct class-struggle action like strikes against the government in order to get the needed medical attention and the same protection as Senators from the deadly threat of anthrax infection. It is a threat to all workers who have to fight the takebacks and layoffs that the capitalist bosses are demanding in the post-9/11 period. It is a threat to those who oppose the bombardment of Afghanistan by the forces of U.S. imperialism. It also threatens those who organize to protest racist cop terror.

Labor, black and immigrant rights move forward together or fall back separately. In recent years, legislative attacks on immigrant rights have been followed

WV Photo

Postal workers at October 1999 NYC anti-Klan mobilization carry signs honoring L.A. postal worker Joseph Ileto, killed by fascist.

by attacks on the gains of the civil rights movement. In November 1994 California enacted Proposition 187, which prohibited social services for non-U.S. citizens. This proposition was passed with a large number of black people backing it. In fact, it would not have been passed if it had not had substantial support among the black population. But this attack on immigrant rights—Proposition 187—paved the way for Proposition 209, which banned affirmative action programs for state and local governments in 1996.

An uphill battle must be waged to ensure that racial profiling against immigrants, particularly Arab Americans, is viewed as just as racist and intolerable as racial profiling against black people. Black workers, however, often perceive immigrants as a threat to their jobs and immigrants are often indoctrinated with the myth that black people are responsible for their own oppression. These lies are perpetuated by black and Latino Democratic Party politicians.

Labor must be in the forefront of the fight for black as well as immigrant rights and in so doing establish an unshakable unity between the black workers who are a strategic component of the American working class and immigrant workers, many of whom bring class-struggle traditions to this country.

This powerful axis could break the back of the conservative labor bureaucracy that chains labor to the capitalist parties. Point Four of the program of the Labor Black League calls for: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—everyone who has made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

The realization of these demands as well as the demand for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners can only be won by unleashing the social power of the working class. On October 23, 1999 we witnessed in downtown Manhattan what the power of the politically organized working class can do. On that day the fascist creeps of the American Knights of the KKK were forced to cut short their rally by thousands of counterdemonstrators who had at their core militant disciplined workers.

WV Photo

LBL speaker at NYC Holiday Appeal benefit, November 30.

That victory, like all the victories won by labor, was made possible by having a leadership capable of combatting the opposition and sabotage of all of the pro-capitalist political forces thrown up against it. These included the courts, the Republican mayor Giuliani, the cops, the Democratic Party, the black Democrats like Al Sharpton, the *Amsterdam News*, labor misleaders like Dennis Rivera and the Central Labor Council and lastly the International Socialist Organization.

The LBL played its part to build that anti-Klan rally and it seeks to help in the struggle to build the revolutionary workers party which the Spartacist League is the core of. That is, a party which fights for a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners and for the rebuilding of America on the basis of a socialist planned economy! We say: Down with anti-Arab bigotry! We say: Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all the class-war prisoners! Join the LBL and build the workers party!■

Drop All Charges Against Arrested Protesters!

Cops Attack Philly Jamal Protest

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following protest letter, dated December 10, to Philadelphia mayor John Street and District Attorney Lynne Abraham following a police attack on supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal two days earlier. The PDC also made a financial contribution to the Philadelphia Direct Action Group to help raise bail for those arrested. To help defray bail costs, send checks earmarked "December 8th Legal Fund" to: PDAG, P.O. Box 40683, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the brutal police attack and arrests of supporters of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal this past Saturday.

The police celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the arrest and frame-up prosecution of this innocent man by clubbing and pepper-spraying protesters. One woman had her jaw broken after being dragged through the streets for over a block. Cops pointed their weapons at protesters' heads—threatening them with summary street executions. At least seven of their victims have been arrested with obviously trumped-up charges such as Felonious Assault and Felonious Riot and held on exorbitant bail. *We demand that all those under arrest be released and all charges be dropped!*

AWOL Magazine

Gun-wielding Philly cops terrorize Jamal protester, December 8.

This ruthless assault on those who fight for Jamal's freedom is part and parcel of the state's 20-year effort to cover up, destroy and silence proof of his innocence. In recent years dozens of people who have spent years on death row have been freed on evidence proving their innocence. But despite the overwhelming evidence of innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he had been hired to kill Officer Faulkner, Mumia remains under the shadow of death. When it comes to Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous voice for the dispossessed, opponent of cop terror and fighter for black freedom, state and federal judges have repeatedly ruled that a court of law is no place for evidence of his innocence.

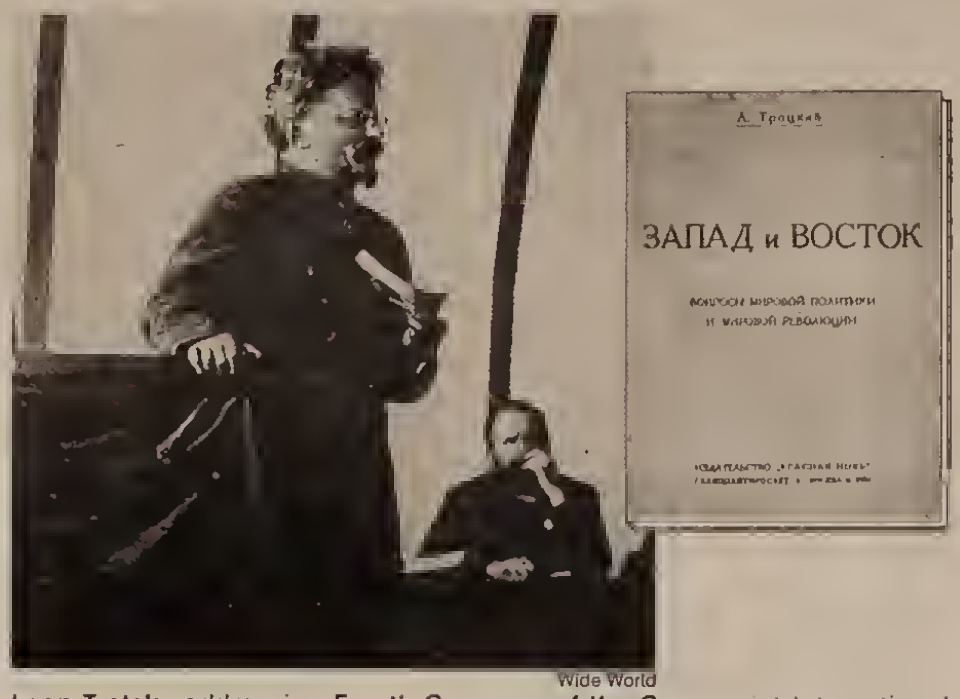
Emboldening the police in their wanton attack is the onslaught on democratic rights which accompanies the American terror bombing and slaughter of impoverished Afghanistan. The appointment of Tom Ridge, who as governor signed two death warrants for Jamal's execution, as head of the office of "Homeland Security" only underscores that the "war on terrorism" is a thinly veiled war on opponents of U.S. government policies at home and abroad. We say again: Free all those arrested at the December 8 demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Leon Trotsky: "Perspectives and Tasks in the East"

We reprint below an April 1924 speech by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, celebrating the third anniversary of the founding of the Communist University for Toilers of the East in Moscow. The oppressed masses of Asia saw in the world's first proletarian revolution a beacon for their own struggles against imperialist subjugation and social backwardness. In particular, the extension of Bolshevik power to Central Asia—formerly under the rule of Islamic despots—brought the promise of a massive social transformation to this benighted region, not least the liberation of women who had previously been treated as less than property.

At the time of Trotsky's speech, a nationalist bureaucratic caste led by Stalin was already beginning to consolidate control over the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International (CI). This was to take on programmatic expression in late 1924, as the Stalinist bureaucracy propounded the anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Through its futile pursuit of accommodation with imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy undermined the gains of the revolution and ultimately opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution. The final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92 has caused enormous immiseration and desperation throughout the former Soviet Union, dragging the Central Asian republics back toward their impoverished, backward past and fueling a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism.

At the time of his 1924 speech, Trotsky had not yet generalized his concept of permanent revolution from tsarist Russia—an economically backward European *imperialist* power—to the even more economically backward colonial and semicolonial countries. Thus, while warning of the danger that the nascent Communist parties of the East could act as a transmission belt to bourgeois nationalism, he also envisioned a progressive role for some bourgeois-nationalist parties, like the Chinese Guomindang (Kuomintang). Trotsky projected that the Guomindang, in alliance with the Communists, could lead the struggle for national emancipation against imperialism.



Wide World

Leon Trotsky addressing Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 1922. His 1924 speech to the Communist University for Toilers of the East was published in Moscow that year in a collection titled *West and East*.

When the CI, under the leadership of Stalin and Zinoviev, ordered the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to liquidate wholesale into the Guomindang, Trotsky opposed this. The liquidation of the CCP paved the way for the disastrous defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution (see "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). In its aftermath, Trotsky drew the lessons of that defeat. He generalized to all backward countries his theory of permanent revolution, which was so clearly verified by the October Revolution: that only the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasant masses and fighting to extend proletarian rule to the imperialist centers, can emancipate the peoples of the East. And he categorically declared that Communist parties must never enter into bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. Trotsky's own re-evaluation of this question underlines the need to critically appraise the history of the Marxist movement.

The following translation was published by New Park Publications (London) in 1973. We have corrected some minor factual errors.

* * *

I have received, comrades, from the bureau of your cell, documents outlining your university's work over three years. At my request the comrades marked out all the most essential points with a red pencil thereby considerably easing my task of becoming familiar with the documents for, and I do not know how to put it—either to my shame or to my loss—I have not had the opportunity of closely following the work of your university either day by day or even month by month: work which has an exceptional and, without at all exaggerating as is common on anniversaries, a world-historical significance.

Comrades, although it is perhaps not customary at anniversary meetings to get involved in theory, nevertheless allow me to present a few observations of a general character which will substantiate my statement that your university is no simple educational establishment, revolutionary as it may be, but forms a lever of world-historical significance....

The whole present-day political and cultural movement rests upon capitalism, out of which it is growing, has grown and which it has outgrown. But capitalism has, schematically speaking, two different facets: the capitalism of the metropolis and the capitalism of the colonies. The classic model of a metropolis is Britain. At the present time it is crowned by the so-called "Labour" government of [Ramsey] MacDonald. As for the colonies I would hesitate to say which one of them is most typical as a colony: this would either be India, a colony in the formal sense, or China which preserves the semblance of independence yet in her world position and the course of her development belongs to the colonial type. Classic capitalism is in Britain. Marx wrote his *Capital* in London by directly observing the development of the most advanced country—you will know this, though I do not remember which year you cover this in.... In the colonies capitalism develops not out of its own fragments but as an intrusion of foreign capital. This is what creates the two different types. Why is MacDonald, to put it not very scientifically but in quite precise terms just the same, why is MacDonald so conservative, so limited and so stupid?

Because Britain is the classic land of capitalism, because capitalism there organically developed from handicrafts through manufacture into modern industry step by step, by an "evolutionary" road and so yesterday's prejudices and those of the day before and the prejudices of the past and the previous centuries, all the ideological garbage of the ages you can discover under MacDonald's skull [*applause*]. At first glance there is here some historical contradiction: why did Marx appear in backward Germany, in the most backward of the great countries of Europe in the first half of the 19th century, not counting Russia of course? Why did Marx appear in Germany and why did Lenin appear in Russia on the borders of the 19th and 20th centuries? A plain contradiction! But of what nature? Of one which can be explained by the so-called dialectic of historical development. In the shape of British machinery and in the shape of British cotton cloth, history created the most revolutionary factor of development. But this machinery and this cloth were processed and created by way of a prolonged and slow historical transition, one step at a time, while human consciousness remained in general frightfully conservative.

When economic development proceeds slowly and systematically it tends to find it hard to break through human skulls. Subjectivists and idealists in general say that human consciousness, critical thought and so on and so forth draw history forward like a tug towing a barge behind it. This is untrue. You and I are Marxists and we know that the motive power of history consists of the productive forces which have up till now taken shape behind man's back and with which it tends to be very difficult to smash through man's conservative skull in order to produce the spark of a new political idea there and especially, let me repeat, if the development takes place slowly, organically and imperceptibly. But when the productive forces of a metropolis, of a classic land of capitalism, like Britain, encroach upon a more backward country, as with Germany in the first half of the 19th century, and with ourselves on the watershed of the 19th and the 20th centuries, and at the present time with Asia: when economic factors intrude in a revolutionary way cracking the old regime, when development takes place not gradually, not "organically" but by means of terrible shocks, and abrupt shifts in the old social layers, then critical thought finds its revolutionary expression incomparably more easily and rapidly, providing there is of course the necessary theoretical prerequisites for this. That is why Marx appeared in Germany in the first half of the 19th century and that is why Lenin appeared here and that is why we can observe at first sight the paradoxical fact that in the land of the highest, oldest and most revered European capitalism, Britain, we have the most conserva-

UPI

Carrying revolution to the peoples of Central Asia: Bolshevik propaganda train, Soviet troops patrolling Central Asian frontier.

Faber

tive "Labour" party. While on the other hand in our Soviet Union, an extremely backward country economically and culturally speaking, we have—and I say this unashamedly for it is a fact—the best communist party in the world [*applause*].

It must be said that as regards its economic development Russia stands midway between the classic metropolis like Britain and the colonial countries like India or China. And what distinguishes our Soviet Union from Britain as regards the paths and forms of development shows itself even more sharply in the development of the countries of the East. Capitalism encroaches there in the form of foreign finance capital. There it tosses in ready-made machines shaking and undermining the old economic base and erects upon its splinters the Tower of Babel of a capitalist economy. The action of capitalism in the countries of the East is neither gradual nor slow nor "evolutionary" but abrupt, catastrophic—indeed in many cases far more catastrophic than it was here in yesterday's Tsarist Russia.

It is from this fundamental standpoint, comrades, that one has to examine the fate of the East in the coming years and in the coming decades. If you take such prosaic books as the accounts of British and American banks for the years 1921, 1922, 1923 then you will read tomorrow's revolutionary fate of the East in the figures of the bank balances of London and New York. Britain has once again re-established her role as world usurer. The United States have accumulated an unbelievable quantity of gold: in

Georgy Zelma

Workers in Siberia reading Yakut-language newspaper, 1929. Russian Revolution brought vast social gains, among them literacy, to the peoples of the Soviet East.

the vaults of the Central Bank there is kept gold to the value of 3,000m dollars, that is 6,000m gold roubles. This inundates the economy of the United States. If you ask: to whom do Britain and the United States give loans?—for as you have probably heard they are still not giving loans to us, the Soviet Union, nor do they give them to Germany, they gave France some miserable crumbs to save the franc—so who do they give them to? For the most part they give them to the colonial countries: they go to finance the industrial development of Asia, South America and South Africa. I shall not give you figures: I do have some but this would drag out my report too much, but it is sufficient to say that up to the last imperialist war the colonial and semi-colonial countries received from the United States and Britain probably about half as much in credits as did the developed capitalist countries, yet now financial investments in the colonial countries exceed, and exceed very considerably, investments in the old capitalist countries. Why is this? The causes are many but the chief ones are two: a lack of confidence in old Europe, ruined and bled white, with this furious French militarism at its heart—a militarism which threatens ever fresh upheavals; and on the other hand the need for the colonial countries as furnishers of raw materials and as customers for the machines and manufactured goods of Britain and the United States. During the war we observed and we observe now the headlong industrialization of the colonial, semi-colonial and of the backward countries in general: Japan, India, South America, South Africa and so on. There is no doubt that if the Chinese Kuomintang party manages to unify China under a national-democratic regime then the capitalist development of China will go ahead with seven-mile strides. And yet all this will prepare the mobilization of the countless proletarian masses who will at once burst out of a prehistoric, semi-barbaric state and cast themselves into industry's melting-pot, the factory. Consequently there will not be the time to conserve and accumulate the rubbish of past ages in the consciousness of the toilers; a guillotine will slice through their consciousness as it were, cutting off the past from the future and forcing them to seek new ideas, new forms and new paths of life and struggle. And so here there must appear on the scene in some countries and broadly and boldly develop in others, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the East: Japanese communists, Chinese communists, Turkish, Indian and so on.

Comrade toilers of the lands of the East! In 1883 there was formed in Switzerland the Russian "Emancipation of Labour" group. Is that such a long time ago? From 1883 to 1900 it is 17 years and from 1900 to 1917 again 17 years, that is in all 34 years—one third of a century, one generation: from the organization of the first theoretical-propagandist circle of the ideas of Marxism during the reign of Alexander III until the conquest of Tsarist Russia by the proletariat there elapsed all in all one third of a century!

For whoever has lived through this it will seem a long and painful period. But from the point of view of the scales of history this represented an unprecedentedly furious and wild tempo. Yet in the countries of the East the tempo of development will by all indications be even more rapid. So what then is your Communist University for Toilers of the East in the light of the perspectives we have traced—what is it? It is the garden nursery for "Emancipation of Labour" groups for the countries of the East [*tumultuous applause*].

It is true, and one must not close one's eyes to this, that the dangers facing young Marxists of the East are great. We know, and you will know, that it was in a grave external and also internal struggle that the Bolshevik Party was shaped. You know that Marxism, emasculated and falsified, was for us in the 1890s a school for an all-round political study of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the Struvians who afterwards became the political henchmen of the bourgeoisie, the cadets, while many then went over to the Octobrists and even further to the right. Economically backward, Russia was in the political sense neither a differentiated nor a fully-formed country: Marxism spoke of the inevitability of capitalism and those bourgeois-progressive elements who wanted capitalism not for socialism but for itself accepted "Marxism" having removed its revolutionary sting. The same thing happened in Rumania. The majority of today's ruling scoundrels of Rumania have passed in their time through the margarine school of Marxism; some of them in France adhered to Guesdism. In Serbia a whole number of today's conservative and reactionary politicians in their youth passed through the school of Marxism or Bakuninism.

This is less observable in Bulgaria. But

P & A Photo

Revolutionary upsurge in China, 1925: Poster shows student killed in British police massacre of May 30 Shanghai demonstration. Protests sparked general strike which spread across China.

in general this temporary exploitation of Marxism for the aims of a bourgeois-progressive policy characterizes the countries of the Balkan south-east, as it did our own country. Does such a danger threaten Marxism in the East? In part. Why? Because the national movement in the East is a progressive factor in history. The struggle for the independence of India is a profoundly progressive movement; but you and I know that at the same time this struggle is confined to national-bourgeois tasks. The struggle for the liberation of China, the ideology of Sun Yat-sen, is a democratic struggle and a progressive ideology, but bourgeois. We stand for the communists supporting the Kuomintang in China by driving it forward. This is essential but here there is also a danger of a national-democratic degeneration. And likewise in all the countries of the East which form the arena for the national struggle for liberation from colonial slavery. Upon this progressive movement the young proletariat of the East must rest; but it is absolutely clear that in the coming period there is for the young Marxists of the East, a danger of being torn out of the "Emancipation of Labour" groups and dissolving themselves in nationalist ideology.

Wherein, however, lies your advantage? Your advantage over the older generations of Russian, Rumanian and other Marxists is that you are living and will live and work not only in the epoch after Marx but in the epoch after Lenin too. In your newspaper which the bureau of your cell so kindly sent me, with annotations, I read a heated polemic about Marx and Lenin. You polemicize with each other very severely; I say this to you, however, not in reproach. The question was presented there as if, in the opinion of some, Marx was only a theoretician—so the opposing side had depicted this position and it objected: "No, Marx was a revolutionary politician as was Lenin and with both Marx and Lenin theory and practice went hand in hand." In such an abstract formulation of the question this is undoubtedly true and beyond question; but there is still a difference between these two historical figures; a profound difference which grew not only from a divergence in personality but from a divergence of epochs too. Marxism of course is not an academic doctrine but a lever of revolutionary action; not for nothing Marx said: "Philosophers have sufficiently explained the world but now we must change it." But in the lifetime of Marx, in the era of the First International and then during the time of the Second International was there the opportunity of the movement of the working class utilizing Marxism totally and to the end? Did Marxism find then a genuine embodiment in action? No it didn't. Did Marx have the opportunity and fortune to guide the application of his revolutionary theory to the decisive historical action: the conquest of power by the proletariat? No, he didn't. Marx created his teaching not of course as an academic; he did, as you know, grow wholly out of the revolution, out of his estimation and criticism of the downfall of bourgeois democracy, wrote his *Manifesto* in 1847 and was active on the left flank of bourgeois democracy in the revolution of 1848 evaluating in a Marxist way, or in rather Marx's way, all of its events; in London he wrote *Capital*; he was at the same time the creator of the First International, the inspirer of the policy of the most advanced groups in the working class of all countries; but he did not stand at the head of a party which decided the fate of the world nor even of one country. When we wish to answer briefly the question: who was Marx? we say: "***Marx was the author of* Capital**." And when we ask ourselves who Lenin was we will say: "***Lenin was the author of the October revolution***." [*Applause*]. Lenin emphasized more than anyone else that he was not out to revise, remake or review Marx's teaching; Lenin came, to speak in the old words of the gospels, not to alter Marx's law but in order to implement it. He himself more than anyone else emphasized this; but he at that time needed to release Marx from underneath the sediments of those generations which separated Lenin from Marx; from underneath the sediments of Kautskyism, MacDonaldism, the conservatism of the labour bosses, and the reformist and nationalist bureaucracy and to apply the tool of genuine Marxism once cleansed of sediments, additives and falsifications totally and wholly to the great historical action. And so your greatest advantage as the younger generation is that you have directly or indirectly participated in this work, that you have observed it, that you are living in the political and ideological environment of Leninism and that you are imbibing this theory which corresponds to practice in the University for Toilers of the East. This makes up your enormous

continued on page 12

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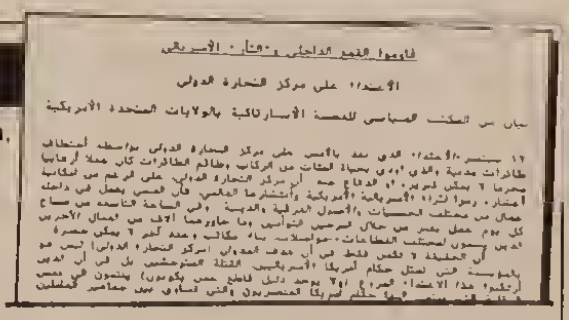
The World Trade Center Attack

Translation of 12 September 2001 Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.



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Palestinian...

(continued from page 1)

House, with administration spokesmen again openly threatening a military assault on Saddam Hussein's Iraq, among other alleged "terrorist" states.

Washington also extended its "war on terror" to include Hamas. On the home front, federal agents seized the assets of the Holy Land Foundation, the largest Muslim charity in the United States, claiming it was channeling money to Hamas. While not explicitly endorsing Sharon's line that the PA is a "terrorist entity" and "irrelevant," the White House has given him the green light to move into the Occupied Territories with U.S.-supplied warplanes and tanks to root out "terrorists." Bush administration "soft cop" Colin Powell cautions that Arafat retains the "mantle of leadership" and the U.S. "will continue to work with him." But it is a measure of the current U.S. policy shift that the liberal *New York Times* (14 December) carried an editorial headlined "Looking Beyond Yasir Arafat."

Arafat's vow on Sunday to outlaw Hamas and other groups that continue the *Intifada* may have won him a bit of a lease on life. The U.S. might yet try to restrain Israel if Sharon carries out a bloodbath of Palestinians that provokes upheaval among the neighboring Arab masses and threatens to plunge the Near East into chaos. Even then, Israel's rulers have repeatedly demonstrated that they do not simply bow to Washington in pursuing their bloody ambitions for a "Greater Israel." The Israeli regime could well move to reimpose direct military occupation in Gaza and the West Bank or to formally annex broad swathes of territory including Zionist settlements and the network of "strategic highways" connecting them, leaving the Arab population to starve in ghettoized enclaves. Months before the current U.S.-led "war on terror," we warned in "Zionist Butchers Escalate War on Palestinians" (*WV* No. 760, 8 June):

> "After eight months of Palestinian defiance and an escalating war of terror by the Israeli military and its 'settler' auxiliaries, the ultra-chauvinist Zionist rulers could well be moving toward a bloodbath of catastrophic proportions."

Powerful international protest, centered on the proletariat not only of the Near East but of the imperialist centers, in defense of the Palestinian people is urgently necessary. In France, large numbers of workers of North African origin are integrated into key sectors of industry. There is a significant component of Arab workers as well in the U.S. auto industry, many of whom are themselves threatened by the government's anti-immigrant witchhunt. Significantly, despite the growth of anti-immigrant and anti-Arab chauvinism fueled by the "war on terror," there is also considerable sympathy for the Palestinian cause among black people. *Defend the Palestinian people! Down with Zionist/PA repression of Palestinian opposition groups! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Hands off Iraq —U.S. imperialism out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East!*

Israel's Ariel Sharon meets George Bush at White House, December 2, one day before ordering missile strikes against Palestinian Authority facilities in Gaza.

Reuters photos

From the Oslo "Peace" Accord to the New Intifada

The backdrop to the ominous situation now confronting the Palestinians lies in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Seeking to strengthen their own position vis-à-vis Western imperialism, the Kremlin Stalinists provided a certain amount of military, diplomatic and financial support to Arab bourgeois regimes and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Bereft of such Soviet support, in 1993 Arafat accepted the U.S.-brokered Oslo "peace" accord, which gave the PLO a few trappings of "sovereignty." But, as journalist David Hirst noted, "For the Israelis, security—theirs, not the Palestinians'—was the be-all and end-all of Oslo. His [Arafat's] job was to supply it on their behalf" (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 13 December). Palestinian police, trained and overseen by the CIA and Israeli security forces, would carry out the day-to-day policing of the subjugated Palestinian masses while all Israeli settlements remained in place pending an indefinite "final status" agreement. This ignominious deal served to fuel the growth of the forces of Islamic reaction, centrally Hamas, in the West Bank and Gaza, as the PLO (especially Arafat's Fatah) became increasingly discredited.

Various Western reformists, notably the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO), enthuse over the growth of such Islamic "radicals." An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (14 December) conspicuously fails to condemn the recent indiscriminate terror attacks in Haifa and Jerusalem carried out by Hamas; more generally, in recent years the ISO has glorified Islamic fundamentalism as an expression of "anti-imperialism."

In fact, Hamas is a vile group of anti-Semitic and anti-woman religious fanatics which originated as an offshoot of the Egyptian-based Muslim Brotherhood following the outbreak of the first Palestinian *Intifada* in the late 1980s. As the London *Times* (6 December) pointed out: "At the time Israeli intelligence saw the movement as a potential rival to Mr Arafat's Fatah group, the dominant faction in the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which was fomenting the first intifada. The Israelis encouraged Hamas and its small group of religious zealots."

In seeking to create an Islamic regime in the West Bank and Gaza, Hamas mirrors the fascistic religious Jewish reactionaries who strive for a fully fledged Old Testament theocracy in Israel and who have themselves perpetrated repeated terrorist atrocities and pogroms against Palestinian Arabs. Indiscriminate terror against Israeli Jews, whether carried out by Islamic fundamentalists or secular Palestinian nationalists, mirrors on a small scale the genocidal logic of Zionism. In their own way, such outfits subscribe to the same basic position as Sharon: that all Jews, including schoolchildren or teenagers at a disco or shopping mall, are soldiers of the Zionist state.

Terror attacks against the Israeli population serve to strengthen the intense chauvinism which binds the Hebrew-speaking workers—including impoverished and oppressed Sephardic Jews—to their capitalist exploiters. Some Arab nationalists initially maintained that the attack on the World Trade Center was actually carried out by the Israelis in order to turn the outrage of the American people against the Arab/Islamic world. By the same logic, Hamas' attacks against Israeli civilians could just as well have been instigated by the Israeli Mossad secret police, for they serve the aims of the Zionist state. In the early '50s, the Mossad engineered synagogue bombings and other provocations in Near Eastern countries (e.g., Egypt) with the aim of scaring the Jewish populations there to migrate to Israel.

In now demanding that Arafat crack down on Hamas, American ruling circles point out that he did so effectively in 1996, when his police rounded up and imprisoned 300 Hamas leaders and cadre and dismantled much of its military network. But five years ago Arafat still had considerable credibility among the Palestinian masses, who maintained illusions in his strategy of relying on the good graces of American imperialism to bring about an independent Palestinian state.

But these illusions were rapidly evaporating, as conditions of life went from bad to worse. Withdrawal of Israeli troops from small parts of the Occupied Territories was accompanied by the construction of ever more checkpoints and fences, now augmented by trenches surrounding many villages. Along the border between Israel and the West Bank north of Tel Aviv, there is now a multiple barrier of razor wire, high-voltage fence and a ten-foot-high concrete wall that extends for more than a mile, blocking off the adjacent Palestinian town of Tulkarem. As Palestinian day laborers were increasingly denied entry to Israel, per capita income in the West Bank and Gaza plunged to half what it had been before 1993, and less than one-tenth that in Israel.

At the same time, the number of Zionist settlers doubled. East Jerusalem has been increasingly "cleansed" of Palestinians as Arab homes are razed while Jewish-only housing is vastly expanded, particularly in response to the demand that East Jerusalem become the capital of a future Palestinian state. While many who live in the settlements are either new immigrants forced to move there by the government or attracted by artificially low housing costs, large numbers of those who are not fanatical Zionists have concluded that cheap housing isn't much good if you're dead and have left the settlements. The political core of the settler movement consists of armed fascistic religious zealots who act as auxiliaries to the military occupation forces and idolize the likes of Baruch Goldstein, the Brooklyn-born Zionist who slaughtered some 30 Palestinian worshippers in Hebron in 1994. The construction of new Jewish settlements is accompanied by the expulsion of the Palestinians who formerly lived on the land. Even more Palestinian land has been confiscated in order to build a network of fortified "bypass roads" which are open only to Jews and encircle those enclaves under nominal PA control. *We demand the removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the settlements and the apartheid highway network!*

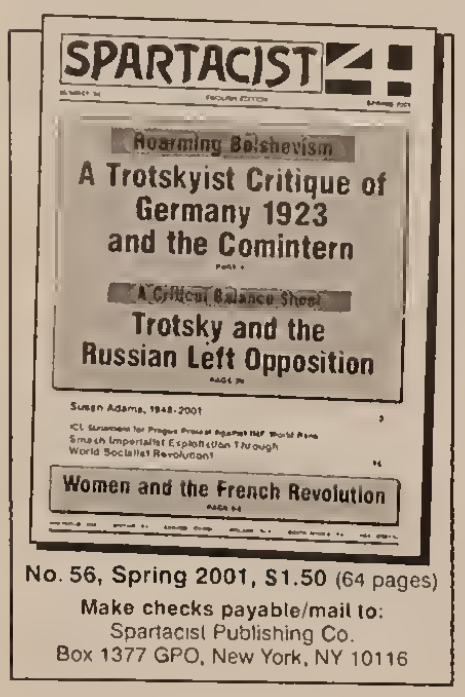
These conditions finally exploded into a new *Intifada* last fall—sparked by Sharon's provocative "visit" with hundreds of cops to a Muslim holy site in Jerusalem in September 2000—which was initially led primarily by elements of Fatah in defiance of Arafat. As Arafat, under pressure from Washington, tried to suppress the uprising, he has lost what remained of his base of support. The latest opinion poll indicates that support for Islamist groups has risen to 30 percent while support for Fatah has fallen to 20 percent. Though many Palestinians have turned to Hamas because of its seeming intransigence against the Zionist occupation forces, there has nonetheless been a sharp rise in the influence of religious fundamentalism among the Palestinian people.

This, in turn, is mirrored by growing support among the Hebrew-speaking population for ultra-chauvinist and Jewish fundamentalist parties. Half of all Israelis surveyed in a recent poll support the "transfer"—i.e., forcible expulsion—of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to Arab countries, a position once espoused by only a tiny handful on the fascistic right. The growing rightism of Israeli politics also targets the more than a million Palestinian Arabs who are nominally citizens of Israel. Prominent Arab Israeli parliamentarian Azmi Bishara now awaits trial on treason charges after being stripped of parliamentary immunity because he made a speech in Syria calling for Palestinian resistance.

Faced with Sharon's onslaught and Washington's hostility, Arafat has again looked to the United Nations or the European Union (EU) to broker some kind of deal. The EU has simultaneously echoed the American line demanding that Arafat crack down on Palestinian opposition groups while arguing against any "attempts to weaken or discredit" the PA leader (London *Financial Times*, 15-16 December). Reflecting the more sympathetic posture of the EU imperialists toward the Palestinians, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) issued a declaration denouncing "the bellicose logic in which the Sharon government has been engaged" and calling "for the setting up of an international force for peace and protection of the population" (*Rouge*, 13 December).

These fake leftists are simply lining up behind the particular imperialist ambitions of Washington's European rivals, who are competing for influence among the oil-rich Arab regimes of the Near East. Even were Israel or the U.S. to allow it to happen, any imperialist "peacekeeping" force, whether under the auspices of the EU or the UN, could only be oppressive to the Palestinian people. It was under a UN partition plan that the Zionist state was created in 1948, and it is through a UN-sponsored starvation blockade that over one and a half million Iraqis have died since 1991.

The only salvation for the Palestinian



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people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. As revolutionary Marxists, we seek to smash the Zionist garrison state *from within*, through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Only through the overthrow of the Israeli bourgeoisie as well as the Arab ruling classes can the right of national self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples and the many other peoples of the region be equitably realized. We have no illusions that it will be easy to shatter the intense anti-Arab chauvinism of the Hebrew-speaking working class. But it is the task of revolutionaries to utilize every opportunity, every strike, every action that pits the working class against the Zionist capitalist rulers to emphasize the necessity for joint struggle by the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers. In the course of such struggles will be forged the internationalist Trotskyist party which champions the national rights of the Palestinians as part of the fight to place the proletariat in power.

American Imperialism and the Demonization of the Islamic World

Early this month, the *Jerusalem Post* wrote: "The US is not in a diplomatic mode with respect to Islamism; it recognizes that it is at war and Islamism must be defeated. Accordingly, the Taliban were given an ultimatum to either give up Osama bin Laden or give up power. The Palestinian Authority must be given a similar ultimatum with respect to Hamas and Islamic Jihad." It is not only the rabidly Zionist *Jerusalem Post* that proclaims a war on Islamism. Bush administration spokesmen initially invoked the Christian Crusades to justify their "war on terrorism."

During the Cold War, American imperialism also utilized and mobilized the forces of Islamic reaction against the Communist parties and Soviet-backed nationalist movements and regimes in traditionally Muslim countries. The Saudi monarchy—the font of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East—was and remains protected by the American military. Washington instigated the 1965 military coup by the Muslim generals in Indonesia in which half a million workers, leftists and others were massacred, effectively destroying the Indonesian Communist Party, then the largest in the world not holding state power. Bin Laden and his fellow "holy warriors" were originally the creatures of the CIA—using the Pakistani military and Saudi money—to fight the Soviet Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

However, the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 posed a certain public relations problem for the U.S. ruling class: how to motivate continued public support for the huge and even increasing Pentagon budget and imperialist military adventures in the absence of the Soviet "threat."

Harvard's Samuel P. Huntington, a prominent Cold War academic, provided a new ideology for American imperialism in the post-Soviet world. That world, he argued, still contained enemies of the American state, and, indeed, of Western civilization, but now they were based on deeply rooted national/religious cultures. Huntington's 1993 article "The Clash of Civilizations?", published in *Foreign Affairs*, became a kind of foreign policy manifesto for a significant section of the American bourgeois right, whose views are heavily represented in the Bush administration. The core of Huntington's position is:

> "The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."

For Huntington, the battle lines of the future would pit the United States of America, as the exemplar and champion of Western civilization, against Eastern Orthodox Russia, "Confucian" China and the Islamic states of the Near East.

Such views were espoused by a growing Christian right which had become increasingly influential in the Republican Party. The growth of a nativist, anti-woman Christian right in the U.S. is itself an expression of the rise of all manner of religious obscurantism internationally, especially following the demise of the USSR. The Christian fundamentalist right in the U.S. has become a staunch supporter of Israel as a representative of the "Judeo-Christian" tradition in the Near East.

Huntington arrogantly asserts that the peoples of the Islamic East are "convinced of the superiority of their culture, and obsessed with the inferiority of their power." In reality, American imperialism has sought to demonstrate its global superiority by military attacks against the neocolonial peoples of the Islamic East precisely because they are powerless to resist effectively. Bush Sr. proclaimed a "New World Order" for U.S. imperialism—as the Soviet Union neared collapse—while U.S. warplanes carpet-bombed Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War. And America's capitalist rulers have continued to vilify Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein as an enemy of the U.S. and, indeed, the world.

Saddam Hussein is not, in fact, an Islamic fundamentalist. He is an Arab bourgeois nationalist of the kind hated and despised by pan-Islamic fundamentalists like Osama bin Laden. The Ba'athist movement was originally formed by Christian as well as Muslim Arab nationalist intellectuals, and Iraq's foreign minister is likewise from a Christian Arab family. However, the ideologues of American imperialism have linked together Saddam Hussein and bin Laden, Hamas and the left-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in order to demonize the Islamic East as an enemy of the West represented by its American "superpower."

Nati Shohat

Over 100,000 Palestinian residents of Hebron are subjected to military repression while several hundred fascistic Zionist settlers are given free rein to rampage.

In putting together a "grand coalition" for the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, Bush declared this was "not a war against Islam." The conservative London *Economist* (6 October) commented in this regard:

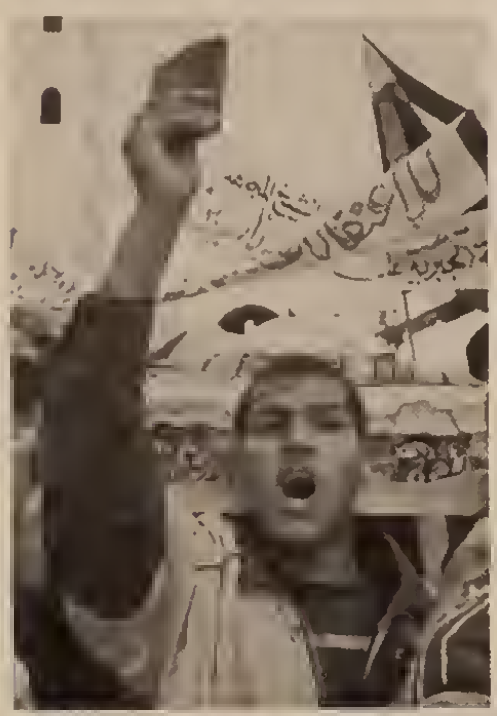
> "America may have an even bigger problem in winning the propaganda war: those Americans, largely on the right, who think the country will indeed eventually have to wage war on Islam—or, at least, various chunks of the Muslim world. These voices say that you cannot defeat terror without confronting its backers in Iraq, Iran and to some extent Saudi Arabia and Syria."

For the moment Bush rejected those (including his deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz) who wanted to wage war then and there against half the states in the Near East. In effect, he said, first we'll destroy the Taliban and then we'll see. But then has become now.

As one Afghan city after another fell to the American-backed forces, members of the Bush gang began talking about getting rid of Saddam Hussein. In fact, significant elements of the American right have been harshly critical of Bush Sr. for allowing Saddam Hussein to remain in power after the U.S. forces routed the Iraqi army in the Gulf War. However, the factors arguing against an invasion of Iraq then are still operating today.

There is no armed oppositional group in Iraq (analogous to the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan) that could overthrow Saddam Hussein given sufficient U.S. air support. The U.S. army would have to go into Iraq in force. And what then? If the Americans just pulled out, Iraq would almost certainly descend into chaos and ethnic/religious warfare, destabilizing the entire oil-rich Persian Gulf region and perhaps toppling the increasingly fragile Saudi monarchy. Alternatively, to install and maintain a U.S. puppet regime in Baghdad would require a large-scale, indefinite military occupation of Iraq.

A *New York Times* (26 November) editorial, "The Wrong Time to Fight Iraq," marshals the compelling military and political arguments against such a course. However, the American ruling class is *not* rational, and the anti-Iraq hawks could prevail. Indeed, such an editorial by the premier mouthpiece of the American bourgeoisie indicates that the imperialists are debating whether to invade Iraq today, and may do so tomorrow.



AP

Getty Images

Hamas supporter in Gaza. Indiscriminate terror by Hamas against Israeli civilians, as in December 1 Jerusalem mall bombing, mirrors genocidal chauvinism of Zionist rulers.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Since September 11, the Israeli rulers have pressed to extend Bush's "war on terrorism" to the destruction of the Palestinian national movement. However, that would have political repercussions in the Near East of a far greater magnitude than the destruction of the Taliban by the U.S. and its Northern Alliance henchmen.

The Taliban (which was basically a creation of the Pakistani military) turned out to have many more enemies than friends in the Islamic world. Indeed, the Shi'ite Islamic theocratic regime in Iran has been among the chief backers of the Northern Alliance against the Sunni Taliban. More generally, the fanatically reactionary and repressive nature of the Taliban regime deprived it of broad support in the Arab/Islamic world even in the face of direct U.S. imperialist attack.

But there is broad-based and deeply felt support for the oppressed Palestinian people among the masses of the Arab world and, indeed, among other oppressed peoples throughout the world. To translate the widespread sympathy for the Palestinians among the Arab masses into an effective struggle for their national liberation requires proletarian revolutions to overthrow the neocolonial capitalist regimes in the Near East—whether bourgeois-nationalist or Islamic traditionalist—which serve as the political agents of Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt, Paris and Tokyo. A workers revolution in one of the Arab countries, proclaiming the internationalist unity of all working people, would have an enormous impact on the political consciousness of the Hebrew-speaking workers in Israel.

The Near East is a region of deep, all-sided oppression—of women, of national, ethnic and religious minorities. At the same time, the last half century has seen the considerable growth of a proletariat in the urban centers and oil fields throughout the region. This industrial working class has the social power to lead the oppressed masses in struggle to overturn the capitalist order and open the road to socialism, which would necessarily entail extending the revolution to the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan. The key is forging a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, on the model of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the multinational proletariat of the tsarist empire to power in the October Revolution of 1917.■

Archives...

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and inestimable advantage and you must understand it. Although Marx himself could in his theory embrace the course of development of decades and centuries his teaching was then in the everyday struggle whittled down to its separate elements and in parts absorbed moreover in a distorted form. Lenin came along, gathered Marxism together once again and in the new conditions showed this teaching in the action of the greatest historical scale. You have seen this action and you have attached yourselves to it: this places you under an obligation and upon this obligation the Communist University for Toilers of the East has been built.

That is why, comrades, I think that the danger of a national-democratic degeneration which of course exists and which will seize and carry off some people for it cannot be otherwise, that this danger is greatly reduced by the very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union and of the Third International. There is every ground for hoping that the basic nucleus which will emerge from the Communist University for Toilers of the East will occupy its due place as a class leaven, a Marxist leaven and a Leninist leaven to the proletarian movement in the lands of the East. The demand for you, comrades, appears gigantic and it manifests itself, as I have already said, not gradually but all at once, also in its own way "catastrophically." Read over one of Lenin's last articles "Better less but better": seemingly it is devoted to a specific organizational question but it at the same time embraces the perspectives for the development of the countries of the East in connection with the development of Europe. What is the main idea behind the article? The fundamental idea is that the development of the revolution in the West may be held up. How can it be held up? By MacDonaldism, for the most conservative force in Europe is in fact MacDonaldism. We can see how Turkey abolished the Caliphate and MaeDonald resurrects it. Is this not a striking example which sharply contrasts in deed the counter-revolutionary Menshevism of the West to the progressive national-bourgeois democracy of the East?

Taking place at present in Afghanistan are truly dramatic events: MacDonald's Britain is toppling the left national bourgeois wing which is striving to Europeanize independent Afghanistan and is attempting there to restore to power the darkest and most reactionary elements imbued with the worst prejudices of pan-Islamism, the Caliphate and so forth. If you weigh up these two forces in their living conflict, it will at once become clear why the East will more and more gravitate towards us, the Soviet Union and the Third International.

We can see how Europe, which through its past development preserved the monstrous conservatism of the bosses of the working class, is more and more undergoing economic disintegration. There is no way out for her. And this finds an expression in particular in the fact that America does not give her loans, rightly not trusting her economic viability. On the other hand we can see too that the same America and the same Britain are compelled to finance the economic development of the colonial countries thereby driving them along the path of revolution at a frantic rate. And if Europe is to be kept back amid the present state of putrefaction of the numskulled, parochial, aristocratic, privileged MaeDonaldism of the labour bosses then the centre of gravity of the revolutionary movement is being transferred wholly and entirely to the East. And then it will emerge that although a number of decades of Britain's capitalist development was necessary to act as a revolutionizing factor to raise up our old Russia and our old East on to their feet then it will now be necessary for the revolution in the East to come back to Britain to smash through or, if necessary, smash up some thick skulls and give an

Humbert-Droz Archives

Turkish delegate Najiya Hanum addressing 1920 Baku Congress with program for the liberation of women of the East.

impulse to the revolution of the European proletariat [*applause*]. This is *one* of the historical possibilities. It must be kept in one's mind's eye.

I read in the documents you delivered to me about the gigantic impression a student from your university, a Turkish girl, created in Kazan where the women, some old and illiterate, gathered around her. A small episode it is but it does as an indicator have a profound historical meaning. The sense, the strength and the essence of Bolshevism lies in that it addresses itself not to the labour bosses but to the mob, the underdogs, the millions and to the most oppressed of the oppressed.

That is why it is not through its theoretical content, which is still far from assimilated, or fully thought out, but through its liberating breath of life that it has become the favourite teaching for the countries of the East. It is in your paper that we read ever fresh confirmations of the fact that Lenin is well known not only in the saklias of the Caucasus but in the depths of India too. We know that in China, toiling people, who have probably never in their life read a single one of Lenin's articles, ardently gravitate towards Bolshevism for such is the might of history's breath! They have sensed that here is a teaching which is addressed to the pariahs, the oppressed, the downtrodden, the millions and to the tens and hundreds of millions for whom there lies otherwise no historical solution for whom there is otherwise no salvation. And there is the reason why Leninism encounters such a fervent response in the hearts of toiling women—because there is no more oppressed layer on earth than the toiling woman! When I read how the student from your university spoke in Kazan and how the illiterate Tartar women gathered around her, I recalled my recent brief stay in Baku where for the first time I saw and heard a Turkic girl communist and where I could observe in the hall several tens and possibly hundreds of Turkic girl communists and saw and heard their enthusiasm, this passion of yesterday's slave of slaves who has heard the new words of liberation and has awoken to a new life, and where for the first time I came to a quite clear conclusion and told myself that in the movement of the peoples of the East woman will play a greater role than in Europe and here [*applause*]. Why? Just precisely because Eastern woman is incomparably more fettered, crushed and befuddled by prejudices than is the Eastern man and because new economic relations and new historical currents will tear her out of the old motionless relations with even greater force and abruptness than they will man. Even today we can still observe in the East the rule of Islam, of the old prejudices, beliefs and customs but these will more and more turn to dust and ashes. Just as a rotting piece of cloth, when you look at it from a distance, it seems to be all of a piece, all the pattern is there and all the folds remain but a movement of the hand or a puff of wind is enough for the whole cloth to turn to dust. And so in the East the old beliefs which appear to be so deep are actually but a shadow of the past: in Turkey they abolished the caliphate and not a single hair fell out of the heads of those who violated the caliphate; this means that the old beliefs have rotted and that with the coming historical movement of the toiling masses the old beliefs will not present a serious obstacle. And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman who is the most paralysed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress; she will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas, a new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker [*applause*].

Comrades, this is why your University has a universally historic importance. By making use of the ideological and political experience of the West it is preparing a great revolutionary leaven for the East. Your hour will soon strike. Finance capital of Britain and America is smashing the economic foundations of the East, throwing one layer of society against another, cracking the old and giving birth to a demand for the new. You will appear as sowers of the seeds of the ideas of communism and the revolutionary productivity of your work will be immeasurably higher than the productivity of the work of the old Marxist generations of Europe.

But, comrades, I would not like you to draw conclusions in the vein of some sort of Eastern arrogance from what I have said [*laughter*]. I can see that none of you here has taken me in this way.... For if anyone of you were to be steeped in such a Messianistic arrogance and disdain for the West then from there it would be the shortest and quickest move to dissolving yourself in nationalist democratic ideology. No, the revolutionary communists of the East at their University must learn to study the world movement East and the West from the standpoint of one single great in its whole by juxtaposing and connecting the forces of the objective. You must know how to couple together the uprising of the Indus peasants, the strike of coolies in the port of China, the political propaganda of Kuomintang bourgeois democracy, the struggle of the Koreans for independence, the bourgeois-democratic rebirth of Turkey and the economic and cultural and educational work in the Soviet republic of Transcaucasia; you must know how, both ideologically and practically, to link all this with the work and struggle of the Communist International in Europe and in particular in Britain where the mole of British communism is slowly—more slowly than many of us would like—burrowing under MacDonald's conservative bastion [*applause*]. Your third anniversary is of course in itself a very modest anniversary. Many of you are merely on the threshold of Marxism. But your advantage over the older generation lies, I repeat, in the fact that you are studying the ABC of Marxism not inside émigré circles divorced from life in countries ruled by capitalism as was the case with us but upon soil conquered by Leninism, upon soil nurtured with Leninism and upon soil enveloped in the ideological atmosphere of Leninism. You are not only studying Marxism from pamphlets but you have the opportunity to inhale it in the political atmosphere of this country. This applies not only to those who have arrived here from the Eastern republics which constitute part of the Soviet Union but applies too to those—whose importance is of course in no way less!—who have made their appearance here from the oppressed colonial countries. Whether the final year of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism will unfold in one, two, three or five years' time we do not know; but we do know that each year will produce a new crop from the Communist University of the East. Each year will provide a new nucleus of communists who know the ABC of Leninism and who have seen how this ABC is applied in practice. If one year passes by before the decisive events then we will have one crop; if two years pass by then we will have two; if three years pass we will have three crops. And at the moment of these decisive events the students of the Communist University for Toilers of the East will say: "We are here. We have learnt one thing. We know not only how to translate the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the language of China, India, Turkey and Korea; but we have also learnt how to translate the sufferings, passions, demands and the hopes of the toiling masses of the East into the language of Marxism."

"Who has taught you that?" they will be asked.

"The Communist University for Toilers of the East taught us that." And then they will say what I shall say to you now on the day of your third anniversary:

"Glory, glory and glory to the Communist University of the East" [*noisy ovation and the Internationale*].■

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- **Domestic Repression**—And see **Campus Repression; Immigration; Longshoremen; Teachers.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

2001 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 749 (5 January) through No. 771 (28 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2001, from issue No. 749 (5 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 771 (28 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Lynch Law Judge Vowed to See Mumia Dead, #764, 14 Sept. (12, 9)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 764, dated 14 September 2001, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Asia—See **Economics; World Trade Center Attack: General, War on Afghanistan;** specific countries.

  means that articles about Asia can be found by going to the subject head **ECONOMICS** and by going to the subject head **WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACK AND U.S. IMPERIALISM** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **War on Afghanistan.** Other articles can be found under the subject heads for individual countries in Asia.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy and threats of war involving the U.S. will be found under **U.S.: International Relations.** Articles dealing with the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center and U.S. imperialism's response are listed under **WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACK AND U.S. IMPERIALISM.** This subject head is broken into three subcategories: **General** deals with the attack itself and the "national unity" jingoism of the American ruling class in response; **Domestic Repression** deals with the "war on terrorism" within the U.S.; **War on Afghanistan** deals with U.S. imperialism's bombing and invasion of Afghanistan.
- The periodic columns by death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row;** articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- When articles are reprinted and/or translated from the press of other sections of the ICL, the name of the press will appear in parentheses following the headline of the entry.
- Articles on the protests against the WTO, etc., in Quebec, Göteborg and Genoa are listed under **"GLOBALIZATION" PROTESTS.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  - C: Correction
  - CSDN: Class-Struggle Defense Notes article
  - L: Letter
  - R: Review
  - S: Series
  - YSp. *Young Spartacus* article

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  - New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits, #758, 11 May (12, 10, 11)
  - Mobilize to Free Mumia Now!, #759, 25 May (1, 6, 7)
  - "Many of You Refuse to Let Go of the System" (statement by Jamal), #759, 25 May (6)
  - Dan Williams' Brief for the Prosecution, #759, 25 May (7)
  - Prosecutors, Press Try to Bury New Evidence of Innocence, #760, 8 June (1, 11)
  - Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now! (Labor Black League newsletter), #761, 6 July (3, 14)
  - Judge Bars New Evidence of Innocence (PDC statement), #762, 3 Aug. (16, 12)
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